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National Municipal Review

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1942

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Supplement to the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW
January 1943, Vol. XXXII, No. 1

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
299 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

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*A New Section Beginning This Issue Prepared by
Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services*

January 1942

Vol. XXXI, No. 1

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 1

Total Number 307

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

A Report of Progress

TODAY'S rigorous test of democratic self-governing systems is emphasizing as never before the importance of sound government and sound citizenship in the local community. Increasingly evident in the United States, this has already been demonstrated emphatically by British experience. Even in a land as limited geographically as Great Britain, it is at the local level that efficient administrative methods and prompt action meet emergencies, bring speedy recuperation from disaster, and keep the wheels turning.

The test of fire now faced by the democracies accents the soundness of the primary convictions on which the National Municipal League's program is based: that our 100,000 local governments are the roots of our entire system, that local government must therefore be correctly organized and efficiently administered, that local government must be subject to the control of an intelligent and well informed citizenry.

Toward these ends the League has worked for forty-eight years. On these convictions the League has based its program and the methods by which it has provided leadership in the movement to establish good government and to raise the intelligence and effectiveness of our citizenry.

League History Completed

It is peculiarly appropriate that the manuscript of *A Half Century of Municipal Progress—The History of the National Municipal League*, by Frank Mann Stewart, professor of political science and director of the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University

of California at Los Angeles, should have been completed recently at a time when serious students of our way of life are seeking so earnestly to evaluate the forces which are important and precious to its preservation.

Dr. Stewart, after ten years of exhaustive research, has written a scholarly work from which the thousands of men and women who since 1893 have participated in the League's work will find pride in the past and inspiration for the future.

The book describes the conditions which brought the League into existence, details its methods, techniques and problems, and records and evaluates its contribution to a half century of municipal progress. Dr. Stewart tells how the League was organized in 1893 by leading citizens of many communities who, in their local civic work, had discovered the need for a permanent national organization which would serve as a clearing house for information and inspiration. Step by step he describes the work of many distinguished members and committees which kept the League in the forefront of the movement to improve local government and citizenship.

The impressive array of accomplishments and the full story of the League's work are magnified not only by the background of the sordid municipal past which Dr. Stewart deftly pictures but also by the light of the obvious need at present and in the immediate uncertain future for leadership such as that which the League furnishes.

"In reviewing the history of the League," Dr. Stewart writes in his concluding chapter, "one is impressed with

(Continued on Page 59)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

First Blood for the Hatch Act

SOME normally important governmental activities will be curtailed on the grounds that we must not "rock the boat" for the duration of the war, but vigorous enforcement of the Hatch Act should not be one of these. This is more vital than ever when prodigious amounts of money are being spent and unusually great powers must be delegated.

It is somewhat surprising that there have not been numerous actions under this sound and valuable law. The first such action resulted in the conviction of the manager of the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation. His removal was ordered for forcing public employees to pay 2 per cent of their salaries to a political organization.

This case had a number of particularly aggravating aspects. It was shocking in the first place that the man appointed to manage an important humanitarian service had been lifted from sixth place on a list of eligibles; it was even more shocking that when his derelictions came to light state officials leaped promptly to his defense instead of indicating some desire to investigate the validity of charges brought as the result of the vigilance and intelligence of the Hamilton County Good Government League. Only in this League did there seem to be a desire to do anything but excuse and cover up. Not only were members of the state attorney-general's staff assigned to defend him,

but there was a marked tendency to rest on technicalities and to use old shibboleths like "state's rights."

Perhaps it is just as well that the defense was so resourceful, inasmuch as this case will set precedents. After the federal government has carried the case firmly through to the end, as it should, clear notice will have been served that the people will no longer tolerate the philosophy that public office is something which should be surrendered for selfish exploitation to win future elections.

The Hatch Act clearly intended that coercion of public employees by unscrupulous politicians be stopped. Popular approval of the Hatch Act is obvious. Still, had it not been for the persistence and determination of a local citizen organization, it is doubtful if the Cincinnati case ever would have come to light. It is probable, too, that many similar violations remain undisclosed for lack of equally vigilant citizen organizations.

The war emphasizes the need for more honest administration of all government activities and for vigorous nonpartisan watchdogs rather than the reverse. There must be no supine acceptance of abuses such as those disclosed by the Hamilton County Good Government League. Some politicians—the kind we naïvely like to think old-fashioned and almost extinct—obviously intend to reap every possible advantage.

Principle Above Party

IT HAS been said often that the political philosophies of national parties have no significance in local elections for, after all, local government consists simply of services which we can perform more efficiently and economically on a coöperative basis than we can as individuals or families.

Frequently such obviously cogent and believable statements have been limited to lip service. A notable exception was the forthright support given to this important principle in the New York City election last November by no less a personage than the President of the United States. It was especially refreshing in view

of the fact that his stand placed him in opposition to his own party whose candidate for mayor had a commendable record of service in other offices.

But in these days of close federal-city relations, few people are in a better position to appraise the service of the administration of a great city or to realize the importance of having an efficient, experienced government in the nation's greatest city. This example of the nation's titular leader in putting principle above party in local elections is particularly gratifying at a time when it is so important to sweep aside all petty considerations to insure a smoothly functioning democracy.

Saving Money for Defense

WITH the nation formally at war there will be even less patience with those "penny pinchers" who are always trying to save a few dollars here and there. But, because it is clear that the country is going to need all the dollars it can scrape together, in addition to the enthusiastic loyalty and coöperation of all citizens and organizations, we must be as economical as possible. It will help us achieve victory.

The new "use" tax on automotive vehicles is a case in point. One estimate is that it will cost about \$4,500,000 to collect the new federal tax of five dollars on the owners of each of approximately 32,000,000 automobiles, trucks, buses, etc. Congressmen are worrying about how a collecting agency should be set up.

One simple and efficient solution

suggests itself: to have the automotive licensing authority in each state collect the five dollars as simply one added item of the regular bill.

The additional expense to the states would be negligible, and no additional federal employees would be needed simply to receive forty-eight checks.

Saving a few million dollars, much as that amount will purchase in the way of arms and munitions, is not the sole question. The nation has a big job to do. It will be done more effectively if it can be done without unnecessary confusion and by using wherever possible facilities which already exist.

The collection of taxes by one level of government for redistribution to other levels is a recognized and well established practice.

'Hope of Millions Rests with U.S.'

"We are not confronted in this battle for civilization with secondary choices and lesser issues; we have to face up to the primary problem of existence with the knowledge that defeat in this war means enslavement."

By JOHN G. WINANT

Ambassador to Great Britain

President of the National Municipal League

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We reproduce below the text of President Winant's trans-Atlantic broadcast from London as it was heard at the annual dinner of the National Municipal League, held in St. Louis on November 18 during its forty-seventh National Conference on Government, President Winant was introduced by the League's immediate past president, Mr. C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin, whose remarks are also reproduced.

MR. DYKSTRA:

Members and guests of the National Municipal League meeting here in St. Louis and listening throughout the nation, it is an unusual privilege to present to you the United States Ambassador to London, Hon. John G. Winant.

As most of you know, Ambassador Winant has devoted his life to public service, first as governor of his native state of New Hampshire, then at Washington as chairman of the Social Security Board, then at Geneva, Switzerland, and now in London.

Since November of 1940, prior to his selection as ambassador, he has served as president of the National Municipal League, a nationwide organization of public-spirited citizens and students of government which for nearly half a century has worked throughout the country to improve the democratic process at its grass roots in our communities and in our states.

Tonight Ambassador Winant will

address the League's forty-seventh National Conference on Government and the nation at large. In introducing Mr. Winant I cannot pay him greater tribute than to repeat the frequently expressed thought that no man in public life today is more devoted than he to the principles of democracy and all that they mean to thoughtful men and women throughout the world.

AMBASSADOR WINANT:

Mr. Dykstra and friends of the National Municipal League: A year ago when you met in Springfield, Massachusetts, I was with you, and you were good enough to elect me your president. Since then I have spent little time in the United States, but others of you generously took over the duties of that office and have carried on the good work of the League in a widening field of usefulness.

To be able to talk with you tonight across the ocean and thank you for what has been done is a privilege that I much appreciate.

We are a citizens' organization for better government. We realize as we look back over the past that one of the earliest evidences of civilization was the establishment of the town and the city. It marked man's earliest effort to live on common ground, and to stabilize that living.

Some of our simplest concepts have grown out of that experience. Much has been added to family life because of community life—the idea of neighborliness, the common school, and the town hall and the church and all that they symbolize in government and religious worship, the news center and the trade center, these have been a few of the simpler and homelier institutions we have come to accept so completely that we are hardly aware of the effort and the slow evolution that created them.

And then, as the simple communities grew into municipalities, and society strengthened its concept of justice and faith, we find a growing sense of protection accorded the citizens because we had come to realize the greater weight of human life. And so we set up our courts, and lighted and policed our streets; we organized our fire departments, and established boards of health, and set up our schools to give the child a chance.

In doing so we enlarged and complicated the problem of administration. But we have learned to improve our technique, and we have municipal government responsible to the people.

All this is known to you, and it is so much a part of everyday life that it would seem trite to speak of it if it were not for what has overtaken the people who live in the towns and cities of Europe.

These communities lay within countries whose people wanted peace and who, hoping for peace, held back against the threat of invasion, misled in their allegiance by a subtle political strategy. It was engineered by propagandists who understood all the

meaner motives of man as thoroughly as they had devised mechanized attack in the development of total war.

These communities over a longer period of time had in the main come to exercise the same rights, privileges, and immunities that were enjoyed by the towns and cities of our own country. The fact I want to bring home is the cost to them for refusing to be forewarned, for failing to unite in a common cause within their own country, and to join with other imperiled nations on a common front.

Victory or Slavery

We are not confronted in this battle for civilization with secondary choices and lesser issues. We have to face up to the primary problem of existence with the full knowledge that defeat in this war means enslavement.

I remember Vienna, which marked the first Nazi invasion. I remember Schuschnigg, and what they did to him! And the brutal personal vendettas that were inflicted on defenseless people, and the labor men and others who were shot! They closed the universities after shooting a dozen of the students, and threw the rest into concentration camps, and now the secondary schools are also closed. All private meetings of citizens are forbidden—even concerts and sporting events! Scores of prisoners have been shot, hostages taken and shot! Neither child nor man is accorded consideration.

I knew it as an ancient city of great culture so short a time ago, where a group of intelligent and disinterested statesmen in twenty years had worked out a prosperous and democratic city.

We all remember Warsaw, the shelling, the bombing, the devastation of the city! And the wanton killing of men, women, and children! During and after the invasion all the universities in Poland were destroyed, and the private schools, the public schools, and the parochial schools were all closed. It is difficult to visualize that kind of cruel and oppressive action, and what it means to any country. If you took a generation of youth out of the educational system of the United States, you would seriously retard our institutions and our way of life.

The German success in Norway was due largely to the knowledge of the country by the invading enemy, large numbers of whom had been taken into the homes of Norwegian families during the last war in order to save them from the privation of malnutrition. The stubborn resentment and resistance there have prompted the Germans to take reprisals. Only the other day, at Oslo, the leading lawyer and the outstanding labor leader of the country were charged with conspiring to reduce production of war materials which were to be used by their enemies to destroy their friends. They were put before a firing squad and shot. They refused to be blindfolded and died singing their national anthem.

Without warning the Germans invaded Holland. Near Rotterdam, where parachutists and dive bombers came down out of the sky on May 10, 1940, and where a square mile in the heart of the city was leveled to the ground by the Germans with over thirty thousand killed, old prisons which have not been used for years

are being reopened to take care of the patriots arrested by the Germans.

The story of Belgium and its cities is not different. The atrocities committed in Yugo-Slavia and in Greece by the Germans have not been equalled, even in this war.

Paris, Too

In England now, as in the United States, William Shirer's book, *Berlin Diary*, is a best seller. When he drove into Paris a few days after its surrender to the Germans, on June 14, 1940, he wrote: "Paris is weird and, to me, unrecognizable. There's a curfew at nine P.M.—an hour before dark. The blackout is still enforced. The streets tonight are dark and deserted. The Paris of gay lights, the laughter, the music—when was that? And what is this?"

The answer is given a year later. A Swiss newspaper the other day said the Parisians are preparing for a winter of hardship. Bitterness and hatred darken more and more cities in a country which seems little suited to these tragic experiences. A considerable proportion of the population is suffering greatly. It is a place where hostages are taken and shot, not for anything they have done, but in accordance with a custom abandoned centuries ago as a penalty for the acts of others.

All over the continent men are torn from their families and thrown into prison or concentration camps without trial. Many are forced to leave their own countries to join labor gangs for work in German factories, in the mines, and in the fields. In areas where rations are already on a starvation basis, food is shipped from

occupied countries to the Axis countries. Only those newspapers can be published that are in favor of co-operation and collaboration with Germany, and they are forced into continual campaigns of vituperation against the Allies and the United States.

And to those who have not given up hope of winning back the freedom of their country, it is forbidden to listen to radio stations except those controlled by Germany and Italy.

Planning for the Future

Last night in England people at Coventry gathered together in memory of those who were killed a year ago, and to place wreaths on a communal grave. They have re-organized their town. There can be no building because of the shortage of man power, but they have already worked out an architectural plan for the central area of the city, which they will work toward when peace comes. Other towns are doing likewise. There is faith and confidence here.

We don't want our towns and our cities shattered. We mean to protect our own. I respect the men at home who are trying to keep this crushing brutality from our shores and who dare to move out and fight.

These things not only strike at local governments, they strike at all governments. They are the concern of all people, everywhere. The hope of untold millions rests with us.

It will be good to see the Stars and

Stripes again in these waters. As a great American once said, "Its red is our life blood; its stars, our will; its blue, our heaven. Within its fold lies the promise of American life and with that promise rests hope for all people, everywhere."

MR. DYKSTRA:

Thank you Ambassador Winant. May I say on behalf of the National Municipal League and the radio audience how much we appreciate the counsel you have just given us at a time when more than ever before we in this country need to think straight and to determine which of the issues we face are really important.

In the course of this conference we are discussing practical methods of educating our citizens to take greater responsibility to help make free government work more effectively. We are learning from eye-witnesses the problems faced by defense communities and how citizens of those communities can solve them. We are learning how citizen leaders and public administrators can coöperate to make their communities stronger units in our national system.

We of the National Municipal League shall continue this effort through our friends and members in all parts of the country. We invite every citizen to do his part.

And in this effort, Ambassador Winant, we shall be working toward a common goal with other civic groups and organizations in every part of the United States.

Call to Action

"We can have no effective democracy on a national scale if the sources of democratic action on the local front are corrupt or even just inefficient."

By C. A. DYKSTRA

President of the University of Wisconsin

WE ARE giving lip service to the cause of democracy and we pretend at least that it is worth defending and extending. Is it?

The argument in totalitarian countries is that democracy broke down so completely, that it so universally failed to solve immediate problems, that there was no alternative but to put an end to talk and go into action under "a leader." Their leader was to do the thinking, the talking, and the acting.

Unity and Action

We have to admit, as we contemplate the floundering of the democracies, that the totalitarians had and have something in so far as unity *and* action are concerned. We think the cost of such action has been enormous and that the price is too high. We still insist that we prize the liberties and freedoms of the democratic way even if it means inefficiency and popular division.

We fail to see that in this modern day inefficiency cannot survive, no matter how comfortable it makes us feel. This is a time when our government must work or give way to some other manner of doing the public business.

Is business as usual—so far as governments are concerned—able to meet modern challenges? Is our practice of the democratic way good enough to make us hopeful that we can,

through the democratic processes, work out effective instrumentalities for present and future emergencies?

City "Fuehrers"

At the moment our eyes are glued to the Washington scene. We forget that the processes at Washington follow the patterns back home. We forget that under the guise of local democratic operation we have had autocracies, and even political and social dictatorship. Many local governments in the United States have operated to the advantage of local cliques and exploited the community meanwhile. The city has not been as many had predicted "the hope of democracy" but a sample of corruption and inefficiency. This generalization is not universally true. At times and in many places we have seen light and generated hope. But there are enough disappointing situations to make us question our ability to have an effective *and* democratic local government.

This is the time to recognize this fact. This is a strategic time for action. We can have no effective democracy on a national scale if the sources of democratic action on the local front are corrupt or even just plain inefficient. It is locally that we develop the practice of popular government and produce leadership for the state and nation. If we cannot manage local affairs well there is

little promise of success on a national scale.

If then we are in earnest about the success of the democratic way in the nation and in the world we have a job to do right at home.

War and Local Government

Two things should be clear to us as we look abroad. The dictators grew out of the failures of democratic experiments and, second, the protection of the democratic way is in the hands of local authorities in England for instance. Nothing is more heartening in the English scene than the way in which local authorities are operating today. Local police and fire forces, local defense authorities, local air raid wardens, local patriotism and civic action, are the backbone of the defense of the British way of life. War, in so far as it is defensive at least, is a civilian matter in England. The local governments have been at least as active as the national forces.

Here in this session of a national organization—the National Municipal League—dedicated for almost half a century to the cause of efficient and democratic local government, we

have a right to believe that we have been engaged in one of the important factors in national defense. We have insisted through the years that we must have: (1) sensibly organized local governments, (2) democracy really representative, (3) sound and effective administration, (4) non-political personnel chosen through merit systems, (5) clean financial procedures, (6) an alert public opinion with the opportunity for expressing itself, (7) good municipal reporting, (8) local civic organizations to be the watch dogs of democracy.

We still believe that in a national emergency one of the strong arms of national defense is a local government of which we can be proud. If we have to apologize constantly for the way we operate our community democracy how can we with any conscience proclaim to the world the values of the democratic way and fight valiantly for the freedoms which we declare are inherent in that way?

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Excerpts from address given at the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 17, 1941.

Drafting the Nation's Brain Power

"This war will impose new and greater burdens, but we have never yet brought to bear our greatest force—our greatest untapped resource—the brains of our people."

By **GEORGE H. GALLUP**, Director
American Institute of Public Opinion

FOR six years it has been my privilege to direct the interviewing of many hundreds of thousands of American citizens representing all walks of life—farmers, day laborers, relievers, bankers, college professors. I have had opportunity to examine the opinions and comments of these people on all the vital social, political, and economic issues of the day. This experience has convinced me that the common people of this country possess an amazing degree of intelligence and common sense.

It would be impossible to have this first-hand knowledge of the opinions of the great mass of people of our country and not become an evangelist of democracy.

The American people are willing to make sacrifices for their country during this period of emergency. In fact, they are willing to make far greater sacrifices than they have as yet been called upon to make for defense. Nor is this willingness to work in the service of the country confined to periods of emergency. The people are equally willing to work for their community and their country in times of peace.

Two years ago the Institute's staff of interviewers asked a representative cross-section of people throughout the land if they would be willing to serve, without pay, on a committee made up of private citizens to investigate

such problems as unemployment, relief, and housing in their own communities. The results of this study indicated that two out of every three citizens in the United States would be willing to serve, without pay, on such committees.

This was the response of the "man in the street." What about the successful people of the country—the leading lawyers, engineers, educators, scientists, business people, or industrialists? In a special study, also nationwide in scope, we found that approximately seven out of every ten leading men of the nation would gladly take time from their busy pursuits to serve their own communities.

But how can it be that we have such poor local government in so many places if there are so many persons willing to work in the community interest? Certainly one of the most important reasons is the political and partisan approach which we now make to virtually all problems. Back of this lies the undeniable fact that we have displayed none of the inventiveness in the field of political science that we have in other fields.

Our development of political procedures stopped when the political ambitions of Andrew Jackson and the selfish interests of his advisers were satisfied some one hundred years ago.

Perhaps we shouldn't criticize Jackson too harshly for burdening

the country with the spoils system and a conception of politics based almost entirely on self-interest; for out of this political plundering came the two-party system which has served the country well from Jackson's time until today.

It will be recalled that Washington hoped there would be no political parties. But it soon became obvious that the system—or lack of system—which prevailed between the time of Washington and the time of Jackson didn't fill the needs of our democracy. Today we have a good chance to see why.

Germany, Italy, and Russia have only one party. Certainly no one would accuse any of these countries of being democratic in any respect. On the other hand, a great number of parties or factions do not make a strong democracy. Government by a dozen factions was tried in France and was responsible in no small part for her downfall.

But in our own case, having found that the two-party system worked best, we have weakly accepted the theory that the two-party system can be kept strong and vital only by party machines maintained by political despoilers. In short, we have assumed that the only people interested enough to take an active part in party politics are the people who expect to get a job or to receive some other personal gain.

There is ample evidence that our national two-party system can be kept strong and vital without recourse to the political pay-off. Any one who will devote a few hours of his time to talking with his fellow-

men will discover that people today take the problems of government and voting seriously. We have reached the point where ideas and opposing political philosophies form the basis of our two-party system. The day of the back-slapping, baby-kissing, cigar-dispensing politician—at least in national affairs—has gone the way of the torchlight parade.

Civil Service Improved

In recent years we have dealt some heavy blows to corrupt machine politics. The Hatch Act represents one of the great landmarks in the improvement of government in the United States. But we need to extend its scope—to apply the principles of this act to state and local governments.

Year by year the merit system laws are extended to include more jobholders. Eventually the time will come when every one who is not an elected officer in a policy-making position will be free forevermore of the spoils system. Most important of all is the cheering evidence that the public itself is getting out of control of the old-time machine politician.

In New York City some weeks ago a majority of Democrats, against the tearful pleas of political bosses, jumped the political fence to vote for La Guardia, the Republican and Labor nominee. On the other hand a majority of Republicans jumped to the other side to vote for O'Dwyer, the Democratic candidate.

From the national election a year ago comes even better evidence of the decline of the political machine in the states north of the Mason-

Dixon Line. At that time some Republican leaders boasted about the effectiveness of their state machines in certain of these northern states. I was told by some of the Democratic leaders what they expected to do with their well oiled machines in other states. But when the votes in the presidential election were counted, an amazing fact came to light—the votes for Mr. Roosevelt were no greater in these states with reputedly strong Democratic machines than in the states where the machine was supposed to be very weak. And the same was true of Willkie. Why? For the simple reason that people were voting their convictions. They weren't voting for either candidate merely because some political ward heeler slapped them on the back and gave them a five-cent cigar.

In this election state lines vanished into thin air. You could travel all the way from New Hampshire to North Dakota or to Missouri and not find the Roosevelt vote more than four or five votes different in every hundred in any one of these states.

Not since the Civil War and modern political alignments has the country reacted so completely to ideas, and so little to machine efforts. Even the traditional center of Republicanism shifted all the way from Vermont to South Dakota. The two-party system was working its best. The system of political bribery was working its worst.

While opposing political philosophies are beginning largely to form the basis of our national politics today, local communities throughout the country in far too many cases

are still machine-dominated and boss-ridden.

The whole conception of party alignments in the local community contrasts sharply with that of the national government. It is difficult to see how questions of ideology of political philosophy can be very important in local government, since the chief concern here is the question of the efficient management of the affairs of the community. The course of events which is changing the character of the national party organizations will have little effect in weakening the hold of local machines. The Mayor Hagues can still resist the tide of events.

'Split' Your Ticket

In addition to working for the extension of the Hatch Act and merit system laws I have three suggestions which, I believe, would help improve local and state government.

The boss of every political machine loves the people who pride themselves on their party "regularity" and who always vote a straight ticket. This permits the machines to load the ticket with all kinds of political hacks and stooges, and too often to assure their election. It is only when voters jump the fence, fail to vote a straight ticket, that it becomes important for the machine to put up better men—the kind the machine is less able to control.

When a person tells me that he always votes for the same party I feel genuinely sorry for him. This statement reveals the same lack of political sagacity as that of the man who once said that all his life he had voted for the best man, but he had

never yet found an instance when the best man was not a Republican. It reveals the same narrow prejudice as that of the man in Texas, who told one of our interviewers that he had voted for a Republican only once in his life: that was when he was serving on a jury and he voted to hang the defendant—a Republican.

My first suggestion then is to make a habit of splitting your ticket. And never pride yourself on your party regularity. More often than not it is a sign that you have never really thought about the problems of government.

I've often thought of the great harm that is done the efficient management of local communities throughout the nation by the mere accident of having the same names for local political parties that we have for our national parties.

Let's Have Local Parties

The Republican party of Blawenburg, New Jersey, has about as much in common with the national Republican party as the Swaraj party of India. And what remote connection there is works inevitably to the harm of good government in the local community. Many otherwise intelligent citizens have voted out of office a hard working, efficient local office holder merely to show their disgust at what is going on in Washington. This reveals a sadistic impulse that isn't good for the political well-being of the nation.

How can we possibly hope to cope with this problem unless we take steps whenever and wherever possible to change the name of local political parties from Republican and Demo-

cratic to such names as Independent, Fusion, City Manager, and the like? Only in this way can we make voters concentrate on the problems at hand and get out of their minds that when they vote for a candidate for local office they are helping or hurting the national administration in Washington. This is my second suggestion.

My third suggestion, I believe, would also contribute to the efficiency of state and local government. It is a demonstrable fact that, if state and national elections were held in years, or at times, which did not coincide with elections for national office, people would vote more thoughtfully on local and state candidates.

To be specific: polls taken in a number of states during the last presidential campaign showed wide variance between the public's choice of the state party as opposed to the national party. In some instances had state elections been held a week before the national election, the state would have been carried by the party which lost the election on the regular election day.

There are always a few people in every hundred, and that is often all it takes, who are either so lazy or so blinded by the spotlight which plays upon national politics as to let their feelings about presidential candidates influence their choices all the way down the line. This is not always true, of course, and there are many heartening instances when a state has voted for the candidate of one party for president, and the candidate of the opposing party for governor. But all too often does the fate of the local and state ticket depend upon the national ticket.

I should like to suggest what seems to me to be a practical procedure.

First of all we must call upon the best equipped men in every community in America to devote their time to the study and solution of our community problems. And, second, we must take far greater advantage of the experiments which are going on throughout the land—in a thousand different communities—to solve these same problems.

As indicated earlier, at least two out of every three of the outstanding persons in every community in America are willing to devote time each week without pay to the solution of local problems. Our task, then, is to devise ways to put these public-spirited people to work in the public interest.

Eliminate Partisanship

If we are to accomplish this end, we must begin to look at local problems, and national ones for that matter, in a completely nonpartisan way. We cannot ask people who want to lend their services to the city or nation, "What are your politics?" The time has come when there should be general recognition of the fact that the health and welfare of our people are matters with which every good citizen is properly concerned. For this reason these matters should be completely divorced from politics. This same point of view should prevail in national affairs as well as in local affairs.

We have just come through the greatest depression in the history of this country.

What did we do to solve it? So far as I know, the government of the

United States made no serious effort to call upon those people best fitted by training and experience to solve this all-important problem. Why? Because of the fear of political repercussions. Because of the fear that these people might possibly bring in a solution at variance with the views of the administration.

We can all thank God that this same narrow, partisan view does not obtain in the matter of defense. Although professional Republicans and Democrats railed at the selection of Knox and Stimson, and professional New Dealers criticized the selection of Knudsen, the country itself applauded.

In putting to work the best minds of America on the problems of today and the problems of tomorrow we simply can't let the first test be: "What are your politics?"

Nor can we ask the outstanding people of America to devote their time and energies to any except the most important problems. They must be put to work at important jobs: what to do about unemployment, relief, crime, taxation, housing, labor relations, public health, and the whole question of efficiency in local government.

In many cities throughout the country one will find citizens' groups at work today on the special problems of these communities. This movement must be encouraged and raised to the highest level of public esteem. Specifically:

1. We must see that this movement expands to every community in America where any of these major problems exist.

2. We must give these citizens' groups quasi-official standing.

3. We must see to it that serving on such committees is one of the highest honors in the community.

4. We must see to it that the findings of these groups are fully reported and brought to the attention of everyone in the community.

5. We must see to it that clerical, reporting, and other minor costs are borne out of taxation; or perhaps I should say out of the savings in taxes.

6. We must see to it that these groups are given the fullest possible coöperation from local and state officeholders, and that, in those cities where opposition is encountered, the citizens take matters into their own hands as they have in so many cities with such good and lasting results.

7. We must see to it that some measure of national recognition be given the individuals and groups who make the greatest contribution. We must establish our own Nobel awards for constructive citizenship.

Publicize Local Experiments

In addition to calling on our best equipped citizens, we can improve the quality of government in America by taking full advantage of the hundreds of experiments which are going on in every state. Nowhere in the world is there such a marvelous opportunity to profit by experiments and experience as right here in the United States. Our thousands of local communities have their problems of relief, unemployment, housing, public health, and labor relations which are, in smaller measure, almost exact counterparts of the problems which the nation itself faces.

We have never learned to appreciate the value of these local experiments. The government in Washington has so completely and thoroughly dominated our thinking in recent years that we have been schooled to look there for a solution of all our ills rather than to profit by the experience of local governments which have handled these same problems with various degrees of success.

But it is not enough to experiment. It is equally important to make these experiments known. And as yet we have not developed fully or adequately the machinery for distributing information about these successful experiments in local government.

We have only to look at other fields to realize the inadequacy of our present machinery. If a doctor or a hospital in Maine finds a successful way to treat a disease, it is only a matter of a few days or weeks until doctors in California know about it. But let a local community in Maine, California, Florida, or any other state find a successful way of handling relief, unemployment, crime, local finances, or any other major problem and it may be years before the cities in the next state have heard about it.

For example: A distinguished fellow citizen of mine in Princeton, New Jersey, Mr. Gerard B. Lambert, has devoted a large part of his time in recent years to the problems of finding how to provide the best housing for low income families. In the course of this search he has discovered a way by which housing projects can be financed successfully by private capital—not government funds—for as little as \$6.25 per room per month, while it is generally con-

ceded that private capital has not been able to build to rent for less than ten dollars per room per month.

Think what this means to the family which can't afford to pay over thirty dollars a month for rent; but who can have, through the operation of this plan, a home which would probably rent today for nearly fifty dollars! Think what this means to taxpayers who would like to see low income families have the best housing, but who dislike the idea of government subsidies!

The plan is not in the blueprint stage; it has actually been in successful operation for three years in Princeton, New Jersey.

But how many people interested in housing anywhere in the country are familiar with this plan? My guess is very few. This is but one of hundreds of successful experiments.

We must develop our machinery for distributing information; we must devise ways by which these successful experiments can be known throughout the country.

In this job of distributing ideas, I wish to give full recognition to this organization, the National Municipal League. For fifty years it has carried on a job which probably should have been carried on all during this period by a full-fledged United States Department of Municipal Affairs.

Almost every important advancement in municipal government during these fifty years has been sponsored by this organization, and the taxpayers have probably benefited a

thousandfold for every dollar which has been given to this organization by private individuals, to carry on its work of research and enlightenment. When one realizes that in normal times local and state governments collect from the citizens in taxes nearly twice as much money as the national government, some conception of the importance of the job to be done can be realized.

Greater Effort Needed

But successful as it has been, the task is one which must be expanded manyfold. Either private citizens must support this work on a far greater scale, or the government itself must become far more active in distributing the information which comes from the hundreds of experiments going on at all times in the country, in the handling of these vital local problems.

I have little patience with my fellow-Americans who express doubt about the future of democracy in this country. I fully realize our weaknesses, our halting and halfway measures to cope with the problems which have burdened us for the last decade. I know that after this war problems of unemployment, of reconstruction, and of world peace will impose new and greater burdens. But still I refuse to be the least bit discouraged because I know that in dealing with such problems we have never yet brought to bear our greatest force—our greatest untapped resource—the brains of our people.

Home Towns Organize for Defense

"Only realistic planning will secure public enthusiasm behind it and develop the kind of contribution to defense that is not yet coming from our municipalities as a whole."

By CHARLES P. TAFT

Assistant Director, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services

THE MOST important job facing our municipal governments today is community organization for defense. Civilian protection, such as air raid precautions and evacuation, is about one tenth of that job. Volunteer service bureaus are an essential element in community organization, but they are service bureaus, not operating agencies. They presuppose intelligent and integrated programs of professionals in industrial production, waste elimination, labor supply training, nutrition, health, welfare, recreation, and morale building. No pattern has been given to cities for such community organization and very few cities of the thousands with defense councils have worked it out for themselves.

The plain fact is that in most of our big towns the progress in organizing these necessary home front defenses has been slow—too slow. Communities were eager to secure defense industries. They saw these activities as a welcome spur to local business. This is all right, provided the community also recognizes the human responsibilities which such expansion brings with it.

One can't toss this responsibility off by saying that defense workers get good wages and can pay their own way. There are things and services which defense workers, like all other citizens, need and have a right to—

and for which they can't pay, even if they have the money. They can't buy public health protection if the community does not have adequate organization and facilities to serve its own public health interests. They can't buy hospital care and home nursing if the community does not have enough hospital beds and experienced nurses to go round. They can't buy outdoor recreation in parks and playgrounds, or participation in athletics and in worthwhile hobbies, if the means are lacking. They can't even buy commercial recreation, like going to the movies, if the town hasn't kept up with the mushroom growth resulting from defense.

When it comes to family security, the evidence is piling up that we have grave gaps in the community protections upon which all of us must rely. Communities are not taking into account the increases in marriages—or the increases in the number of illegitimate children. They are not providing the kind of positive social protection which safeguards soldiers, industrial workers, and other men and women, not only against venereal disease, but against the lax and vicious conditions which permit this plague to get a hold upon the community.

Other hazards to family security lie in the fact that mothers—and even children—are being employed in

industry; that housing is totally inadequate and many families are being compelled to double up in a way that threatens both health and wholesome social and family relationships; and finally, that the rehabilitation of the handicapped and the relief of the unemployable are being submerged beneath more clamorous, but not necessarily more urgent, problems.

It Can Be Done

These are complex problems—one denies that. But they *can* be met. Communities *can* work out an effective and coördinated attack upon them. The best pattern is probably that developed by the Safety Committee of Massachusetts. This pattern calls for four major divisions in both state and local defense organization.

The first is industrial production, which involves, primarily, in these days, the army and navy ordnance officers and OPM. Priorities and subcontracts may make or break a community, and labor supply and defense training are of the essence of the defense effort.

For all cities, but especially those on the coasts, plans for civilian protection are essential too. That is the second division of activity in community organization and should be led by the principal public officials of the area, closest to police, fire, and public works divisions.

The third essential of a community defense program lies at the heart of industrial and civilian morale. It includes the housing of workers, and all the health and welfare services. Not only the families of soldiers, but those of defense workers, need the protection of sound public health

measures, of adequate play space and recreation opportunities, of schooling and cultural activities for themselves and their children, and welfare services when the town is hit by priorities unemployment, transient difficulties, or similar situations.

You can't call these frills. I suppose protection of water supply was a frill until polluted wells were tied up to the colon bacillus and typhoid. Recreation and play space are a frill until Pop, on the night shift, can't sleep because the kids have to play in the street under his window.

Yes, defense workers are many of them well paid. But many are not, and the pay does those who have it little good if there is nothing in the decent entertainment line to buy for any money. It takes community stimulus to get the facilities built which may well be self-supporting when they are available.

The fourth division of community organization is the service bureaus—volunteer services first, and public relations second.

Executive Council

That includes then, four or five major committees under division one, industrial production; two or three under civilian protection; seven or more under the health and welfare services; and two under the service bureaus. From that group of chairmen of committees should come the executive committee of the defense council.

With such a flexible form of organization and a good live wire coördinator or executive secretary for the industrial and business functions, and

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Cities to the Fore in Wartime England

"The London County Council has now become the guardian, the adviser, the nurse, the helper, of enormous sections of the population of London which hitherto had nothing to do with the Council."

By A. EMIL DAVIES

Former Chairman, London County Council

MANY Americans are discussing means and methods of civilian defense. Until now I doubt that, in their heart of hearts, they ever believed they might actually have to tackle anything like what we have had in London.

I am not so remote from actualities as to believe you are going to suffer anything vaguely like London where a German plane can get over in about half an hour. It is quite within the realm of probability, however, that you will have nuisance attacks from France. The chances of survival of an enemy plane coming to New York and returning are slight and the aviator would be running a tremendous risk.

Judging by our experience, however, a man can fly over, drop his bombs, then for another two or three minutes fly to an open space, bail out, and become a prisoner of war. True, he sacrifices his plane, but it is well worth nuisance value, and if I were Hitler I would be prepared to sacrifice one or two planes every day or every week for such a purpose. Until you are used to it, one plane can cause as much damage as a hundred, dislocating industry and services to the same extent that a hundred would. So I don't put it past the

Germans to indulge in one or two nuisance raids on New York. I hope you will be prepared for it.

War makes the population of the city and the government—that is, the federal government, since we Britishers do not have the complication of state government—aware of the importance of city administration. No federal government has the additional staff available to take care of the citizens in the new jobs that arise. It simply has to use the existing municipal administration which in turn has to expand enormously.

Our fire department, which consisted originally of three thousand men, had to be expanded to thirty thousand. Our ambulance service of four hundred men had to be expanded to ten thousand men and women. We had to start new services such as a demolition service and a rescue service to put up scaffolding quickly, go into buildings that were falling down and brace them up in order to rescue people who were still alive, and even help the wardens to get out bombs.

Since nine months elapsed during which these people trained and nothing happened in London, the public became a little bit skeptical and made jokes at their expense. Of course, since you can't drill fourteen

hours a day, it was a job to keep them occupied. This gave rise to remarks about their proper efficiency in billiards and other like undertakings. But, when the blitz arrived, these men and women proved to be in the first line. It was they who were killed and not our soldiers. Many still lose their lives because it is a hazardous job.

Evacuation

Ninety per cent of the work cast upon municipal administrations is based upon the assumption that cities are going to be attacked, that the townspeople are going to suffer. Therefore, about 80 per cent of our work—preparation and execution—was ultimately connected with evacuation, which is a tremendous job.

The first thing we did was to send 400,000 of our children of school age into different districts of the country. That meant work not only for our municipality but for the receiving municipalities.

We divided the country into three classifications: an evacuation area such as New York would be, neutral areas which neither evacuated nor received children (we have now abolished them since there are no neutral areas in modern war), and reception areas in which it is considered safe to disperse the child population. On the whole, the evacuation of school children has been a success, an illustration of how war brings out the best as well as the worst in humanity.

Mindful of our citizens of the future, we gave our first thought to the school children and expectant mothers. Placed either in properly organized maternity homes or in a large number of country houses which

the reception municipalities commandeered, and receiving good fresh milk and food in pleasant surroundings, these women and their children have benefited very largely.

We found it desirable also to take the old people out because of a housing shortage due to bombings. This has taught us, incidentally, to do away with institutions for old people. They are much happier in large country houses with about fifty of them on the same premises.

One section of the community did not respond to our evacuation efforts. This was the group of young married women. Before we thought of using women for the factories and the army, we decided to evacuate from London all persons not working or not essential. Some thousands of housewives left but most returned pretty soon—and their neighbors refused to go. We were puzzled. At last we found the solution in the words of one woman who said, "Well you see, sir, I could trust another woman to look after my children but I couldn't trust another woman to look after my husband, and I ain't damn well going to give her the chance." So that part of the evacuation has been abandoned.

Evacuation gives rise to the new municipal position of billeting officers in reception areas. This is an unenviable but necessary job which requires the granting of considerable powers and the establishment of tribunals to settle difficult cases.

Air Raid Preparations

There are many preparations to make to cope with the possibility of an air raid on a city. In the first place, an alarm and blackout system

is, of course, vitally necessary. Then, there are rest centers for the thousands of people who are rendered homeless, not to mention the need for air raid shelters for people whose homes are intact. The original intention was to provide them with warm food and accommodations for a few hours until they could be billeted.

We were prepared for thousands of people being killed in every raid and a certain amount of property being destroyed. What has happened is that many fewer people have been killed than the numbers for which we planned. Fortunately, we have had to use no more than 10 per cent of the thousands of hospital and burial accommodations we had secretly prepared, but we have had more than five times as much property destruction as we anticipated.

We did not foresee the complications caused by unexploded bombs. The bomb falls but doesn't go off. It may be a dud, it may never explode, it may explode in ten minutes, an hour, a week later, or even longer than that. The police and the wardens rush up to every house in the vicinity of an unexploded bomb, drag the people out at once, warn them to go to a place of safety because such a bomb may wreck houses half a mile away. Thousands of people must be accommodated for an indefinite period. The street is barricaded and a notice "Unexploded Bomb" put up. A policeman regent prevents people from going back into their apartments.

People who have to rush hurriedly out of their houses are likely to forget two things—their artificial teeth

and their spectacles. One of the unexpected jobs put upon the municipality, therefore, is to help those poor people to be able to eat and above all to be able to see. We now have our own municipal factory for making dentures—just one instance to show that when war comes all sorts of unexpected things occur for which it is impossible to provide until they actually happen.

When thousands of people go to rest centers, they are miserable, unhappy; you must keep them occupied at once. You must have the rest center cheerful with flowers, a radio, and music. We have actually organized parties to go and visit them and bring toys for the children.

If you want to cheer up those people, above all do have a desk there marked "Information." They want to know all sorts of things. A working man in his pajamas who has got to start work tomorrow morning at the docks wants to know "Where can I get some clothes?" Somebody else says, "I can live with my mother or my sister-in-law, but we must have certain things. Can you move those things from my house although there is an unexploded bomb there?" Or somebody else hasn't got a dollar, and you must have means to advance money just to buy some necessities such as clothes for children.

Still another problem arose from delayed action bombs. We reckoned we would have to feed a certain number of people whose houses were destroyed until such time as we could get them other accommodations. A bombing on a city may destroy the utilities for quite a large area. No water, no gas, no electricity may

mean that thousands of houses which are not in the least damaged have no cooking facilities. So the London County Council organized feeding centers which were so successful that the food controller asked every municipality in the country to establish them. Charged merely at cost, householders came and carried away food in basins so they could have hot meals at home.

There emerged another need due to the fact that thousands of men whose wives had gone away with the children were not able to go either to their homes for their usual dinners, or to the eating houses which they used to frequent because they were destroyed. We therefore altered these feeding centers, which were placed in schools and homes, by installing seating accommodations. Fifty per cent of the meals are now served to people who eat on the spot. It is generally agreed that communal feeding is one of the good things developed in this war, and it will be retained afterward because its scientific efficiency will be necessary in an impoverished post-war Britain. Ultimately these establishments will become self-supporting.

Since there is not time in a war emergency to call a meeting, we have an overriding action which enables the minister of the government to override all existing laws. This device is called "Order in Council." On the plea of national emergency, this measure has been used on various occasions. It is a highly advisable procedure.

The English government does not have staff enough to carry out all the duties now imposed, so city inspectors were requisitioned to investigate cases

of wasted food. The government also required our inspectors to discover contravention of price control orders and to examine the top floors of buildings for combustible material as a precaution against the tens of thousands of incendiary bombs which up to now have caused most damage. We also had to use our inspectors to enforce the ten o'clock curfew law for aliens which excludes them from prohibited areas and denies them the right to possess motor cars, bicycles, or motorcycles.

House Repair

There are many other duties thrust upon the municipality. In addition to ordinary services, as well as those previously mentioned—the meals, evacuation, rehousing, and billeting—the municipality must repair damage to houses if possible with speedy, temporary repairs because of pressing housing needs. The municipality removes furniture from bombed homes for the many people who are willing to move to the country, and advances some money or pays for the moving entirely.

The city also finds it necessary to provide storage facilities for salvaged goods consisting largely of articles of sentimental value. It labels them and enables the people sooner or later to regain their possessions. After each raid the city hall has to keep an index of many thousand changes of address both of private individuals and business concerns.

We have always had a good opinion of our staff, but especially so in this emergency, when we have had to expand it enormously. Most people like the chance of being able to do

things on their own initiative. Regardless of rules and regulations, you will find employees must cut through red tape to do their jobs efficiently. Our employees were given unlimited responsibility, but they used their discretion and rose to the occasion admirably. Further, since one million and a half of our people have been evacuated, we have had to send out 15,000 officials, teachers, school inspectors, social workers, doctors, to follow and become the advisers and counsellors of the population.

We found another pleasing thing. Like you in this country, we have both public ownership and private enterprise, especially in the utilities. They compete and have not always loved one another. The bomb that falls does not discriminate between the publicly-owned water main and the one privately owned. So, under the direction of the city engineer, we have pooled the operative staffs of all public utilities and he directs them as a general directs an army regardless of whether they belong to a corporation or to the municipality. When a bomb raid destroys water and gas mains for a great area, we telegraph other cities and they send plumbers.

In wartime you can no longer stick to your city or even your state. You have to mobilize all your forces and pool resources.

Air raids have brought a basic change the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. In the past the public regarded the city administration as a necessary evil. It is a maker of laws, it has inspectors, it is interfering, and it collects taxes—never a popular service. Because of present conditions, however, the London County Council has now become the guardian, the adviser, the nurse, the helper, of enormous sections of the population of London which hitherto had nothing to do with the Council. A tremendous section of the London population is now regarding the London County Council with affection, realizing that it is a helper and that it has become human.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is included in the convention issue of the REVIEW since Mr. Davies was scheduled to address the National Municipal League's Conference on Government at St. Louis along similar lines, but because of war conditions was unable to reach this country in time. It is based on an informal talk given by Mr. Davies before the Arkwright Club of New York City on December 8, 1941.

Contributors in Review

AS CHAIRMAN of the London County Council during the worst of the London air raids, **A. Emil Davies** (*Cities to the Fore in Wartime England*) led in the development of methods and services to cope with the almost daily disasters which overtook the civilian population. Member of the Council since 1919, Mr. Davies has also written and lectured extensively, chiefly on transportation problems. He came to the United States in late November at the invitation of the National Municipal League and others for a short speaking tour.

FREQUENTLY drafted as the man of the hour, **C. A. Dykstra** (*Call to Action*) participated in the National Municipal League's forty-seventh National Conference on Government as immediate past president, substituting for President Winant. Successful teacher and administrator, Mr. Dykstra gained wide fame as city manager of Cincinnati during the disastrous flood of some years ago. Since the beginning of the nation's defense program, he has twice been called to Washington from the president's chair of the University of Wisconsin—first as director of the selective service and again to become chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board.

BEFORE there was such unity of thought as there is today, the country depended pretty largely on **Dr. George H. Gallup** (*Drafting the Nation's Brain Power*) to learn what it was thinking. Founder and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and of the British Institute of Public Opinion, Dr. Gallup is a member of the League's Council and its executive and steering committees.

LAWYER and civic leader who has contributed years of service and inspiration to his own community in its fight for good government, **Charles P. Taft** (*Home Towns Organize for Defense*) has long been identified with the National Municipal League and is well known to readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. In addition to serving now in Washington as assistant coördinator of all health, nutrition, and recreation activities affecting the conduct of the war, he retains membership in the Cincinnati City Council.

PRESIDENT of the National Municipal League, **John G. Winant** (*Hope of Millions Rests with U. S.*) took time from his important duties as Ambassador to Britain to address the League's national conference at St. Louis by radio. A man who has devoted his life to unselfish public service, he needs no introduction to the people of this or any other country, and his longtime prominence in the counsels of the League make him familiar to REVIEW readers.

On the Local Front

An urgent appeal to the states for cooperation in the war efforts; setup for defense health and welfare services; communities mobilizing their recreational facilities for soldiers and sailors.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

STRESSING the wartime importance of community health and welfare services, Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt wrote to the governors of the 48 states on December 8, immediately following the declaration of war. Administrator McNutt's letter follows:

"As Director of Defense Health and Welfare Services, I urge you to make immediate preparations to care for those civilians whose well-being may be jeopardized by enemy action.

"The prevention and relief of suffering growing out of wartime disaster is a function of government. Regular state agencies operating health, welfare, and educational programs have already been making plans for necessary defense expansion in collaboration with state defense councils, the Office of Civilian Defense, and this Office. Federal agencies are agreed that the needs growing out of war should be met through extension of peacetime services, rather than through the establishment of new agencies and new facilities.

"In each municipality and county in your state public authorities are already operating peacetime health, welfare, and educational programs which properly form the nucleus of wartime activities. Many communities, possibly the communities in your state, should not only plan for the extension of their present services but should also prepare to provide whatever additional services may

be necessary in case of attack or sabotage from without or within.

"The wartime social services that should now be developed include those for the care of persons who may be rendered homeless or needy through belligerent action. Provisions must be made for the shelter and feeding of such people, possibly in large numbers. Those communities which are already operating municipal lodging houses and municipal restaurants should plan to expand those facilities as necessary. Communities with home registration bureaus should consider what additional facilities may be necessary in case large numbers of people become homeless. Communities where there is as yet no framework for emergency housing and food distribution should establish a basis for such action as may be needed.

"Persons rendered homeless may need immediate cash assistance to permit them to purchase necessary food, clothing, and equipment so that they may continue as nearly as possible in their regular pursuits. People whose work relationships are disrupted, and families of wage earners who are injured, are also likely to need cash aid. Many states and localities do not have an adequate system of cash assistance; federal aid is not available without statutory enactment. Pending necessary legislative action, however, I trust you will ask the appropriate state and local officials to canvass the situation

against the time of such need.

"The United States Public Health Service is in contact with health authorities and is prepared to advise them on the supplementation of regular peacetime services. The Office of Civilian Defense is also working with state and local health departments to establish such health services as may be necessary in wartime.

"State and local authorities will find well organized voluntary services already available to them in most communities; individual volunteers will also be available in every community to help the constituted public agencies carry out emergency responsibilities. Such volunteer services should have a place in your public planning.

"I know that you and the agencies under you—and all appropriate municipal and county authorities associated with you—appreciate your own basic obligation to provide wartime services as a part of our concerted national effort. There is imperative need for immediate, detailed planning and organizing on the part of duly constituted government authorities; I stress this necessity with all the urgency at my command. At the same time I would point out that every effort should be made to prevent misguided zeal or hysterical activity. The emergency planning and organization which I now urge you to mature will be the most effective safeguard of community defense for your people and your state."

Nationwide Framework of Community Defense

The Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services represents the federal government's concern, as part of the national defense, in six major fields of community service—nutrition, education, recreation, public health, family security and child care, and social protection against conditions leading to

prostitution and the spread of venereal disease. Of Administrator McNutt's two assistant directors, M. L. Wilson is responsible for the national nutrition program, and Charles P. Taft supervises activities in the other fields covered by this Office.

In organizing and maintaining a national framework of action, the Office works along two main lines—coördination of federal activities in these fields, and coöperation with the states and through them with their local communities. Through its twelve regional offices it keeps in close touch with state and local agencies, including state and local defense councils, and stands ready to give them all possible assistance.

The intensive community activities, now developing on a wartime basis in many parts of the country, represent a stepping-up of the programs developed through federal, state, and local co-operation during the past year.

Community Hospitality for Men in Uniform

"Now that the nation is at war," says Mark McCloskey, director of the Recreation Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, "people need more, rather than less, opportunity for relaxation and recreation. Letting all work and no play make Jack a dull boy is short-sighted any time, and inexcusable now. This applies particularly to the men in our armed forces. They are up against the hardest job of their lives. One way for civilians to help in that job is to see that their town offers soldiers and sailors the friendly open-door hospitality they want and need."

By and large, the nation is doing an increasingly good job of community recreation, according to Mr. McCloskey. Service men's centers, which the federal government is providing in defense areas, will soon be going full swing. Of

the 240-odd buildings under construction this fall, about half were finished by the end of the year and nearly all the remainder are scheduled for completion in January. In some cases the community itself is operating these service men's clubs; in hard pressed towns where this is impossible, the United Service Organizations operate the federal buildings under an agreement with the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

Meantime towns and cities have gone ahead with this job of community recreation. As the holidays approached, Christmas trees, decorated not only with the traditional tinsel but also with packages of candy, cigarettes, and other modest luxuries, appeared in service men's clubs in the camp towns scattered from coast to coast. It is too soon to tell the whole story of holiday hospitality to men in uniform; but with Christmas leave curtailed, it was doubly important—and the towns responded.

This was not a sudden and passing accent of Christmas sentiment. Entertaining the soldiers is a regular activity by now, with months of experience behind it. The following are typical of the wide variety of activities being carried on all over the country:

King City, California: This town is a fine example of local community interest and coöperation. The federal government has a Service Club here, but sidewalks were needed in front of it. The town provided the concrete and members of the local union laid the sidewalks for the building. A fine outdoor Christmas tree was donated by an individual and transplanted by the people of the town under the supervision of a local landscape artist. A farmer brought his farm equipment in and rough-graded the ground. The town plans a community day to landscape the shrubbery, donated by the Southern Pacific Railroad. The high school band will provide music for the dedication.

Jeffersonville, Indiana: On the night of the community Christmas party, every light in the business district was blacked out for a few moments. At 7.30 the street lights, the illuminated Christmas decorations, and the displays of business buildings were turned on simultaneously. An American Legion parade was then turning into the main street and immediately after it passed, Santa Claus took command. The center of interest was a traditional Christmas crèche which was visited by some six thousand people—a third of the town's population—before midnight. On the night of the party, and throughout the week, there was carol singing led by various civic clubs. A public address system was connected to a church organ and volunteer organists supplied continuous music.

Wichita Falls, Texas: The music committee of the Recreation Council staged a musical extravaganza in the city auditorium on December 19. On Christmas day, under the sponsorship of the Chamber of Commerce, open house with entertainment, music, and refreshments was held at the USO Club, the Boys' Club, and two of the city's hotels.

New York City: The New York City Defense Recreation Committee gave a Christmas party and dance at the 71st Regiment Armory on December 27. The guests included five thousand service men and three thousand young women to serve as hostesses and dance partners. Local 802 of the Musicians' Union supplied several name bands who played for the dancing from eight o'clock until one. Various public organizations and community groups provided refreshments, decorations, and gifts for every man. Through the interest of Samuel Goldwyn, well known stage and screen stars attended the party and put on a special entertainment.

A few weeks earlier The Associated Musicians of Greater New York, Local 802, and eleven coöperating unions, gave

a similar dance, under the sponsorship of the New York City Defense Recreation Committee. The cooperating unions furnished, among other things, 1,250 pounds of assorted cold cuts, 300 pounds of assorted cheeses, 1,400 loaves of bread, 17,000 bottles of assorted soft drinks, and 5,000 assorted pastries. One hundred waiters and one hundred countermen volunteered their services to dispense this mountainous pile of food and drinks.

Chester, Pennsylvania: Since the declaration of war and the movement of two thousand colored troops into the city of Chester, a school building has been thrown open for the use of colored service men, which meets the need admirably. A committee has been organized in the colored section of the city and a hostess has been employed. Games and recreational equipment are being collected around the county. This center, which includes a much needed gymnasium, is the result of the efforts of the Recreation Committee of the Defense Council and private agencies. The Federal Security Agency representative reports: "... the project is going to serve not only its primary purpose, but will also demonstrate what a community can do for recreation with existing facilities and at very little cost."

Wilmington, North Carolina: Although the town of Wilmington has a full-time program of hospitality for the men from Camp Davis and Camp Gibbons, they were called upon to expand their activities to include approximately two thousand men passing through on maneuvers. Five open dances were held. Showers were available in eight different centers. This extended hospitality had just gotten under way when the Naval Training Ship, *Empire State*, dropped anchor off Wilmington, and two

hundred sailors were added to the community. By that time the Defense Recreation Committee decided that a few hundred more or less made very little difference. Everyone had a fine time.

During the maneuvers motion picture houses in North and South Carolina were open on Sundays for the first time in the "memory of man"—at reduced prices, not during church hours, and as an emergency measure which they expect to terminate with the close of maneuvers.

Fort Custer, Michigan: When a hurry call for a poster painter to publicize a dance drew a hundred applicants among the service men at Fort Custer, Michigan, the result was the organization of an art project for leisure time. A WPA arts and crafts instructor was put in charge and the fort held an art show. Eighteen of the men were professional artists in civilian life. During the army maneuvers in Tennessee twenty of these men took field paint boxes and sketched the troops in action. They brought back a sheaf of true-to-life pictures of America's 1941 army.

Jacksonville, Florida: A Negro center has been established on the grounds of an old Negro schoolhouse. Here a group of 70 colored volunteers furnish entertainment for the soldiers. In addition to providing partners for dances and games, they have worked up a repertoire of plays, musical numbers, and stunts, which they perform at the center and in the service center at Camp Blanding.

Fort Huachuca, Arizona: A special train, arranged for by the local defense recreation committee, took 178 Negro soldiers from Fort Huachuca, most of them Ohio boys, to the USC-Ohio State football game in Los Angeles, California.

The Researcher's Digest: January

Purchasing in the Los Angeles area; forms of government for New Orleans; Detroit considers group representation in its council; governmental odyssey of a Michigan county.

THE last batch of governmental research reports deals with purchasing, forms of city government, group representation in council, effect of urbanization upon government. Because this may be the last peace-preoccupied collection for a long time, these homely, familiar subjects take on a wistful, almost archaic appeal. In the spirit of the antiquarian, then—what were the research bureaus thinking about way back in October and November 1941?

A monumental 186-page volume is the contribution of the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** to the subject of *Governmental Purchasing in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area*.¹ Parts I and II, based upon questionnaires and field visits, summarize purchasing practice of a majority of the agencies of local government in the Los Angeles region. Included were the county of Los Angeles, all the charter cities, a representative sampling of sixth-class municipalities, the Los Angeles City School Districts, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, and the Los Angeles County Sanitation Districts.

Among the major governmental agencies the authors found centralization of purchasing a general practice, with minor differences in the degree of centralization and in the techniques used. Inspection and testing were discovered to be the weakest links in the process. But among the twenty-four smaller cities studied, the authors had to descend to the simpler fundamentals of purchasing procedure, for almost

half the municipalities had no centralized purchasing at all, and even among the jurisdictions which had made a pretense at it, there were serious flaws in personnel, in record-keeping, in standardization of specifications, in advance budgeting of needs, and in the other essentials of proper purchasing practice. Even so, the cities with centralized purchasing had demonstrably made savings impossible to those who kept to the old methods.

Borrowing a leaf from big business, the last part of the book turns to the possibility of coördinated purchasing among all the jurisdictions in the Los Angeles area. Hence, there is a review of the most outstanding examples of coöperative procurement as background for possible future intergovernmental purchasing.

Pope Again

"For forms of government let fools . . ." Anyone with the simplest degree of literacy in the field of local government can fill in the rest of Pope's unfortunately catchy couplet. Wisely skirting this poetic *cliché*, the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research** launches into a discussion of "Reconstructing Our City Government"² with an admission that form is not everything, but that it can also mean a great deal in the efficient operation of city government. New Orleans' present setup is dismissed in a few scorching paragraphs; then the bureau expounds the respective merits of the commission, mayor-council, and council-manager forms, complete with

¹By Paul Beckett and Morris Plotkin.

²*City Problems*, No. 76.

charts. Conclusions: the bureau's first choice is a council-manager plan but, "if the time is not yet ripe for the council-manager form in New Orleans both from the standpoint of electorate interest and demand and the general political background, the city would do well to adopt a clear-cut, centralized form of mayor-council government."

Who Elects Councilmen?

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** asked itself this question and found, to its relief, who does *not* elect Detroit councilmen, that is, minority groups. *Just A Second*³ takes up the matter by going down the list of groups ordinarily charged with "swinging" local elections: major political parties, religion, veterans' organizations, fraternal organizations, school teachers, racial groups, Poles, Jews, Negroes, Labor. The composition of the last Detroit council is shown to have almost an inverse regard for the numerical strength of each group. Only women as a group, the bureau finds, would be numerically strong enough to elect whatever candidate they chose, but they have not chosen to do so. However, the bureau neglects to analyze elections in the light of the possible electoral cohesiveness of the male portion of the population. Is it not possible that many a woman candidate has gone down to defeat because the men-folks had a certain prejudice against women in the seats of the mighty?

Case History

While business has increased, grown powerful, slumped in depression, while people have increased in numbers, in sophistication, in social desires, what, at the same time, has happened to government in the area in which all these things were going on? A case history

of *Local Government in Genesee County* (Flint and its surrounding area) is one answer by the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan**.⁴ During the past couple of decades, the Bureau finds, cost of government among some 164 units of local government in the 655 square-mile area has executed some loops and a barrel roll and is now only slightly higher than in 1924. Responsible for about 80 per cent of total governmental cost throughout the period are four functions: education, public welfare, highways, and protection, but their relative importance has varied. Public welfare started low, rose to 26 per cent heights in 1938, is now higher than in 1924 but still responsible for only 13 per cent. Highways accounted for 21 per cent in 1924, only 10 per cent in 1940.

Property tax revenues have declined from three-fourths of the total in 1924 to one-half of the 1940 total. At the same time state and federal aid payments were more than three and a half times as large in 1940 as in 1930.

Chief problem in Genesee County: decentralized numerous units of local government, multitudinous elected officials, division of authority among many independent elective officers, boards, and commissions, artificial municipal boundaries.

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HOME TOWNS ORGANIZE FOR DEFENSE

(Continued from Page 19)

for the health and welfare functions, communities can meet their problems

in defense. The whole works should be officially sponsored and no competitive committees or groups should be tolerated. The community and national interests as a whole come first.

That involves the coöperation of public and private groups in each field. There may be many functions, if not most, where public operations must take the lead, but officials must remember that the committees will not secure united community effort unless their membership is about half and half officials and private individuals. Private agencies are doing no one any good, on the other hand, if they assume so much responsibility that public officials sit back and ignore their duty of leadership.

Only this kind of realistic planning will secure public enthusiasm behind it, and develop the kind of contribution to defense that is not yet coming from our municipalities as a whole. The rest of us can be proud, but at the same time we must be ashamed, that not the big, well organized cities, but the little nameless towns overwhelmed by defense activities are showing the way to national security and unity.

This program is one upon which we must stand united. All of us agree that in the present crisis our home towns must continue to be decent, wholesome, and healthy places in which to live.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address before the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 18, 1941.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Politics, War, and Constitutional Revision in New Jersey *Official Commission on Revision created by legislature*

THE movement to modernize the New Jersey constitution of 1844 has weathered an election and the declaration of war, and is still going strong.

The New Jersey Committee on Constitutional Convention, organized last February with offices at 40 Clinton Street, Newark, continues to enroll members, organize county units, and disseminate information. Courses on the state constitution in six adult schools have been completed, and there has been a steady demand for speakers. A number of debates and forums have been staged. For example, the feature on the program of the annual convention of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association in December was a debate between two former presidents of the State Bar Association, Mr. Sylvester Smith and Mr. William Evans. Mr. Smith, who spoke for the convention method of revision, is now chairman of the Bar Association's Committee for Constitutional Convention.

For the present, the center of the stage has been taken by the Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution, created by Joint Resolution No. 2, P. L. 1941, approved November 18. This resolution was the first legislative response to the fact that both major political parties in their platforms last fall declared for constitutional revision. The Democrats called

for a convention, while the Republicans, after a spectacular debate, endorsed the amendment method. As usual, the principal argument against the convention was the fear of the small counties that their equal representation in the Senate might be disturbed. Both the Democrats and the convention Republicans tried to conciliate the small county men by agreeing that members of a convention be pledged not to alter the system of representation. So far, the small county men have refused to be convinced that these political pledges offer enough protection, and they still control the Senate.

The present strategy of convention advocates is therefore to proceed with their campaign of education on the need for revision and the merits of the convention method, while awaiting the report of the official committee.

Committee Personnel

This Committee is composed as follows: Mr. Arthur Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association and recognized leader of the Essex County Clean Government Republican Organization; Senator Crawford Jamieson, Democrat, of Mercer County; Senator Robert Hendrickson of Gloucester County, 1940 Republican candidate for governor; Dr. John F. Sly, director of the Princeton Government Surveys; Common Pleas Judge Walter Van Riper of Essex County; Assemblyman Walter J. Freund, Republican, of Bergen County; and James Kerney, Jr., editor of the *Trenton Times*. Under the terms of the resolution, the first two were appointed by the Governor, the next two by Senate President Scott, the next two by Assembly Speaker McClave, while Mr. Kerney was elected by the other members. The committee elected Charles R. Erdman, Jr., state municipal aid admin-

istrator, as secretary. Dr. Erdman, who is also mayor of Princeton, is author of the pamphlet, *The New Jersey Constitution—a Barrier to Governmental Economy and Efficiency*.

At the outset the majority of the members of the committee were thought to favor the amendment method of revision; although the division is close, and might well be changed after further study.

The committee is authorized to spend \$5000 in its work, but it is seeking the volunteer technical and advisory aid of Princeton, Rutgers, and Newark Universities, as well as all other organizations and individuals willing and able to help. It seems unlikely that the committee will try to make a final report on all needed changes by February 2, the date set in the resolution.

Constitutional revision continues to be a very live issue in New Jersey. It is probably a healthy sign that the discussion is now centered on the changes that are desired, rather than on the method of effecting them. If the people of the state become thoroughly convinced that substantial changes are needed in order to fit their government to meet the burdens which war and reconstruction will impose upon it, some way can certainly be found to make them. Even the cumbersome method of amendment could be moulded into an effective instrument, if warring partisan and local interests could be brought together in a spirit of unity to meet a recognized crisis in democracy. Or, by the same token, these interests might quite suddenly agree to give the traditional democratic method of a constitutional convention another whirl.

JOHN BEBOUT

Executive Assistant to
Governor Edison

Legislative Apportionment in New Hampshire

The lower chamber of the New Hampshire General Court, as the legislature of that state is termed, will have about 444 members for its next session, whereas it formerly had 423.¹ The state thus increased its hold on the doubtful honor of possessing the largest house of representatives in the nation. The size of the new house will vary from 431 to 456 in different years, an unusual phenomenon that is also a New Hampshire distinction. A proposed constitutional amendment, if adopted by the people, will reduce the size—but only to 400 as a maximum or 375 as a minimum.

Even the federal House of Representatives has but 435 members. The seven million people of New York City find 26 councilmen sufficient. The states of Arizona, Idaho, Utah, which are comparable in population to New Hampshire have 52, 64, and 60 members in their lower chambers. Vermont, smaller than the Granite State, has 246 members in its house.

Why does New Hampshire have such a large house of representatives? The constitution, adopted in 1784, provides the basis upon which the apportionment is made. Its theory envisions the state as composed of local governmental units—towns and cities—and not artificial units or counties. Only the state is superior to these local units. Because of this philosophy each town or city is entitled to representation in the legislature. The constitution, then, provides that every town and city ward is entitled to one representative if it has a population of 600. To obtain two members 1,200 additional persons are required, 1,200 being the mean increasing number for every additional representative.

¹See also "An Old Tradition Gets Crowded," editorial, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1941, p. 560.

But this did not provide for towns with less than 600 persons. Such local units cannot be joined in order to form districts as this procedure would be contrary to the theory of town representation. An ingenious Yankee scheme resolves the problem. The constitution provides for the interesting and unique principle of part-time representation.

Part-time Representation

Whenever any town, place, or city ward shall have less than six hundred inhabitants the General Court shall authorize such town . . . to elect and send to the General Court a representative such proportionate part of the time as the number of its inhabitants shall bear to six hundred.

Under this provision a town with fewer than 120 people should receive no representation, a town with 120 to 240 persons is represented in one session out of five during the decade, a town with 240 to 360 persons is represented in two sessions, etc., 120 being the mean increasing number for each part-time representative up to 599 or a maximum part-time representation of four sessions of the five in a decade.

A reapportionment in 1941 produces a net increase of 19 in part-time representatives over the number in 1931, while the net increase in full-time members is 23.

The exemplary action of New Hampshire in undertaking prompt and accurate reapportionment could well be imitated by other states. By a clever arrangement the legislature is furnished with a persistent prodding to make the necessary reapportionment every ten years. The prodding originates with the towns under part-time representation that would go unrepresented if a new measure were not enacted at the beginning of each decade.

There are four specific criticisms that can be made of the basis of apportionment. First, the principle of representa-

tion from every town, when coupled with the small quota in use and the part-time representation principle, leads to the unwieldy nature of the house.

Second, the use of small quotas results in over- or under-representation if there are slight changes in population over a ten-year period. Not even twins would be necessary to upset the representation! There are two towns that come within one person of gaining or losing a representative.

Third, the part-time representation principle means that a small town is totally unrepresented in the house in from one to four sessions of the legislature in each decade.

Town vs. City

Fourth, the small town is favored over the larger unit by reason of the clause requiring 1,200 persons for each additional representative, when 600 is the quota for one full-time member. For example, the gentleman from Dublin represents 621 people, or the part-time member from Millsfield in the 1942 session represents 34 persons, while a delegate from Lebanon represents 1,265 constituents. As a result the rural vote is given too large a share in the legislative process.

In attempting to limit the size of the house, the quota for a full-time member has been increased in the proposed constitutional amendment from 600 to 700. This action preserves the fundamental theory of permitting each town or city to be represented. However, it leads to an increase in part-time members. If the basic concept is discarded there are a number of courses that can be followed, including proportional representation with the use of a fixed quota and election at large, or the state can be redistricted.

But there are practical obstacles to be overcome. First, the rural element is jealous of its present control. Second,

there is the alleged corruption or radicalism of the cities as compared with the sober and virtuous rural population. Third, cities which have generally made such failures of their local government should not be allowed to dominate the political affairs of the state.

The fourth obstacle is peculiar to New Hampshire and to New England. The town has been the center, the unit of all local and state government for over two centuries, and it thus has become embedded in the political sod of the state. It will not be easy to make any change that will destroy the strength of the town in the legislature.

There are things to be said in favor of the present arrangement. The New Hampshire House resembles the town meeting. It is large, it is democratic; everyone knows his representative, or has been or may be a member of the house. Seats are even passed around by rotation, although this is probably more true of the rural than the urban areas. The educative influence of a large representative body tends to be great and such a body cannot be challenged merely because of its size. But the New Hampshire theory of representation must be harmonized with modern conditions or it will defeat its purpose of securing the greatest amount of democracy in the lower house of the General Court.

RICHARD A. WARE

Detroit Bureau of Governmental
Research

Florida Tinkers with Its Constitution

Rather than rewrite the state's old constitution the Florida legislature has approved nine constitutional amendments, to be voted on by the people in November 1942, according to the *Florida Municipal News*. Aside from one amendment dealing with procedure for further amendments, few of the pro-

posals appear to be of a fundamental nature such as a constitution should be expected to embrace, thus removing them from the possibility of legislative revision with changed conditions.

Prominent among the proposals is a gasoline tax amendment, which would set up the state board of administration as a constitutional agency and would pledge two cents of the seven-cent gas tax to the payment of county road and bridge debts and for road construction for the next fifty years. This would freeze the gas tax allocation in an effort to strengthen county credit throughout the state, and to effect refunding of county road and bridge bonds on advantageous terms. It provides that surplus revenue, after bond requirements have been met, is to be spent on road construction.

The objects of the other eight amendments include:

Making the game and fresh-water fish commission a constitutional agency;

Authorizing the legislature to set up a constitutional agency to regulate salt-water fishing;

Providing for the direct election of circuit judges, now nominated in primaries and appointed by the governor;

Increasing the present thirty-eight state senatorial districts to forty;

Extending tax exemption on property held and used for religious, scientific, municipal, educational, fraternal, or charitable purposes, if used "to the extent of at least one-fourth thereof" for such purposes, instead of requiring exclusive use as at present;

Permitting garnishment of salaries of heads of families to the extent of 25 per cent, except where weekly income is less than \$25;

Setting up a procedure by which the constitution could be amended at a special election within ninety days after the legislature has approved the proposed amendment—the present method

requires at least eighteen months;

Permitting changes in county commission districts in Dade County and providing four-year terms for commissioners.

Louisiana and Texas Cities Plan Ahead for Legislation

The reorganized Louisiana Municipal Association has begun a series of regional meetings to discuss local governmental problems and a legislative program for the cities of that state, to be presented to the legislature when it meets in May 1942, according to the American Municipal Association. Six or more of such meetings will be held in January.

Realizing that long-range preparedness counts, the League of Texas Municipalities at its November convention directed its president to appoint a committee to prepare drafts of recommended bills, forming the League's legislative program for 1943, in advance of the next annual convention.

A committee on inter-American municipal relations was also authorized by the Texas League.

New York State Departments Cooperate in Training for Civilian Defense

In order to increase the effectiveness of in-service training programs, especially those concerned with preparing volunteer auxiliary personnel for civilian defense, thirteen departments of the government of New York State are coöperating through an informal council of state administrative officials, which was created by the Bureau of Public Service Training of the State Education Department. The council fosters the interchange of information and voluntary coördination of effort among the departmental administrative officials.

State departments at present are

concerned chiefly with training problems associated with the rapid expansion of their activities in which the voluntary assistance of civilians will be required during national defense emergencies. Among these are preparations for rendering mutual aid among communities in such fields as water supply, sanitation, fire defense, housing and hospitalization of injured or evacuated civilians in state institutions, transportation and similar problems arising either from extraordinary expansion of communities due to defense production or army cantonments, or from sabotage or actual warfare.

An intensive survey was undertaken in December by the State Education Department's Bureau of Public Service Training to discover the areas in each state department where training of personnel for teaching others would be most effective. The administrative officials, after hearing a progress report of this survey, agreed that it should be used as a basis for suggesting definite teacher-training programs applicable to the personnel of their various state departments.

An example of such effective "training to train" programs of government personnel is the current program the State Education Department is carrying on in the field of fire defense. In New York City the Bureau of Public Service Training is giving instruction in practical teaching methods to its Fire Department's 1,700 officers so that they will become more competent instructors of the thousands of auxiliary fire forces who have volunteered their services for civilian defense. This program was recently undertaken at the request of Fire Commissioner Patrick Walsh and Assistant Chief John J. McCarthy, in charge of the Fire Department's defense activities. Last June, at the request of Governor Herbert H. Lehman, as chairman of the State Council of

Defense, and the State Fire Defense Committee, the Bureau inaugurated a program of systematic instruction of the state's 200,000 members of volunteer fire departments in a series of county fire defense schools. This training program has also attracted members of industrial and municipal paid fire departments and has received enthusiastic endorsement of the State Advisory Committee of Fire Chiefs.

Included in the informal council of administrators for in-service training are the various bureaus of the following state departments: agriculture and markets, audit and control, banking, civil service, conservation, correction, education, health, insurance, labor, mental hygiene, social welfare, taxation and finance.

Mutual Aid Plan for New York State Water Service

A comprehensive statewide mutual aid plan for water service in emergencies has been approved by Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York; it is to be carried on as part of the civilian defense program through close coöperation with all local water officials and coöordinated with the work of local defense councils. It follows the specific recommendations of the special committee of water works experts which was appointed at the request of the Governor by the Mayors' Conference and State Department of Health to examine into the needs and outline a practicable and workable arrangement for coöperation and assistance between local water officials in case of emergencies.

In certain areas of the state, particularly those which support large and important national defense industries, there is an urgent need for inter-connecting adjoining public water supplies so as to maintain water service in event of failure of any one water sup-

ply. In many communities there is a need for reinforcement of distributing systems to make it possible to supply water to given points from more than one direction so that ruptured sections can be valved off for repairs without disrupting water service.

The Governor has appointed a state water supply coördinator and a zone coördinator with an assistant for each of twenty-three water service zones. The state coördinator is the assistant director of the Division of Sanitation of the State Department of Health. The zone coördinators are experienced water works officials.

Legislation is needed to carry the plan fully into effect but for the most part present laws are adequate and much of the work can go forward immediately.

Hatch Act Tested in Ohio

The Hamilton County Good Government League, of Cincinnati, Ohio, of which Murray Seasongood is president and John Benjamin, executive secretary, states that Cincinnati produced the first trial and conviction under the Hatch Act which prohibits pernicious political activities of civil service employees of the federal government or of state agencies when paid in whole or in part by federal funds. Harry J. Patterson, manager of the Cincinnati office of the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment, was found by the United States Civil Service Commission to have used his official authority and influence for the purpose of affecting the result of the November general election and to have advised employees under his supervision to contribute to a political campaign fund; and it was stated that his acts constituted attempted and actual coercion.

In an order adopted October 10, 1941, but temporarily suspended until December to permit the Attorney-Gen-

eral of Ohio, who opposed the commission's action, to take additional steps in the matter, the commission found that the Hatch Act had been violated and that the violations warranted the immediate removal of Mr. Patterson from office. Nine other employees were also accused before the commission, which was considering their cases.

The Good Government League, which had called attention to political activities in the bureau as far back as November 1940, and took an active part in bringing the matter before the federal commission, reports that the state of Ohio may dismiss Mr. Patterson, retain him and sacrifice federal funds equal to his salary for two years, or appeal to the federal district court.

Council-Manager Plan News

In **Gloucester, Massachusetts**, Mayor-elect Donald J. Ross, who won his office at the municipal election on December 2, announced the following day the formation of a committee to study city manager government with a view toward its future establishment in that city. Alfred Marchant heads the committee, which will also consider the possibilities of proportional representation.

Clifton Forge, Virginia, adopted the manager plan on December 17 by a vote of 644 to 436. The plan is to go into effect on September 1, 1942.

In the town of **West Point, Virginia**, a movement is under way for the drafting of a council-manager charter for submission to the general assembly of that state at its next term. Mayor Harris is especially interested in the plan.

The manager plan has been proposed for **Anderson, South Carolina**, and was explained and recommended in a radio talk over station WAIM on December 2 by Mrs. Richard Williams of the neighboring city of Greenwood, which

adopted the manager plan in 1939.

A charter commission has been organized in **Dearborn, Michigan**, for the purpose of revising that city's charter.

The municipal government study committee, appointed by the mayor of **St. Louis, Michigan**, to investigate various forms of local government, has recommended the manager plan. Its report was made public December 4.

In **Platteville, Wisconsin**, there is a committee of citizens interested in the manager plan.

Beatrice, Nebraska, and **Baton Rouge, Louisiana**, are among other cities showing interest in the plan.

Cooperative Traffic Law Enforcement Program Initiated

With the prospect of more than 40,000 traffic deaths in 1941, and 1,400,000 injured persons, an emergency traffic law enforcement program was set in action on November 14 at a special meeting of the board of officers of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. It has the cooperation of nine governmental associations and the provost marshal general's office of the War Department, as offered at a conference later that day. The nine collaborating groups are: United States Conference of Mayors, United States Public Roads Administration, American Bar Association, International City Managers' Association, National Association of Attorneys-General, Governors' Conference, Council of State Governments, American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, National Conference of Judicial Councils, and National Safety Council.

Specific emergency programs to put the general program into effect were approved for the police, motor vehicle administrators, governors, mayors, city managers, prosecutors, judges, courts, and attorneys-general.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Rural-Urban Council Sets Successful Pattern

***Ohio communities cooperate
in numerous public projects***

THE Rural-Urban Coördinating Council of the city of Bellevue, Ohio, and the surrounding rural trade area is the result of seven years of experience in community work. We believe it is one answer to the problem of getting urban-rural coöperation on common civic goals.

We started with the organization of the Flat Rock Public Committee in an unincorporated village, thus filling a local need common to most villages in America. Then we found that the public library and various other projects required a township organization, so the Thompson Township Council was formed.

A year later the fire protection contract showed the need of similar co-operating organizations in all the townships surrounding our trading-center city, so a council was arranged in each of these townships to be known as the Four-Township Council.¹

Ensuing contacts with city leaders in our trading center of Bellevue were "eye-openers" to us rural folks, for the city leaders accomplished their civic work so much more easily, probably because they had more confidence and enthusiasm and had the funds available for the necessary expense of handling projects.

We discovered that the best way for

us to get our public services and conveniences was to set up an organization which would represent all the rural people, to contact the business and professional people of the city who were the civic leaders. The rural people in the area were already giving their patronage to these business and professional men.

It had been found that our rural people were entirely willing for their Parent-Teacher groups, Farm Bureaus, Township Trustees, schools, churches, etc., to be represented by their presiding officers on our Township Councils because it presented opportunities for coöperation with no financial obligations. Each individual Township Council is able to handle its own local projects.

But when the rural people need something big they generally find it much easier to present it to the combined Rural-Urban Coördinating Council through their Township Council presidents because they can thus get the attention of the city's constructive forces and often the enthusiastic assistance of county, state, and national agencies.

At first our trade-area council worked with the city's Booster Club, a commercial organization, and they coöperated in a commendable public-spirited manner, but we felt the need of a closer contact with the other constructive forces of the city—the schools, churches, hospital, library, etc.

We went to the Booster Club and frankly told them our problem and explained that we preferred getting away from the commercial emphasis.

These business men were public-spirited enough to see the point and were willing to contact their other civic organizations and induce them to be included in a broader council which would operate through five general committees: government, education, re-

¹See "Four-Township Council Brings Benefits to Ohio Communities," by Mr. Hunsinger, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1938, p. 510.

ligion, economics, and social. These were natural groupings and thus were organized the Rural-Urban Coördinating Council. The committee set-up is shown on the letterhead reproduced below.

The coöperating city groups appointed their own urban-coördinator and the writer was elected to coördinate rural activities. The opportunities of these coördinators to organize the community work of both the city and country is really surprising—a job that any public-spirited man would enjoy, almost like a city manager. Our experience with the local government officials has been very gratifying. They welcome us as a “buffer” for we always include them in our meetings.

To date we have accomplished over a hundred public projects which are typical of the common needs of the average rural communities of America and now have a half dozen projects

under way, including revision of United States rural mail routes, fire protection contract, telephone service extension, vocational agriculture instruction, railroad crossing signals—all common problems throughout our country.

When the present National Defense Council was organized locally a few weeks ago, Bellevue's Mayor found our entire rural community ready for just such an emergency, whereas ordinarily the resources of the average rural community are scarcely scratched in such national campaigns. The fact that the National Defense Council is being organized to cover both the cities and their trade areas instead of using arbitrary county lines is added proof that our local plan is sound. We have actually tried it out and find that it works!

C. S. HUNSINGER

Rural-Urban Coördinating Council
Flat Rock, Ohio

THE RURAL-URBAN COORDINATING COUNCIL of The City of Bellevue and Surrounding Townships

RURAL COORDINATOR

C. S. Hunsinger, Flat Rock, O.

Rural Council

BELLEVUE COORDINATOR

H. B. Wright

City Council

LYME TWP Joseph Lawler,
Chairman. Township Officers
and County Officials

GOVERN-
MENT

MAYOR J. F. Shannon, Chair-
man. Service Director, State
Patrol, Red Cross, Hospital

THOMPSON TWP. W. C. Gar-
land, Ch. All Supts. of Schools
Presidents Boards of Education,
Library and P.T.A. Assns.

EDUCATION SUPT. OF SCHOOLS W. L. Arn-
holt, Ch. Pres. Bd. of Educa-
tion, P. T. A. Assn. Librarian

SHERMAN TWP. Rev. Taunero,
Ch. FLAT ROCK Public
Com. Rev. O. W. Matzke All
Pastors, S. S. Supts & heads of
Christian Groups

RELIGION

PRES. MINISTERIAL ASSN.
Rev. Euler, Pres. All S.S. Supts.
and heads of Christian Groups

GROTON Twp. Harlow Stahl,
Ch. Heads of all Farm Bureaus
& Co-operatives, Farm Groups
and Public Utilities

ECONOMICS

REP. BOOSTER CLUB W. M.
LaSalle, Ch. Heads of all Labor
Organizations, Industries, Pub-
lic Utilities & Newspaper

YORK Twp. H. L. Seaman, Ch.
Heads of all Granges, 4-H clubs
& social groups

SOCIAL

Y.M.C.A. SETY John Slater, Ch.
Heads of all Clubs and Lodges
& social organizations

Roundup—

In case you haven't yet decided—and many haven't—about the place of civic work in a war world, we suggest taking a look at the call to action by President Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin in this issue of the REVIEW. Mr. Dykstra, speaking to the League's annual meeting in St. Louis, reaffirmed his faith in the effort to make democracy work better at the grass roots in our cities, towns, and counties—the fundamental premise on which all of us in this field build our programs today.

We particularly like the paragraph in which he says: "This is a strategic time for action. We can have no effective democracy on a national scale if the sources of democratic action on the local front are corrupt or even just plain inefficient. It is locally that we develop the practice of popular government and produce leadership for the state and nation. If we cannot manage local affairs well there is little promise of success on a national scale. If then we are in earnest about the success of the democratic way in the nation and in the world we have a job to do right at home."

We can't escape the logic of this position today any more than we could in the days just before the United States entered the fighting war.

Always quick to adapt itself to changing conditions, the **National League of Women Voters** called a meeting of its general council in Indianapolis, January 7 and 8, to plan "methods of extending League knowledge and experience with government to a wider public in war time." We think the following statement issued by the League's executive committee presents a challenge to every civic organization in this field:

"A new direction, a new tempo, are asked of the League of Women Voters

by a country at war. This means new methods of work. The comfortable safety of being sure of the wisdom of every small detail before expressing an opinion, even our own education by exhaustive, careful study groups—these we must temporarily sacrifice. The League, to pull its oar today, must stop hoarding its experience and knowledge within its membership. It must share this experience and knowledge with the general public; it must reach not five but five hundred times as many as in the past."

If your organization hasn't drafted its program for 1942—or even if it has—you should have a look at two action programs for **Kiwanis Clubs** in 1942. One is entitled "Citizenship," the other "Public Affairs for the United States." Both are extremely attractive jobs typographically and contain suggestions which should be useful to all sorts of groups—recommendations regarding the organization of community councils, celebration of "I Am an American Day," study of the operation of local government, etc.

All too frequently citizen organizations interested in good government, without any knowledge of why the condition exists, rail against the large number of individuals who do not vote. It was to find out why so many eligible citizens fail to vote in Minneapolis that the **Minneapolis Research Bureau** of the **Minneapolis Civic Council**, with the coöperation of the Political Science Department of the University of Minnesota, undertook a survey this fall.

Poll takers selected 1,166 names from the official list of non-voters and an attempt was made to interview these persons. Actually 461 Minneapolis citizens were interviewed. The conclusions are interesting, and indicate among other things that non-voting is not always due to the individual's negligence, since the largest percentage of non-voting

was caused by disfranchisement as a result of change of residence within 30 days of election day. Another significant conclusion is the necessity for more widespread information about the absent voter's ballot, for many persons interviewed were not even aware of its existence. Other reasons for non-voting were those with which we are all too familiar and about which we do too little—the feeling that city elections are not important, and lack of information about candidates and issues.

In response to numerous requests for information about installment payment of taxes in Wisconsin, the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** has published a question and answer feature covering a number of phases of the subject in the December 1 issue of its publication. . . . Any organization which receives more than a few inquiries on a particular subject might well follow this example, on the theory that if some people are interested enough to write letters about it, many more would probably be glad to have the information.

Have you seen the promotion folder issued by the **Pennsylvania Economy League** urging the reduction of non-defense expenditures? There has been a plethora of material on this subject recently—much of it not too well written or interestingly presented—but this leaflet strikes us as particularly effective. It is attractive and very much to the point.

R. M. W.

College Students Survey a City

A survey of the city government of Rockford, Illinois, undertaken by the students of public administration at Rockford College, is now being circulated.

This is believed to be one of the few times that any college group has been entrusted with a comprehensive project

of this kind. Its work has been approved by the city and published with city funds.

Under the direction of Professor W. Hardy Wickwar, the students have prepared a readable booklet supplanting the usual annual city report confined to figures and complicated statistical tables. The project was launched for the double purpose of acquainting students with the actual operation of city government through some participation in the day-to-day routine, and subsequently, of sharing their findings with Rockford citizens.

Instead of concentrating on the events of a single year, the report endeavors to interpret today's problems in the light of the past twelve years' experience, including both boom and depression years. Graphs are used generously throughout the survey in an effort to clarify these current trends and tendencies.

The survey also offers a basis for comparison with other cities so that the Rockford citizen may be better able to evaluate the efficiency of his own city government. For example, in comparison with other cities of similar size, Rockford is markedly free from serious crime. It has an unusually good record, too, in low fire losses. Outside Chicago, there is no city in Illinois which receives a higher rating from the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

But the city also has its weak points, and the report covers these impartially, reminding citizens that "this is our city. You are invited to read this survey and form your own opinions on what needs to be done and what is the best way of doing it."

The report was written after the students had been given ample opportunity to study each city department and to confer at length with city officials who coöperated wholeheartedly in carrying out the project.

Rockford, a city of 85,000, is one of the nation's centers in the machine-tool industry and also figures in the present defense picture through the re-opening of Camp Grant.

The students who worked on the survey had the help of the fine arts department of the college in designing the cover and assistance from the mathematics department in the preparation of graphs.

LOUISE K. WILDE

Rockford College

Look Before You Leap into Housing Problems

Citizen Housing Associations, a new pamphlet reprinted from the 1941 *Housing Yearbook* of the **National Association of Housing Officials**, would be welcomed in any period. But at a time when many communities face serious housing problems as a result of the boom in defense industries, it will prove particularly valuable.

The pamphlet summarizes the organizational structure and the activities of some 27 housing associations under such headings as "classes of membership," "determination of policy," "paid staff and volunteers," "budgets and methods of financing," and finally, an especially good section on "standards for a citizens' housing association or council."

Interested citizens, anxious to do something about housing problems in their own communities, but unaware of the best way to go about it, would do well, before forming an organization or adopting a "program," to get a copy of this pamphlet (price ten cents) from the Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society,¹ and learn what has been done in other localities. And they will not be disappointed or misinformed. For the pamphlet is based

on the answers received from a questionnaire sent out by the NAHO to all unofficial housing organizations listed in the 1940 *Housing Yearbook*.

We don't guarantee that *Citizen Housing Associations* will solve all the problems of a new organization, but we do believe it will make the road ahead much clearer to those who are really concerned with doing something more than talking about housing conditions.

R. M. W.

"Stockholders Meetings" Held for Civic Donors

The complaint is often heard from contributors to citizen organizations that once a year they are asked to give their money and beyond that they hear nothing of the organization or its activities from one year's end to the next. In an effort to counteract this situation and give contributors a sense of real participation, the **Minneapolis Civic Council** sponsored this year a series of eight "stockholders' meetings."

These were all luncheon meetings, held in the outlying sections of the city as well as in the downtown district, and each contributor received an invitation to attend the meeting nearest his place of business. The sessions were brief, running from 12:15 to 1:30, and were addressed by the president of the Civic Council, who outlined its purposes and functions, and by the executive vice-president, who high-lighted the activities of the seven organizations which comprise the Council. These talks, which were illustrated by an organization chart and a chart showing the distribution of the contributor's dollar, were followed by a question period.

Those who attended the meetings declared that the plan was a great success and that they felt much more familiar with the Council's work than they had before.

R. M. W.

¹105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Government in Missouri¹

Local governments still struggling under 1875 constitutional provisions

MISSOURI county government needs revision. Decentralized organization, untrained personnel, and common sense methods of conducting public business are inadequate for a motor age with its complex economic and social problems. Several possibilities for improvement involve changes: (1) in form of organization, (2) in area, (3) in state-county relationships, and (4) in administrative methods.

The Missouri county board retains the historic and confusing name of county court. The popular election of its three members and its clerk, as well as of the circuit clerk, probate judge, and justices of the peace, is provided for in the antiquated constitution of 1875. In addition the constitution requires the election of sheriff and coroner. Statutes provide for the popular election of eight other county officers.

Many of the existing constitutional provisions were designed to prevent serious abuses that existed prior to 1875. The prohibition of special legislation on a number of subjects did remedy certain abuses, but it also created new problems, for general laws place all counties in a strait-jacket.

Missouri counties should be classified in order that the form and organization

of the government could more nearly fit the needs of individual counties. The five urban counties should be given the right to draft their own charters but an optional charter might be provided as an alternative, especially for the three less populous counties.

The remaining counties might be divided into two or more classes, with a slightly different governmental setup for each class, or there might be one general law for all rural counties, with two or more alternative organizations.

Each county should have as its policy-forming body a small elective board of commissioners. A rural county needs only three members, while an urban county may desire a board of five, seven, or even nine. As far as possible administrative officials should be appointed on a merit basis.

An urban county might have its own civil service commission, but a rural county must necessarily depend on a state commission.

The administrative structure in all counties should embody managerial ideas, providing for a chief administrative officer and appropriate subordinates, but the degree of complexity would depend on the nature of the county.

Certain judicial officials who perform essentially state services must remain largely independent of the county board and its chief administrative agent. Each county should have a county court to supplant the justices of the peace.

Too Many School Districts

Missouri has 8,750 school districts and 1,086 special districts. Since the county is today the smallest practicable unit for local road purposes, all incorporated townships and special road districts should be abolished. In 1938-1939 there were 1640 school districts with fewer than ten pupils, ac-

¹Summary of address presented at Forty-Seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, Missouri, November 19, 1941.

cording to a recent study by the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute. Eventually, Missouri should have between five hundred and one thousand school districts. Thus the number of local units could be reduced by approximately eight thousand.

The consolidation of counties should be authorized by the constitution or by statute. Provision should be made also for functional consolidation or intercounty coöperation. Missouri counties have coöperated in maintaining county agents, home demonstration agents, public nurses, and in other health activities. Counties are authorized to coöperate in establishing and maintaining district almshouses, but none of these institutions has been organized. Certain other activities might well be handled through coöperation of adjoining counties.

State Centralization

It is sometimes suggested that county government in the Ozark section might be abolished and its functions transferred to the state as has been done in Maine. The Missouri county, however, is much larger in area than the Maine town and the Ozarks are not sparsely populated. Furthermore, the abolition of any county is merely an academic possibility, for local political leaders and the citizens generally would not support such a proposal.

State centralization has been an outstanding development in Missouri during the past twenty years as demonstrated by state establishment of a highway patrol; state adoption of a system of grants-in-aid to local school districts; state supervision of county records, budgets, accounts, and reports; state assumption of two-thirds of the direct cost of maintaining indigents in state hospitals; and state development of the social security program.

The state has tapped new sources of

revenue to meet the costs of its enlarged activities, but except for education it has shared little of its increased revenues with any local function. The next logical step would be for the state to assume the entire expense of indigents in eleemosynary institutions while gradually supplanting these institutions by several state infirmaries.

The state might assume a greater share, either directly or through grants-in-aid, in such activities as public health, law enforcement, and assessment of property. It might encourage such newer functions as community auditoriums, libraries, parks, playgrounds, recreational centers, and perhaps land-use planning and rural zoning. It would hardly be good policy, however, to subsidize present governments where such aid might perpetuate existing undesirable conditions.

Finance

The legislature in 1933 took a definite step forward in laws pertaining to county financial administration, but the provisions regarding rural counties were too detailed.

The legislature should establish certain standards for county budgets and financial statements and authorize the auditor to work out the specific revenue and expenditure classifications. Before most counties will be able to balance their budgets it will be necessary to advance the general property tax date.

The accounting process could be improved by centralization of collection of all county revenues, by centralized purchasing, and by a pre-audit of reports, settlements, and claims presented to the county board. County accounts should be on an accrual basis. A monthly financial statement should be prepared for the county board and the public, and the annual financial statement should be less detailed, but it should present a complete general pic-

ture of county finances. A brief summary of tax rates, bonded indebtedness, revenues by sources, costs of departments and activities, and the net cash balance or deficit in the treasury is sufficient information for a majority of the voters.

The state auditor should make annual or biennial county audits. The financial laws should be revised to eliminate doubts as to interpretation. Assessments should be more carefully supervised. Taxes ought to be payable in installments. A tax reversion law should be enacted, so that chronically delinquent real estate would revert to public ownership. Perhaps some state agency should have supervisory authority regarding county indebtedness.

Urban and Rural Problems Differ

The foregoing suggestions embody apparently inconsistent programs. The problems of urban and rural counties are so different, however, that essentially opposite solutions appear desirable, even though it may be difficult to apply them to certain borderline counties.

The chief needs in rural counties are centralization of authority among a few administrative officers, a reduction in the number of local units, and up-to-date business methods under adequate state supervision. State supervision can be more effectively exercised through a county manager or near manager than under the present decentralized system. Since effective state supervision under the present structure might involve at least eight different state agencies, the state itself must modernize its administrative organization and procedures before it can hope to promote an integrated county-state program.

WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW
University of Missouri

New York City Selects County Officers on Merit Basis

The long and arduous task of disengaging the five county offices of sheriff and four county offices of register in New York City from the spoilsman's grip appears finally to have reached its successful culmination. After several unsuccessful attempts to place the reform measure on the ballot, it was finally voted on and adopted by the people November 4, 1941, by a 290,000 majority in 720,000 votes cast. Two alternative proposals sponsored by the Democratic party were defeated by safe margins.

The New York City Civil Service Commission immediately held examinations for the new city-wide offices of sheriff and register and the successful candidates have now been selected by the mayor from the three highest on the lists of eligibles. The new officers, City Sheriff John J. McCloskey, Jr., and City Register Henry W. Ralph, took office January 1. Their offices are being organized on a 100 per cent competitive civil service basis, as the charter amendment required.

In the preceding reform attempts judicial processes were used to prevent a popular vote on the charter proposal, and on this occasion it appeared for a time that hostile court action would still prevent the mayor from acting in accordance with the mandate of the voters. One supreme court justice issued an injunction denying the right of the mayor to appoint a sheriff on the ground that the constitution required that abolition of the offices be presented as two separate issues. Another justice, in hearing a petition to restrain the mayor from appointing a register, refused to issue the injunction declaring, "The subject covered by the amendment was the exercise of powers to effect county reform specifically

granted to the city by the constitution. These could be included in a single enactment, just as all subjects in a municipal charter may be included in a single act without violating the 'one subject' rule." He stated the "one-subject" provision was intended to prevent deception of the public and in this case "no one could have been misled as to the purpose and scope." The two cases were joined before the New York Court of Appeals which upheld the validity of the charter amendment by a vote of five to two.

Saint Louis County Considers Reorganization

St. Louis County, which embraces the suburbs but not the central city of St. Louis, is analyzing present and future needs in order to formulate a plan of governmental reorganization of structure, procedure, and powers to meet such needs. The requirements arising from growing defense industries in the St. Louis area are giving the formulation of such plans additional impetus. A recently created citizens' committee is devoting careful study to constitutional home rule and the manager plan as first objectives toward the goal of adequate governmental services.

Rockland County, N. Y., Acts under Merit System Statute

Pursuant to the 1941 law requiring all units of local government to adopt the merit system before July 1, 1942, Rockland County, New York, is the first to request state assistance in the establishment of such a system. Of the options of county commission, county personnel office, and state-administered plans, Rockland chose the third. Classification of jobs by the State Civil Service Commission has been virtually completed, and a report will be issued shortly.

Taxation and Finance *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Local Government Can Help Win War

***Mere Avoidance of fiscal
difficulties not enough***

SEVERAL weeks have elapsed, as this is written, since the attacks on Pearl Harbor launched the United States into full-fledged warfare. But it is not too early to say that local government has not been caught unprepared to carry out its part in what may well be a bitter and hard-fought struggle.

Measures undertaken during the period when our effort was defensive and preparatory have proven amazingly effective in meeting the strains imposed on the municipalities so far, and offer heartening proof that local government can rise to whatever heights may be required of it.

Most spectacular of these proofs of the vitality of local government have of course been the purely defensive measures put into effect promptly and forcefully on both coasts. Despite the confusion attending the "practice" air raid alarms in New York City and the alarms which may or may not have been "practice" at San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle, the machinery set up by the Office of Civilian Defense functioned on the whole without serious criticism. In fact, the promptness with which detailed air raid instructions appeared in the press must have been a source of amazement to those who were not already acquainted with the scope of the work which the cities, and the OCD, had already undertaken months before the Axis blows fell.

It may be recorded, however, that

the Los Angeles Disaster Council had been organized for just such a job more than a year before it was given the stand-by order, while New York City's training of auxiliary and volunteer firemen, air raid precautions workers, first aid workers, and the like antedated and formed a pattern for the program set up by the OCD. It may truthfully be said that the cities were well ahead of the Congress in recognizing, and acting upon, the reality of the danger well before actual war began.

Impacts of War

Less spectacular but none the less important are the financial impacts of the war on local government. These are necessarily slower to develop, but in the long run the formulation of and adherence to a sound and adequate fiscal program will be just as necessary to civilian defense and the efficient prosecution of the war effort as the precautions already taken to safeguard lives and property. Some of the problems are already evident, however, and the patterns of others to follow are reasonably clear.

The onset of the war has posed two immediate fiscal problems. The most immediate was that of caring for those "bombed out" in Hawaii and the Philippines.

The Congressional appropriation of \$150,000,000 for federal aid to local defense sections earlier in the year set the pattern by establishing the principle that the burden was one to be shared by nation as well as locality. This was followed up scarcely a week after the war began by the dispatch to the military authorities in Honolulu and Manila of federal checks for \$10,000,000 each, to be made available to the civilian authorities for civilian relief and precautionary measures. An earlier step for rehabilitation of civilian

losses was the setting up of \$100,000,000 by the Defense Finance Corporation for federal war damage insurance.

Already, therefore, the principle is formulated that emergency aid for war-ravished sections will come in the first instance from federal funds. The local agencies to handle these funds are well established, embracing both city and county governments.

Borrowing Affected

A second problem presented to cities was that of borrowing. While the possibility of active war had been largely discounted in the movement of the municipal bond market during the past year or so, the suddenness of the attack had its repercussions. Thus, Niagara Falls, New York, opened bids on December 8 on \$463,000 of its bonds to find the best bid was for interest coupons of 2 per cent, a price which, according to the *Daily Bond Buyer*, was about 80 basis points above the level at which the bonds could have been sold through the preceding Saturday. Scranton, Pennsylvania, and Jackson, Mississippi, rejected all bids received on Tuesday offerings, while a Wednesday offering by nine local housing authorities was postponed.

Prices recovered toward the end of the first week, and further improvement has been shown since then, but the municipal bond market continues extremely sensitive and municipalities may expect to pay somewhat more for borrowed money in the near future than they had up to the time the war began. Furthermore, there is a definite likelihood that a considerable amount of scheduled borrowing will be abandoned, although in a number of instances where the new construction is necessitated by defense requirements this cannot be done.

Providing funds to rectify war damage and curtailing borrowing because

of rising interest costs are not the only problems facing municipalities, however. Of more serious import, in so far as the national economy is concerned, is the entire question of the relationship of local revenues and costs to the national war effort.

It has for some months been evident that the cost of operating municipal government is rising. It has been shown in the upward movement of the prices of materials and supplies for some months. Within more recent periods local government has found itself increasingly in competition with defense industry in its demand for labor, with the result that salaries and wage costs are now subject to considerable upward pressure also. As the war effort proceeds it may well be anticipated that local government will find it increasingly difficult to man its posts, simply because of the scarcity of trained man power.

Fortunately, the great majority of American cities enter the struggle with their finances in far sounder shape than they were when the economic depression began. Among the large West Coast cities only Seattle has failed to attain a position of fiscal soundness during the post-depression period, and even that city is in a somewhat better position relative to 1930 since it has actually balanced two consecutive budgets whereas this could not be said in 1931. New York City under fusion administration has put its fiscal house in order—although it still faces tremendous problems—and the other large east coast municipalities have either attained satisfactory positions or shown great improvement.

The cities in the most vulnerable sections are therefore in what might be termed fair to good condition. Inland, among the industrial centers, Chicago continues unsatisfactorily situated as regards its current accounts but its

modest public debt has been reduced sharply and the throes of the 1928 reassessment which caused such difficulties in the 1930's are a thing of the past. Detroit's position also could hardly be considered enviable, but Kansas City, Missouri, at least knows where it stands now, something not true a decade ago, while other sore spots of the early 1930's show sharp improvement if not the attainment of a wholly satisfactory position.

A number of the smaller urban centers are in what it is not too much to term the strongest financial positions in their history, while the cities of under 50,000 population¹ are probably (no comprehensive fiscal data for this population group are available) at least as well off as they were in 1930.

Cities Face Fiscal Strain

Granting that the majority of municipalities face the present crisis more favorably situated than they were when the depression began, the fact still remains that they are to be subjected to great fiscal strains. Moreover, the solution of the emerging problems must be compatible with two objectives: we must on the one hand maintain local government as a vital force in the defense effort, and on the other so shape the revenue system of local government in the emergency as to produce the maximum benefit to our entire war economy.

Maintenance of essential services of local government will of itself be a tremendous task, but we will weaken our entire war effort and court post-war disaster if we are content to stop with this single objective. Local finance

¹See yearly compilation of the bonded debt and comparative tax rates for cities of over 30,000 population, by Rosina K. Mohaupt, appearing, respectively, in the June and December issues of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

must be geared into the entire productive and financial structure of the nation if we are to derive the maximum from the war effort. This means, among other things, that local government must not be a competitor for goods or services with our war effort; and as a corollary that it must not compete with the war effort for money and credit.

Equally important, local government must not by precipitate and ill-advised action unbalance our national economy on a war basis by a repetition of the tax-slashing "economy" approach which contributed to such fiscal disaster in the early 1930's. A few examples will make clear what is meant by these observations.

At the present time the best estimates seem to indicate that we are devoting approximately 15 per cent of our national production to the "defense" effort. In 1942 the defense program calls for the use of about 40 per cent of our production for war materials, etc., and this proportion will undoubtedly be raised in the light of a change from a "defense" to a "victory" program.

If during the next year 40 per cent of our production, or more, goes for the war effort, there remains only 60 per cent, or less, for civilian purposes, including the purposes of local government. To the extent that local governments inaugurate heavy construction requiring men and materials for public buildings, etc., they will be in direct competition with the 40 per cent of production needed for war effort. To the extent that they compete with supplies and services which would otherwise be available for civilian use, local government will contribute to price inflation and scarcities; however, this competition will be no greater than that exercised by a like volume of private demand, and if local government fully takes advantage of the pur-

chasing techniques available to it and follows a well-thought-out policy the competition may be much less than that coming from a like private demand.

Another example of the need for correlation between local governmental fiscal activity and the national economy is in the field of taxation. Should the federal government continue its policy of borrowing the greater part of the funds needed for the war effort, it will be especially necessary that local government hold firm to existing levels of taxation. If the federal government follows the wiser policy of taxing much and borrowing little for the war effort, however, in order to take up that portion of the national purchasing power which would otherwise be competing for the 60 per cent or so of national production available for civilian use, there will be great need for coördination between federal and local taxation.

In this connection there is already appearing in the press and elsewhere an urgent demand that local taxation be reduced as an offset to higher federal taxes. If met, these demands will lead only to fiscal disaster, for they are predicated on the wholly fallacious idea that "total war" can be waged with "business as usual."

In so far as the civilian population is concerned, its chief concern through the war effort must be, first, to increase its production, and second, to secure a sufficient amount of that production available for civilian use to keep fed, clothed, and sheltered.

Public Funds for Defense

The defense effort to date has been financed largely with publicly dispensed funds, not by privately placed loans to industry, and there is every reason to believe that it will continue to be so financed. Present high taxation and prospectively higher taxation cannot

therefore be regarded as a deterrent to production, since it provides the very sinews of that production.

At the same time, insufficient taxation is a very real threat to the civilian population's effort to keep fed, clothed, and housed, since as has been noted only 60 per cent of production will be available for civilian use. Only if roughly 40 per cent (or whatever percentage goes for war) of the national income is being taken out of purchasing power can the spectre of inflation for the civilian population be avoided. If local government decreases its taxation as the federal government increases its taxes, the "sopping up" process will be incomplete.

Naturally, this does not mean that local government is to go on a spending spree; but it does mean at budget-making time in city hall there is more to be considered than the understandable demands of a part of the taxpayers that the local budget be slashed to the bone.

It is, of course, unfortunate that the war broke before the President's committee on federal-local tax relationships had brought its work to fruition. The demands of the emergency, however, can be met in a workable manner without any structural alteration of the federal-state-local tax systems, desirable though such alteration is as a long-term objective. Local government has already in the first weeks of the war given ample evidence that as the training school for democracy it ranks higher than any other agency yet devised; it remains only for concerted, daring, and imaginative action to mobilize the administrative and technical skills which are available to it. Then local government will contribute the maximum benefit to be derived from its unique position as the fountainhead of democratic action.

Cities of Three Countries Show Tax Collection Decline

Local governments in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom are collecting a smaller proportion of total taxes now than they did ten years ago. Australia showed relative stability in the division of tax collections.

For the United States local tax collections in 1930 were 48 per cent of the total. By 1935 they had dropped to 45 per cent, and in 1940 they stood at 34 per cent. Federal tax collections, by contrast, totaled 35 per cent in 1930 and 1935, rising to 38 per cent in 1940. State tax collections were 17 per cent of the total in 1930, 20 per cent in 1935, and 28 per cent in 1940.

The proportion of taxes collected by local governments in Canada decreased from 42 per cent in 1930 to 40 per cent in 1935, and then to 24 per cent in 1940. Dominion tax collections in Canada rose from 43 to 46 per cent in the 1930-1935 period, and to 59 per cent by 1940. Tax collections by the provinces totaled 15 per cent in 1930, 14 per cent in 1935, and 17 per cent in 1940.

In the United Kingdom the national government collected 79 per cent of total taxes in 1930, and local governments 21 per cent. By 1935 the division was 80-20 per cent, and in 1940 it was 84-16 per cent.

These figures are reported by the Federation of Tax Administrators. Since the taxes in the study were computed for fiscal years, the impact of the war scarcely affected 1940 data, the federation said. Changes now taking place in the tax structures of the various countries are indicated in estimates of tax collections for the United States for 1941-42. About 54 per cent of a total tax bill of \$22 billion will be collected by the federal government for this period; states and localities expect to collect about 23 per cent each.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

Seven P. R. Elections

The First Try in Cambridge

THE election on November 4, 1941, the first under the new Plan E (Cincinnati Plan) charter in Cambridge, Massachusetts, resulted in the choice for council of four Plan E Committee-endorsed candidates and of five who did not receive the charter committee endorsement. The Plan E Committee had endorsed a slate of eleven—seven Democrats and five Republicans—hoping to elect five out of the nine councillors and thus insure the choice of an able, experienced, trained city manager rather than a local untrained man.

A vigorous campaign, covering a period of two months, was waged by the Plan E Committee. An organization of five hundred volunteers canvassed the voters from house to house. Rallies and educational meetings were held in every section of the city. Speakers were sent to clubs.

In addition to the literature distributed by hand from door to door, a press campaign was conducted, with radio talks, and two leaflets were mailed to every registered voter, one containing pictures and records of the endorsed candidates and one a sample ballot sent out the day before election. An organization of over three hundred served at the polls on election day, distributing sample ballots, checking, telephoning, and transporting voters to the polls.

In spite of all this effort to educate the voters and get them out to the ballot box, only 68 per cent of the registered vote of about 53,000 came out, in contrast to 78 per cent at the last

municipal election, in 1939. The fifth Plan E candidate was defeated by only 30 votes. Cambridge is overwhelmingly Democratic, although the election is nonpartisan. Only one Republican was elected out of nine, whereas in the old Council of fifteen, two members were Republicans.

In analyzing the reasons for the loss of the fifth Plan E Committee man on the Council, the chief among them seems to be that general enemy of good government everywhere, "Public Apathy No. 1." Perhaps because of the world situation, the voters could not be interested in local issues. The vote in Boston and other municipalities was also light. In a city like Cambridge, where many voters earn their livings elsewhere, and where there are only about eight thousand individual home owners as compared with 53,000 registered voters, many fail to get excited about local politics.

Another circumstance that reacted badly for Plan E was the backing of an entirely Republican slate by the Republican City Committee, followed by an entirely Democratic slate backed by the Democratic City Committee. The election was officially nonpartisan and might have remained really so but for the initial action of the Republican City Committee. The one chance was to induce the large number of Democrats who had voted for the Plan E charter to vote for Plan E Committee candidates. This chance was lost through the injection of the party-politics issue, with the result that the fusionist slate was sacrificed. It is significant, however, that four of the Plan E slate were elected while only three of the Democratic slate were successful. Of the two remaining candidates elected, one was on no slate, and one was on the unofficial slate of the former mayor, now under court sentence for conspiracy to secure bribes.

It is interesting to note that while all wards showed a drop in percentage of registered vote cast, as compared with 1939, the drop in the better-educated and more privileged wards was only from 3 to 6 per cent, while the drop in the less privileged wards ranged from 19 per cent to 11 per cent. This is partly explained by the fact that in former mayoralty campaigns, the latter group of wards were accustomed to having much money spent to buy votes in one way or another, and this year money was not forthcoming. Furthermore, this year the campaign was comparatively decent and quiet, and it was impossible to dramatize and play up rival personalities as in former mayoralty campaigns.

An encouraging feature of the election was the small number of invalid ballots, only 685 out of 35,553, or less than 2 per cent. This fact proved that the electorate had easily grasped P.R.—that the advance educational work had been successful. It was less successful in that over 17,000 voters failed to go to the polls. In all, 30,269 voters found representation on the council—about 85 per cent of those who voted; 16,831 (about 47.5 per cent) saw their first choice elected. The fifth Plan E Committee candidate had been sixth highest in first-choice votes, but in the final count, he was defeated by 30 votes by the candidate who had ranked thirteenth in the first-choice votes.

One important lesson to be learned from the election is that only a candidate who is well known on a citywide basis has a chance of election, even with strong organization backing. The fifth Plan E candidate was not widely known. All five of the successful non-Plan E Committee candidates were former councillors re-elected, and it may be said that with one exception they were the more desirable of the councillors who ran for re-election

without Plan E Committee backing.

The new Council is a distinct improvement over the old, both as to calibre and as to number. On the whole, they seem desirous of doing a good job and appreciate the fact that they are on trial and must make good by choosing a good city manager.

On the School Committee two of the Plan E Committee candidates were successful among the six to be elected, one (the only woman elected) a Republican, and one a Democrat. Twenty-eight candidates contested the election. Seventy-eight per cent of the valid votes were effective in electing candidates; 2 per cent of the votes cast were invalid.

This was the first time that P.R. has ever been used for a school board election in the United States.

The election count, while slow, was entirely fair and creditable for a first effort. Much valuable experience was gained.

AMELIA WORTHINGTON FISK
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Independents Win in Yonkers

The second P. R. election in Yonkers built up the strong City Manager League minority on the first P. R. council to a controlling majority in the council which is to serve for 1942 and 1943. One of the three city managerites elected was also on the Republican ticket. The Democrats, whose ticket did not overlap either of the others, elected two.

The experience of Yonkers is in striking contrast to that of Schenectady, where a group of independent citizens, the Charter League, secured the adoption of the city manager plan a few years ago and, without benefit of P. R., tried to elect a majority of the first manager plan council from a high-grade representative ticket to make sure that

the beneficial possibilities of the manager plan were fully realized. Although the initial victory in Schenectady had been won by a larger margin than in Yonkers, it proved impossible to get a plurality of the voters to risk a vote for an independent slate under a system of election which offered no assurance of minority representation and no second and third choices to fall back on in case the first choice lost. A creditable vote was polled, almost a third of the total vote, but none of the Charter League candidates was elected. The Republican organization, with only a little more than a third of the total vote, elected all but one of the councilmen. The independents became so discouraged that the Republican organization has made a clean sweep of the council and kept full control of the city council ever since.

In Yonkers also the independent group which secured the adoption of the manager plan polled less than a majority of the votes against regular Republican and Democratic tickets at the first council election, but under the freer conditions of P. R. it secured a large enough vote to elect two representatives out of five. With this encouraging start it was able to secure a degree of coöperation from the Republican party at the second election and to win control of the council and the city government. The difference in the experience of these two cities may be attributed almost wholly to the difference in their methods of election.

The independent group in Cambridge, the Plan E Committee, is now in the same position as the Yonkers City Manager League was two years ago, having elected four councillors out of nine at the first P. R. election for the new manager plan government in that city and two out of six on the school committee. If the members of the Democratic party majority do not rise to the challenge and give the city a

superior administration, either in coöperation with the independent minority or by themselves, the independent minority is in a strategic position to become a majority two years hence.

The successful Yonkers candidates this fall, in the order of their election, are Mrs. Edith P. Welty, a City Manager League leader from the beginning and an independent Republican, who was re-elected; Curtiss E. Frank, City Manager League and Republican, a former assistant United States district attorney, a member of the school board, and a law partner of Charles E. Hughes, Jr.; Dr. Benjamin F. Barnes, City Manager League, a popular physician and independent Democrat; James A. Sullivan, Democratic party leader who was re-elected; and Al P. Richter, Democrat, a young advertising executive with a reputation for independence, who belongs to another wing of the party and is said to owe his election to an energetic Democratic youth movement.

Mr. Richter replaced Councilman Dennis A. Cooper, a Democrat of the Sullivan wing, who was defeated early in the count. Councilman Robert H. Goodwillie, Otis Elevator Company executive who led the poll last time for the City Manager League, was also defeated in spite of a Republican endorsement, though he made a good showing and was the last candidate to go out. Mayor John J. Condon, Republican, who lined up with the two organization Democrats in the first P. R. council against the two independent Republican City Manager League members, was not re-designated by his party and did not run. The Republican and Democratic parties and the City Manager League each nominated seven candidates (two candidates being joint nominees of the City Manager League and the Republicans) and there was also one unattached independent, making twenty candidates in all.

The five elected councilmen, obviously a widely representative group, were elected by 47,251 voters, 92 per cent of the 51,237 who cast valid ballots. Mrs. Welty and Mr. Frank reached the full quota of 10,000 fixed in the charter before the end of the count, Dr. Barnes and Mr. Sullivan came within 500 of doing so, and Mr. Richter was just short of 8,000. A little more than half the voters helped elect their very first choices.

There were 2,701 invalid ballots and 532 blanks, making a total of 54,470 P. R. ballots dropped in the ballot boxes. Thus 5 per cent of the ballots marked were spoiled. This, of course, was much more than balanced by the valid ballots made effective by P. R. which would have been wasted on losing candidates under any other system. Even counting in the invalid ballots and blanks, 87 per cent of all the ballots cast were used to help elect candidates voted for.

The count was finished in four days, without a discrepancy of a single ballot, under the competent direction of Gabriel L. Kaplan of New York City, who was co-director of the first two P. R. counts in Manhattan. The *Yonkers Herald-Statesman* at the end of the count ran a special first page story entitled "Candidates, Watchers, Workers, All Laud City's 2nd P. R. Count."

As at the first Yonkers P. R. election two years ago, the *Herald-Statesman*, which is the city's principal newspaper, did an outstanding job of reporting the count. Since the election it has renewed its support of the system editorially.

Postscript

The account above was prepared before the Yonkers council met to organize on January 2. Action taken at that meeting made the outlook for the reform group far less rosy though it did not change the essential facts of the fall election. Dr. Barnes, former organization Democrat, broke with the City Manager League, on whose ticket he had been elected, and joined forces

with the two other Democratic councilmen to get himself elected mayor and Mr. Sullivan vice-mayor.

Because of this unexpected demonstration of human frailty the City Manager League must apparently wait two more years for a chance at the control of the city government which the public thought it had given League candidates. Meanwhile, the vigorous and able minority is in a position to keep the majority on its toes on pain of defeat in 1943, and the quality of government should continue better than under the old mayor-council regime with plurality elections.

Cincinnati Gets a Republican Majority

An address before the annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, held in conjunction with the annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 18, 1941.

In the closest and most exciting proportional representation election in Cincinnati history, the Republican organization acquired responsible control of the Cincinnati City Council for the first time in sixteen years.

The trend which ended in this result has been visible for some time. The Charter Committee nearly elected a seventh man out of nine in 1925, missing by only 77 votes. In 1927 and 1929 the margin by which it elected six was steadily whittled down until in 1931 the Republicans put in four instead of three for the first time. The Charter Committee retained five until 1935, when the Coughlinite movement, added to anti-utility agitation, put Herbert Bigelow in as the ninth man of a 4-4-1 council. Bigelow's influence continued after he himself had gone to Congress and his man Craig went in as a Progressive Democrat in 1937. After Bigelow's defeat for Congress in 1938 he ran again for council and became the ninth man once more two years ago,

Craig on the same ticket being defeated.

This year Craig became a Republican, and with his usual Central Labor Council backing, became one of the new Republican majority. Locker, the Republican Negro candidate, vigorously backed by the organization, made an extraordinary run and will speak for his race, unrepresented during the last two years. Klein, in council for the last six years and Republican vice-mayor in 1938 and 1939, lost out. The seven other incumbent councilmen were re-elected, but two of the Charterites, Russell Wilson and Albert D. Cash, had a close call. They got ahead of one of the defeated Republicans by only a few hundred votes, and then passed Herbert Bigelow by the same margin to achieve the eighth and ninth places.

The council, as always under P.R., is widely representative. The strictly organization group of Republicans are represented by the Mayor, James Garfield Stewart, and in part by Willis Gradison, a well known broker, and John Molloy, a retired business man. Locker is a well known attorney and will speak effectively for the basin of the city, where living conditions and lack of employment opportunities so profoundly affect the city's progress. Craig is power engineer for the local Standard Brands plant and speaks for the local A. F. of L. leadership.

On the Charter Committee side the Democratic group is represented by Edward N. Waldvogel, a local uniform manufacturer, and by Albert D. Cash, the son of Dennis Cash, safety director of the reform Hunt administration of 1912 and 1913, and a leading lawyer. Russell Wilson and I represent the independent groups, principally Republican.

It is probably a healthy development to give the ball to the organization. They will have no trouble with elect-

ing the Mayor and the other council positions, where excitement has developed the last three times when a 4-1 council took office. But the question of continuing Colonel Sherrill as city manager takes the stage instead. Locker and Craig promised in every speech to fire him. Stewart is known to be sympathetic to that viewpoint. But Gradison and Molloy will be strong for him and will be backed by the Republican Policy Committee.

As in the past, the Charter group will probably pick up one of the Republican votes on many of its controversial measures, and of course it must be remembered that there is hardly a division on important measures more than a couple of times a month. Those divisions have not often been on party lines, but that may increase. As long as the Charter group can continue to function as a militant minority of four, we shall expect the disintegration of standards of good government to be slow.

CHARLES P. TAFT
Member, Cincinnati City Council, and
Assistant Director, U. S. Office of
Defense Health and Welfare Services

Toledo Votes without Tickets

In each of Toledo's first three P. R. elections the City Manager League, which had launched the successful campaign for the adoption of the city's P. R.-city manager charter in 1934, put forward a ticket of candidates for the city council. After the League had failed for the first time in 1939 to elect a majority of the members, but the council had chosen one of its candidates as mayor anyway and given a reasonably good account of itself, the League decided to cease functioning as a municipal party nominating candidates and reorganized as a civic organization, the

Toledo Municipal League. Since partisan tickets had long since ceased to be factors in Toledo municipal elections, this left the council election of 1941 a nonpartisan contest of 26 individual candidates.

The result was the re-election of almost the whole council, the only change being the election of Michael V. DiSalle in place of Councilman Frank I. Consaul. Both had been on the City Manager League ticket in 1939. The new council of nine members will contain four who were on this last City Manager League ticket and Councilman Charles D. Hoover who was on the League's ticket in 1935 and 1937 and who helped to elect the League's candidate for mayor, John Q. Carey, in 1940. This fall Mayor Carey led the popular poll and was the only candidate to secure a full quota of first choices.

Seven of the nine councilmen-elect secured the full quota of 6,352 before the end of the count and 89 per cent of the valid ballots were effective in helping to elect candidates for whom they had been marked.

The count was efficiently conducted as usual under the direction of William E. Galvin and was completed early on the Sunday morning following election day. The total cost of the count and other special P. R. expenses such as the printing of ballots was \$10,946.

After the election Councilman Howard W. Etchen, who was re-elected, introduced a resolution to submit the repeal of P. R. (already twice rejected by the voters) and the substitution of plurality vote at large at the primary election in August. A crowded hearing was held on the resolution November 25, at which many prominent citizens spoke for or against it, after which the council voted unanimously to table it and it was subsequently officially killed. The sponsor agreed to go along with the other councilmen in taking the

position that if opponents of P. R. wanted another vote on repeal they should use their right to require it by petition.

Supporters of P. R. at the hearing included Robert Pugh, member of the charter commission which presented the present P. R.-manager charter to the voters; Professor of Political Science O. Garfield Jones of the University of Toledo; Frank Geer, former president of the City Manager League; Eva Epstein Shaw, attorney, appearing for the League of Women Voters; and Henry Andrews, a South Side civic leader and traffic safety commissioner, who announced himself as a convert to P. R. on the basis of Toledo's experience.

Mr. Geer, according to the *Toledo Blade* of November 26, "attacked assertions that P. R. is expensive, declaring that the four municipal primaries prior to adoption of P. R. cost \$102,038 while the four P. R. elections have cost only \$43,891" for items not included in the regular cost of a final election. P. R. has made it possible to abolish the municipal primaries.

"Mr. Pugh," according to the same account, "cited the increasing majorities in elections on the P. R. system. The original charter proposal carried by 4,215 votes in 1934; in a special election on P. R. in 1935 the majority was 7,286, and in another special election in 1937 the majority increased to 17,824." The first two of these votes included the manager plan, the last one proposed some weakening of the manager plan but was principally directed at P. R.

An account of the P. R. elections in Hamilton, Ohio, and Boulder, Colorado, will appear in next month's department. The third election of the New York City Council, which was also carried out under P. R. this fall, was described in some detail in this department last month.

A REPORT OF PROGRESS

(Continued from Page 2)

the high quality of its leadership and with the number of people it has been able to enlist in its service as volunteer officers, members of the Council, Executive Committee, special investigating committees, speakers, contributors to the REVIEW and other publications, and participants in its conferences.

"An impartial appraisal of the League may be found in the writings of professional students of municipal government. Without exception, they place it first among national citizen organizations engaged in civic reform. They refer to the League as the pioneer, the outstanding, the most important, and the most influential organization in the movement for better city government.

"At various times the League has been called a 'civic army,' a 'civic clinic,' a 'national clearing house on governmental subjects,' a 'reservoir of facts and information,' and 'an established medium for disseminating information on government. . . .'

"The League is a school of thought that stabilizes reform along sound and practical lines; it represents the consensus of opinion of thinking people as to what local government should be. It has been and will continue to be the heart of the municipal reform movement in the United States."

Early publication of this book is planned.

Progress and Responsibilities

The League now faces greater responsibilities than ever, not only because of its reputation as described by Dr. Stewart and the increasing reliance placed on it for leadership, but also because of the present fluid state of world and national affairs.

During the League's life and with its

help the quality of local government has improved tremendously—but the problems and scope of local government have multiplied at a rapid rate and will continue to do so. Local civic and governmental research organizations have increased greatly in number and effectiveness—but in the former category they are with few exceptions led by "amateurs" with neither time nor facilities to develop for themselves the fact-ammunition for which they lean heavily on the League.

Important Publications

This year has brought the completion of work which has been proceeding over a period of years. The long-awaited, completely revised edition of the *Model City Charter*, on which a distinguished committee has been at work for more than four years, has been published. There has been widespread interest throughout the country in this important document. Before publication there were advance orders in the office for about five hundred copies. Considering its technical nature, this demand demonstrates its great breadth of influence. The Charter, the first draft of which was issued in 1900, has attained almost nationwide acceptance as the standard for charter commissions and draftsmen. More than 530 cities are now using the council-manager plan, the form of government prescribed by the Charter, and its standards have affected favorably the basic law of hundreds of other communities using other administrative forms.

Richard S. Childs is chairman of the Model City Charter Committee and Arnold Frye is chairman of the subcommittee on style and draft. While every member made his own vital contribution to the work of the committee, the unselfish work of Mr. Frye, who devoted many weeks to the arduous labor of drafting provisions and review-

ing and weaving into the charter drafts prepared by others, was especially noteworthy.

A complete revision of the *Model State Constitution* has also been published this year by a committee of which Professor W. Brooke Graves of Temple University is chairman. The Constitution, first issued in 1921, has exerted a constructive influence on the framework of state government and the development of sound principles of state policy and administration.

Among other publications issued during the year were:

Citizen Organization for Political Activity—The Cincinnati Plan, a pamphlet of 48 pages which describes the organization and method of operation of the City Charter Committee of Cincinnati, thoroughly revised to provide a specific guide for other cities.

Local Progress in Labor Peace, 28 pages, a compilation of reports from various localities of efforts by municipal governments to solve the difficult and critical problem of industrial strikes.

City Growing Pains, a pamphlet of 116 pages to supplement with recent progress reports the League's *Government of Metropolitan Areas* published in 1930. It includes seventeen studies of metropolitan areas.

Consultant Service

The Consultant Service this year completed an administrative and financial survey of the city of Passaic, New Jersey. The survey was carried out under the direction of Robert M. Goodrich, director of the Providence Bureau of Governmental Research and long an active member and officer of the League. The survey staff was recruited from various local bureaus of governmental research and from among local

and state specialists who obtained leaves from their regular positions.

National Municipal Review

The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW has devoted considerable attention this year to the growing pressure of the national defense program on local government. One new department, National Defense and the Cities, edited by Daniel W. Hoan, former mayor of Milwaukee and now consultant of the Office of Civilian Defense, has been included in the REVIEW since May. Articles on this and related subjects have been contributed by Mr. Hoan; Charles P. Taft, city councilman of Cincinnati and assistant director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services; Hon. John G. Winant, president of the League and Ambassador to the Court of St. James's; William E. Mosher, of Syracuse University; and Barnett Hodes, corporation counsel of Chicago. The REVIEW has also discussed the problem editorially.

In line with the publication policy announced in last year's report, the REVIEW has carried several series of timely articles sufficiently important to be republished in pamphlet form. Two have appeared during 1941: *Local Progress in Labor Peace*, comprising three articles by William L. Nunn of the University of Newark, and *City Growing Pains*, a series of articles on metropolitan area problems in sixteen cities, with an over-all discussion of the subject by Dr. Thomas H. Reed.

Three articles on the right of public employees to strike—each by a specialist in his field—appeared in the September issue.

Four of the REVIEW's articles have been republished in *Reader's Digest* since the secretary's 1940 report.

Orders were received for reprints of 28 articles which appeared in the REVIEW during the year.

Reporting Consultant Service

With the aid of the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco, the National Municipal League coöperated in inaugurating late in 1941 a Municipal Reporting Consultant Service. This service, which will be on an experimental basis and limited to communities in the state of California for the first year, is under the direction of Miss Miriam Roher, a contributing editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and former member of the League staff as publications editor. Miss Roher has spent the past year, as National Women's Public Service Fellow, conducting a series of field experiments in California to test the effectiveness of various types of municipal reporting methods. The service will be self-supporting and non-profit.

National Conference

The League's forty-seventh annual National Conference on Government, held November 17, 18, and 19 at St. Louis, Missouri, placed considerable emphasis on the effect of the defense program on municipal affairs. With 180 speakers and participants and an overall attendance of 4,700 persons at all sessions, the conference was the best attended in the League's history.

The Year's Progress

The nationwide movement for better municipal government, in connection with which local civic leaders look to the League for information and fact-ammunition, brought the adoption of the council-manager form of government by eighteen cities during 1941. In 1942, 545 cities and counties will be using the manager plan. There were no abandonments of the plan during the year.

The Indiana state legislature passed a resolution which, if passed again by the 1943 legislature, will bring to a popular vote the question of amending

the constitution to permit cities to adopt their own home rule charters. Movements for similar amendments or enabling legislation are continuing in New Hampshire, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Washington. The Arkansas legislature repealed its 1939 act authorizing cities of more than 50,000 (Little Rock) to adopt the manager plan.

Hamilton County, Tennessee, obtained a modified form of the county manager plan from the legislature. In South Carolina an act created the office of manager for Darlington County, with appointment by the governor on recommendation by the county's legislative delegation. Efforts to obtain the county manager plan are under way in at least seven states. North Dakota's legislature provided forms of the manager plan for counties. Similar bills failed in Oregon, Connecticut, and Ohio.

The voters of New York City overwhelmingly adopted an amendment to that city's charter abolishing county offices which civic organizations had branded as useless sinecures for politicians.

State reorganization legislation was passed in Colorado, North Carolina, and Montana. Voters of Missouri adopted a constitutional amendment to take judges out of politics. A bill was introduced in the California legislature providing for a constitutional amendment setting up the state manager plan. Movements for constitutional revision are under way in New Jersey and Missouri, with some discussion of a similar effort in Michigan.

There was widespread progress in the extension of the merit system in the civil service. The most sweeping advance was in New York State, where a legislative act provided wholesale extension to every civil division in the state. Merit system acts were passed also by Indiana, Kansas, North Carolina, and Vermont. New Mexico's civil

service system was abolished. St. Louis, Missouri, and San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties, California, voted for civil service reform, as did a number of other cities.

The constitutionality of proportional representation for the election of the city council and school board of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was upheld in a significant decision. Cambridge is the first to use this system of voting for a school board. The right to use proportional representation, already available to other Massachusetts cities, was extended to Boston by the legislature.

Pamphlets for use in campaigns for the improvement of local government continued to be the most popular of League publications. The total distribution of various publications during 1941 was 15,689, of which 14,280 were sold.

Due largely to the effects of the war, which has deprived most of our foreign members of mail delivery of publications, there was a net decline of 86 in the League's membership. With few exceptions the League's foreign membership is now limited to persons and organizations in the allied countries and the western hemisphere.

President Winant to Continue with Steering Committee

The League is deeply appreciative of the generous service during the past year of John G. Winant as president. Although appointed Ambassador to Great Britain soon after being chosen to succeed President Dykstra at the Springfield meeting, President Winant has been constantly helpful. In the midst of his important duties in London, where the American Ambassador holds a more vital position than perhaps at any previous time in our history, he has always found time to advise and give direction and leadership to the League.

Mr. Winant consented to continue as

president with the understanding that a steering committee, composed of Clarence Francis, Carl H. Pforzheimer, George H. Gallup, and others still to be appointed, would take the active responsibility for League finances and program. The League officers named have agreed to do so.

Because the council members and other officers and members of the League play so real a part in the success of its activities, it is difficult to single out only a few for mention in this brief report. The officers and members are, in a participating sense as well as an organizational sense, the League itself. There are several men this year, however, who have made outstanding contributions. Henry L. Shattuck of Boston, who as vice-president became acting president during Mr. Winant's absence from the country, has given much to the work despite other heavy demands on his time. His responsibilities at Harvard University have increased and he is one of the most vigorous members of the Boston city council and active in Boston and Massachusetts civic affairs in addition to being active in his own profession. He nevertheless has given vigorous leadership to the League, contributing time and effort as well as substantial financial support.

To our treasurer, Carl H. Pforzheimer, who has had a particularly busy year as chairman of the Westchester County Planning Commission, and to Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council and for many years a staunch friend, acknowledgments are also due. Both have contributed much in time, effort and funds.

Future Plans

As for the future, the League will be what we make it. In a period when men's participation in public affairs has become acutely vital to the preservation of paramount values, the League

has made a needed contribution in showing the way in which such participation may be effective and in developing methods of meeting the new problems. The knowledge already developed as a result of the League's half century of activity needs to be put to wider use; the techniques that have been learned will aid in the solution of new difficulties.

In coöperation with officers and members of the council, the staff has been developing several major projects of great immediate importance. Most, if not all of them, will become increasingly important when post-war conditions eventually are faced.

Model Fiscal Program

A finance committee under the leadership of Major Fred N. Oliver, a member of the council, is raising funds to support a nationwide program of public education on model fiscal legislation for cities, which the League will publish shortly and which will be vital to help prepare cities for the financial shock of the war and post-war periods. Essential pieces of final research on this program are in process under the direction of Arnold Frye and Frederick L. Bird, members of the League's national Committee on Model Fiscal Program.

The model fiscal program is now composed of three new laws in final proof form—a *Model Bond Law*, a *Model Accrual Budget Law*, and a *Model Cash Basis Law*—all drafted in a form suitable for enactment by state legislatures as standards for sound financial practice in our cities. Others in the series are in process of preparation.

With proper financing of the final program, which now seems probable, the League will publish the laws and will then undertake an educational campaign leading toward an understanding of these laws by important citizen groups throughout the country. Al-

ready, even before official publication, the committee has been consulted and its recommendations asked in connection with the drafting of bills passed in Pennsylvania and bills in preparation in New York State.

These model laws will be a consensus of expert opinion and will take full cognizance of significant practical experience.

Citizen Training for 21-year-olds

Celebration of "Citizenship Day," sometimes under the name of "I Am an American Day," has spread rapidly during the past two years but for the most part these celebrations have been shallow and have provided little more than patriotic oratory and musical entertainment. Sincere as these efforts have been, the original concept by which the day served to induct 21-year-olds as full-fledged citizens *after a period of special training* has been submerged.

Sensing the danger of losing a great opportunity at a time when there is potential widespread acceptance of a sound program to improve the quality of the citizenry, many educators and civic leaders have urged the National Municipal League to assume national leadership of this movement in order to set a constructive pattern and to guide it into sound channels.

Such a project would cost \$32,000 a year, it is estimated. Applications are pending before the trustees of several foundations for portions of this amount.

Citizen Training in Schools

In view of the widespread demand for effective citizen training, it would be an important and timely service to reconstitute, probably in coöperation with other organizations, several League committees which at various times since 1900 have sought means of improving the effectiveness of the teaching of young citizens in the schools.

It is recommended that steps be taken to gain the coöperation of organizations of professional educators and others in forming three committees (or one major committee with three subcommittees) to ascertain the extent and effectiveness of instruction in local government and citizenship and to recommend specific means of improvement at these levels:

1. The primary grades
2. The secondary schools
3. In colleges and universities

A committee concerned with this problem in colleges and universities was appointed at the Milwaukee Conference in 1900, with President Thomas M. Drown of Lehigh University as chairman. Its reports were widely circulated and were credited with great usefulness. In 1903 a Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions, with Dr. William H. Maxwell, superintendent of schools of New York, as chairman, was appointed to carry on similar work in secondary and elementary schools. Several pamphlets, including *What Constitutes Good Citizenship*, *Training for Citizenship*, *Plan for the Promotion of Civic Education* and *Measuring the Value of Civic Training*, were issued by the latter committee between 1911 and 1914. In 1919 there was created a Committee on Civic Education, with Professor Edgar Dawson of Hunter College as chairman. As a result of this committee's work, the League in 1923 published and distributed gratis to teachers thousands of copies of a pamphlet, *Outlines of Responsible Government*, designed as supplementary reading for texts in civics.

Under present conditions the need for examination of our methods of training young citizens is more widely

recognized than ever, and educators are earnestly seeking sound methods of improving the process.

Staff Losses and Needs

The year just past has been a year of hard work and accomplishment, mingled with serious trials. With the development of the defense emergency, it became more difficult to raise funds to support the League's work. Substantial staff reductions have been made at a time when there were increasing demands for guidance from state and local groups coping with problems of local government improvement. This has placed a severe burden upon the remaining members of the staff. As a member of the New York State Civil Service Commission, the secretary's time has been heavily occupied and his functions as secretary have been limited to planning, guiding, and the determination of policy. This in turn has imposed a much heavier burden of responsibility upon the staff. It should be said here that both Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, and Elwood N. Thompson, field director, as well as the other members of the staff, have done yeoman service in forwarding the program of the League and making this year one of genuine achievement.

With the new steering committee determined to work out a definite financial program under strong leadership, there is reason for confidence that the League's financial problems will be solved. Now, at a time when the demands upon the League for service are greater than the present reduced staff can handle, the League should be expanding rather than contracting its activities.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

American State Government (revised edition). By W. Brooke Graves. Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1941. xv, 944 pp. \$4.

It is hard to realize that five years have gone by since the first edition of this book—which, being a textbook in political science, must be revised frequently to be of effective use so rapid are the changes which technology and other forces are making. Certainly no late development has been omitted—the appendix consists of the fourth edition of the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League.¹

While the changes between the first and second edition are many, the characteristic of the first edition which impressed this reviewer is now deepened and strengthened. Chapter X on "The Governor" is a fine example of the book's quality. It is a quality which makes the term "textbook" quite too dry and academic. That chapter in particular and parts of several others make us realize that Dr. Graves is interested in the way state government serves human beings, not merely in how the machinery of state government is put together. Realizing that sometimes poets are wiser than logicians he boldly quotes from them, as on page 886, when he would have us comprehend certain elements in a problem.

A review of this book, short of a few thousand words, would not be worthy of that term. Hence this is simply a notice that the second edition of *American State Government* is now available and will be found particularly useful by all teachers, citizens, and administrators intent on making and keep-

ing state government human and for the people.

W. J. M.

Public Policy. A Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University. Edited by C. F. Friedrich and Edward S. Mason; associate editor, Pendleton Herring. Cambridge, Harvard University, 1941. viii, 458 pp. \$4.

This is the second yearbook of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing with budgetary and fiscal problems and the second with defense problems and miscellaneous. The first part contains eight chapters or essays on certain budgetary and fiscal aspects of the national government, and one chapter on the Bank of France. The second part has two chapters on defense matters and a chapter each on antitrust procedure and the Hatch law. These chapters embody the results of studies conducted by researchers, professors, and federal civil servants, many of whom have been associated with the Harvard research program.

While most of the topics are interesting and timely, they do not form a unified treatment of the subject matter. Each chapter more or less stands by itself. As a result, the book is little more than a collection of miscellaneous essays, in spite of efforts of the editors to tie the aggregation together.

The most interesting of the essays from this reviewer's standpoint are those dealing with budgetary matters. Harvey S. Perloff writes on "Budgetary Symbolism," apparently taking his cue from some of the recent writings of

¹Published in November 1941.

Thurman Arnold. He feels that the New Deal was greatly hampered by "long-standing traditions and accepted symbols" in the budgetary field. He seems to overlook the fact that budgetary technique was so new and so undeveloped in the federal government during the depression years that it could hardly stand in the way of any political policy. Budgetary "principles," as understood abroad, were simply dressed up by the opposition and used as a sort of scarecrow to frighten the public. The New Dealers, in embryo, were guilty of this same performance in the presidential campaign of 1932. So when Mr. Perloff says, "The prevalent ideology which conceives of public budgeting in terms chiefly of control and economy, under the aegis of traditional principles, casts a mist of unreality over the major issues," he is merely making high-sounding phrases.

Spencer Thompson writes an interesting essay on "The Investment Budget," and shows how the idea may be applied to the United States Forest Service.

Perhaps the most useful essay in the book from a practical standpoint is the chapter by Robert H. Rawson on "The Formulation of the Federal Budget." It presents a thoughtful and up-to-date account of the work of the Budget Bureau in preparing the federal budget, without any efforts at a display of "budgetary blitzkrieg."

The economic theory of "Deficit Finance" is examined and ably condensed into about seventy pages by Benjamin Higgins and Richard A. Musgrave.

A. E. BUCK
Institute of Public Administration

The City-County Consolidated. By John A. Rush. Los Angeles, Calif., 1941. 413 pp. \$4. (Special price to REVIEW readers, \$3.) Apply to author, 121 South Hudson Avenue, Los Angeles.)

"In creating a city-county consolidated, whatever its population, its success cannot be assured unless it is given full power of home rule with the right of designating all its officers without interference by either courts or the legislature. It is the considered opinion of the author, speaking generally, that a city in this country having a population of 100,000 or more will best serve the interests of its people by separating itself from the county and creating itself into a city-county consolidated form of government with home rule powers." These two sentences, almost the last in the book, can be said to be the meaning of the title of this *tour de force* which embodies in a literal sense one man's life.

Readers of the REVIEW, practically speaking, all agree with Mr. Rush, that a grave city-county problem exists before they open his impressive book. The Pharaohs are the "run of the mine" members of constitutional conventions of states in which the courts must now interfere with any such attempt because of the plain language of their state constitutions. Certainly whenever such conventions are aided by the preparation of studies of the questions which they should consider, Mr. Rush's book will not only be found in the bibliographies of several manuals but it will be quoted and referred to frequently.

At times Mr. Rush shows an impatience with compromise schemes, such as that for an Allegheny (Pittsburgh) City-County, which often affects those not called upon to make a practical decision. Whether to try to get as much consolidation as all the factors operative at a given time permit, or to refuse to ask for, and take, less than perfection, must be left to those we have learned to trust and who must make the decision.

"The fundamental defect in the manager plan is the method used in the

appointment of the manager" (p. 84). The discussion in which this sentence occurs shows, as does other material in the book, that Mr. Rush is interested in "efficient" local government and would sacrifice "democracy" to that end. Fortunately, his main argument is not affected by the question as to whether a clear majority of the people of a city, with unhampered opportunity to form and effectively express an opinion, have not a right to "enjoy" what from Mr. Rush's and this reviewer's viewpoint is bad government.

The appearance of this book at this time will certainly be of help to those citizens interested in finding a solution for the metropolitan area problem.

W. J. M.

Civil Service Careers for Boys. By Norman V. Carlisle and Curtis L. Erickson. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1941. 202 pp. \$2.

Civil Service Careers for Girls. By Norman V. Carlisle and Doris McFerran. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1941. 202 pp. \$2.

The appearance of these books is significant. They make us aware that the day is now here when high school teachers in charge of vocational guidance feel they should bring the attention of their pupils to the multitude of opportunities public employment offers. The book's information is put in story form with Dick and Larry, Peggy and Madge, asking questions and getting the facts which the authors want to pass on to their readers. About three dozen full-page half-tones embellish each book.

Most of the material concerns federal services but occasionally the growth of the merit system in city and state governments is discussed. The girls get a full chapter on that topic and are told that "Somewhere in the neighborhood of 60 per cent of all municipal

employees work under civil service." We hope they learn also that "civil service" and the "merit system" are not synonymous terms.

Information about local opportunities for boys is scattered throughout their book. In a chapter entitled "For the Public Good," they are told: "Unfortunately, social service workers don't get paid as well as other professional workers. Their compensation has to come partly from love of their work." Now that the discussion method for teaching the social sciences is growing in high schools, some of us grown-ups would like to "audit" a discussion by high school students on why that rule for social workers and another for pugilists, football coaches, and movie stars.

To a grown-up these books seem excellent. Whether they are must be left to the critical judgment of fifteen-year-olds, but they certainly should have an opportunity to pass judgment upon them.

W. J. M.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Refuse Collection

Planning Refuse Collection Operations. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1941. 48 pp. 50 cents.

State Government

Government and Politics in Alabama. By William Vernon Holloway and Charles W. Smith, Jr. University of Alabama, the University Supply Store, 1941. ix, 210 pp.

Massachusetts Government in Operation. By Ellen Deborah Ellis etc. South Hadley, Massachusetts, Mt. Holyoke College, Department of Political Science, 1941. 21 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Centralization of Taxes. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Development of the New York State Department of Taxation and Finance and the New York State Tax System. By Beulah Bailey Thull. Albany, New York State Department of Taxation and Finance, 1941. 62 pp. mimeo.

Federal Tax Legislation in 1941. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Income War Tax Act, Dominion of Canada, Including Excess Profits Tax and Other Related Measures. Chicago, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1941. 123 pp. \$1.

The Instalment Payment of Real Estate Taxes in Wisconsin Municipalities. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1941. 20 pp. mimeo. \$1.

Municipals. By Committee on Municipal Obligations, National Association of Supervisors of State Banks. Washington, D. C., Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 1941. 108 pp. \$1.

Non-Defense Spending Menaces the Nation. Tax Analysis Reveals Urgent Need of Cutting Sharply All Normal Government Costs to Expedite the Defense Program and Avoid Local, State and National Bankruptcy. New York City, Taxpayers Federation, Inc., of the State of New York, 1941. 17 pp.

Sales Taxes Affecting Motor-Vehicle Operation. Important Extracts from an Analysis of General Sales Tax Revenues Resulting from Motor Vehicle Operation. By the Division of Control, Public Roads Administration. Washington, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, 1941. 14 pp.

The Tax Law of the State of New York as of July 1941. Chicago, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1941. 336 pp. \$2.

State Tax Legislation in 1941. Edited

by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. 25 cents.

A Study of Problems Contributing to Tax Forfeiture, Tax Delinquency and Depreciation of Business Real Estate Values in Saint Paul with Suggestions for Probable Remedies. Prepared by Mayor's Committee on Tax Forfeiture. St. Paul, St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research, 1941.

A Study of Tax Reverted Lands in Michigan, including Analysis of the 1938 Tax Sale and the 1940 Land Salvage Sale and a Review of Tax and Salvage Sale Procedures. Lansing, Michigan Planning Commission, 1941. 72 pp.

Tax Facts and Figures. New York City, The Tax Foundation, 1941. vi, 73 pp.

The Use Tax. Its History, Administration, and Economic Effects. By Maurice Criz. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. vi, 56 pp. \$1.50.

Traffic

Traffic Accidents and Congestion. By Maxwell Halsey. New York City, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1941. xvi, 408 pp. \$4.

Miscellaneous

Drainage District Organization and Finance 1879-1937. Prepared by Illinois Tax Commission in Coöperation with Work Projects Administration, 1941. x, 213 pp. maps.

1940 Street Lighting Costs and Lamps in Service in 183 Cities Above 50,000 Population. Compiled by Otto P. Ortlieb. Trenton, New Jersey, Street Lighting Division, Department of Parks and Public Property, 1941. 7 pp. mimeo.

A Study of Waterworks Charges in 286 Cities. Chicago, Barcus, Kindred & Co., 1941. 12 pp. mimeo.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Planning with Hope and Confidence

Editorial

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British Civilian Agencies in the War

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Impact of National Defense on
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Zilpha C. Franklin

Developing Responsible Citizens

Alonzo G. Grace

Writing a New Constitution

W. Brooke Graves

February 1942

Vol. XXXI, No.

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 2

Total Number 308

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

The League's Business

League Service Prepares Report

Now in print is *Civic Affairs, 1940-41*, eighteenth annual report of the City Manager of Berkeley, California. The League's newly established Municipal Reporting Consultant Service is responsible for preparation of the 40-page book which, picturing a typical Berkeley family on its cover, describes city government from the point of view of the average citizen.

The advisory committee of the Service has Richard Graves, executive secretary of the League of California Cities, as its chairman; other committee members are Harold J. Boyd, comptroller of the city and county of San Francisco; Walter W. Cooper, city manager of San Diego; Professor E. A. Cottrell, Stanford University; Samuel C. May, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley; A. I. Stewart, mayor of Pasadena; and Frank M. Stewart, director of the Bureau of Government Research, University of California at Los Angeles.

League Contributions Deductible for Tax Purposes

In response to recent inquiries, the League has informed members and contributors that subscriptions, memberships, and contributions to the National Municipal League are deductible for United States income tax purposes.

Change Made in "Model State Constitution"

The League's Committee on State Government has changed the wording of the second paragraph of Article XII, Section 1201, of the recently published revision of the *Model State Constitution*, concerning the election of delegates to a convention to amend or revise a constitution. The substitute wording has been printed on slips of gummed paper which may be pasted over the present wording. Copies of this will be sent on request to those who possess copies of the *Model State Constitution*.

League Visitors

Recent visitors to the League's office include Jose de Nazare Teixeira Dias, government administrator of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; D. D. Mich, managing editor of *Look Magazine*; Willard C. Mills, of the Office of Price Administration; Frederick W. Killian, executive director of the New Jersey Committee on Constitutional Convention; James Brunot, Secretary of the Committee on Community Organization, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services; and Ralph L. Custer, Garden City, Long Island, Property Owners Association.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Planning with Hope and Confidence

THE federal government is, of necessity, establishing a system of censorship to prevent revelation of military and other information of value to the enemy; but there seems no way to prevent harmful utterances such as one made recently by one of the prominent business advisory services. In a report which, commendably, urges business to do its own post-war planning, the following appeared:

"The let-down will be fantastic. No matter how many government plans are made to anticipate the catastrophe *they will fail of fulfillment* (italics ours). When this thing is over, and countless fine citizens are out of work and helpless, the real price of total war will be visited upon your children and their children and it won't be pretty. The government can't feed everyone forever."

At best, this is a philosophy of despair based more on conjecture than reality. At worst, it does not help to keep public morale at a high level. It is probably inaccurate and most certainly destructive at this stage of the game to predict the failure of government planning.

How does an "expert" go about determining that government post-war planning will fail with any greater accuracy than the crash of 1929 was predicted? When, in time of great crisis, has there ever before been a genuine program of calm, orderly planning? There certainly

has been a notable lack of it; and the lessons taught by the last post-war period are still fresh, especially the lesson of what happens when there is no plan.

Are we in this country so lacking in imagination that we cannot develop a plan for the demobilization of armed forces and war industry in a manner which will cause the least dislocation of the economy and the population?

Can we not develop a reservoir of national, state, and local public works projects which are *needed* and which now are being postponed because of the shortage of labor and materials?

Cannot private industry, with the encouragement and coöperation of government, now formulate and test plans for the conversion of plants and man power to the task of making new and wanted products?

Can we not now plan public finance so that we will be ready to soften the consequences of this war and so that we might try, at least, to escape the disastrous cycle through which local finance went after the last war?

Can we not now do something to reorient our conception of international affairs so that we can lay a foundation for a long period of peace rather than for a period of preparation for new conflicts?

There is no government in the

United States—local, state, national—which does not suffer and has not suffered from a lack of orderly planning. The war effort itself is slowed and hampered by the same lack. From the beginnings of the republic to Pearl Harbor it has been the same story—lack of planning. There is no good reason to believe we cannot change the pattern, that we must perpetually be the pawns of fate. There are many reasons for confidence that, by correcting past errors, we can prevent a repetition of past catastrophes. This is the usual key to progress.

It would be foolhardy, of course, to claim we can foresee and plan in advance the solution of every problem the future will produce. Past experience will show clearly what some of the problems will be, however, and both failures and successes of the past can furnish sound guides.

But, whether the plans which government and business are now making will eventually succeed or fail, we should be "game" to try. This is no time to have or to express a lack of confidence in government, which, in the last analysis, is lack of confidence in ourselves.

Preserving the Treasure

On June 5, 1918, during the darkest days of the World War, the warning printed below was sounded at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League during the course of an address¹ by Leroy E. Snyder, then director of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, now assistant to the president of the Gannett Newspapers. It is a helpful reminder now, as then, of the basic essentials we are fighting for.—EDITOR.

IT IS axiomatic that in war time no sacrifice of individual interest or of the normal social activities of a nation is too great, if that sacrifice is necessary to the winning of the war and is not destructive of the fundamental and essential interests of the state. The personal sacrifices that are being made by individuals in many countries now at war are of such a nature as could not have been anticipated in times of peace. It is perhaps conceivable that, in an over-

whelming national emergency, demanding the sacrifice of every personal comfort and convenience to achieve victory, men might walk the streets naked and be unashamed.

These considerations must influence any decision reached in a discussion of wartime work of civic organizations, but they make necessary a fundamental examination of the kind and quality of service rendered by civic organizations to the state. We have had repeatedly quoted the words of President Wilson, "War must not destroy civic efficiency." If war did destroy civic efficiency it would be suicidal. A national life which is not wholesome, purposeful, and promising in future usefulness, is not worth any effort to save.

We know men who feel that almost any kind of civic work is more or less of a luxury, and therefore quite dispensable in war times. If we were

¹Full text of this address was published in the November 1918 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Wanted: More Equity in Tax Division

Development of an integrated tax system will require years of hard work; few steps have been taken even to formulate the principles on which action or planning can be based.

By SIMEON E. LELAND
University of Chicago

THE position of urban governments in our society is both unique and appalling. They house the bulk of the nation's population, they contain the preponderance of its wealth and income, they are the centers of culture and education, they carry on the bulk of our trade and commerce. Urban governments perform those functions, excluding defense, most vital to our daily lives. The urban functions of education, health, recreation, sanitation, and protection have been more important in the everyday life of the citizen than the highways, charitable and correctional activities of the state, or the protection of persons and property, the promotion of trade, commerce, or education by the national government. Moreover, the demands for service from municipalities have been more intensive, and likewise more extensive, than those faced by other units—all this, of course, in times of peace.

On the other side of the ledger, urban communities have had only slender resources with which to meet the growing demands of their citizens. During the last thirty years the fiscal position of American municipalities seems to have been growing steadily worse. Meanwhile, the number of those to be served has steadily increased; urban life has become more

complex and the demands for public service more intense.

The situation in brief is this: More service has been continuously required in the face of relatively diminished revenue resources from which to meet the costs of government. In 1911, of \$2,700,000,000 collected in taxes, 65 per cent was for urban and local purposes, 24 per cent for federal purposes, and 11 per cent for state functions. In 1920, of \$8,800,000,000 collected in taxes, 27 per cent was for urban and local purposes, 65 per cent for federal uses, and 7 per cent for state functions. In 1930, of \$10,292,000,000 collected in taxes, 47 per cent was for urban and local uses, 35 per cent for federal functions, and 25 per cent for state purposes. In 1940, of \$13,000,000,000 collected in taxes, 37 per cent was for urban and local purposes, 38 per cent for federal uses, and 25 per cent for state functions.¹

These data, taken before the defense program commenced, but definitely including the long-run effects of World War I, reveal the declining fiscal importance of urban and local governments measured by relative revenues. It is doubtful if they truly reflect changing needs.

¹Data taken from *Tax Yields: 1940*, Tax Institute, Philadelphia, pp. 20-21.

During the period from 1911 to 1940 federal revenues increased from \$644,000,000 to \$4,800,000,000—an increase of $7\frac{1}{2}$ times; state revenues rose from \$300,000,000 to \$3,250,000,000—over a tenfold increase; urban and local revenues, on the other hand, increased from \$1,750,000,000 to \$4,750,000,000—or only 170 per cent.¹

If comparisons are made with respect to the depth of the late depression, it is discovered that state revenues increased 95 per cent between 1933 and 1940; federal tax collections rose 159 per cent in the same period; while urban and local revenues increased only a little more than 5 per cent. Whatever the period selected urban revenues seem to have slipped steadily behind those of other major units.

Relief Burden Shifted

It was during the late depression period that local governments assumed the first impact of relief burdens. They carried them as long as they were able, but in the face of diminishing resources finally had to appeal to state and national governments for aid. Confronted by increased demands for service, particularly for assistance to needy citizens, the resources of urban government failed to respond. Part of the difficulty is found in the character of taxable resources themselves.

The property tax is the dominant source of revenue for urban and local governments—the smaller the units, the more dependent they are upon this tax. In 1940 the property tax was still the most important single source of public revenues. It pro-

duced \$4,700,000,000 or 36 per cent of total revenues of all governments. Ninety-nine per cent of the property taxes were collected by local governments, which units relied upon the property tax for 94 per cent of their aggregate revenues.²

The defects of this tax are well known. It operates inequitably between persons, territories, classes of property, and amounts of individual holdings. It is relatively inelastic, even though it has been the major flexible element in state-local taxation. Despite the fact that collections from the tax were impaired by the depression, many governments were forced to increase property tax levies. There was little else they could do since, in general, they could not get power from the states to develop their own revenue systems.³ Nor can municipalities effectively administer sales, income, or excise taxes.

There is not much, therefore, which municipalities can do to help themselves financially if the taxes they employ must be equitable, or efficiently administered, or of a type not calculated adversely to affect trade, commerce, or the economic welfare of their inhabitants. If these standards are not insisted upon, municipalities could collect much larger revenues from various types of taxes, if only given the power to adopt them. However, the consequences of taxing on the Donnybrook Fair Principle—

²*Tax Yields: 1940*, p. 27.

³Even the powers of New York City which were relatively free were recently curtailed under the new constitution adopted by New York State. See New York State Constitution, 1938, Article VIII.

seeing a head and hitting it—are not to be desired.

The way out, of course, is through intergovernmental transfers, such as grants-in-aid or shared revenues, perhaps supplemented by local surcharges. The adoption of this policy will require the development of closer fiscal relationships between federal, state, and local governments to the end that a coöperative plan, mutually conceived and administered, may result.

The financial situation of local governments would have been hopeless years ago had it not been for the evolution of grants and shared revenues, which appeared in the states long before the federal government commenced its grants-in-aid policies. By and large the states employed them in the equalization of resources, while federal policies contained a large element of stimulation. During the depression, however, grants for relief and recovery were based largely upon need and, in part, reflected fiscal conditions in various territories.

Grants-in-aid Increase

The amount of these intergovernmental transfers has steadily increased. State school and highway grants amounted to \$46,000,000 in 1902; by 1932 they were \$665,000,000.⁴ About that time welfare grants became significant, rising from \$10,000,000 in 1928 to \$284,000,000 in 1938.⁵ Shared taxes in the latter year amounted to \$427,000,000, bringing the total of state transfers

to local governments above \$1,400,000,000.

Federal aid to states exclusive of funds allocated for recovery and relief amounted to \$1,456,000,000 in 1940, a sum four times greater than in 1920. Grants to states under the Social Security Act amounted to \$356,000,000 in 1940. Expenditures for public works, including many in the nature of grants, amounted to almost a billion dollars in the same year. Expenditures for relief and work relief accounted for almost two billion more.⁶ Many of these expenditures and grants percolate through the fiscal mechanism to assist local agencies.

It is clear that intergovernmental fiscal transfers from central to subordinate governments are an established policy in America. The amount of grants and transfers has increased substantially over the years yet they have been made, in the main, for specific purposes such as education, highways, and relief—including social security and public works. From time to time the grants have shifted as needs have changed, with grants for relief purposes predominant in recent years.

A corollary is that there have been few transfers for general government or for general budgetary purposes. The states, moreover, have seemed to feel that their obligations to localities are met if the property tax is surrendered to them, and have made no attempt to develop municipal revenue systems commensurate with local needs.

⁴Bittermann, *Grants-in-aid*, p. 48.

⁵Merlin, *American Taxes Shared and Allocated—1938*, p. 12.

⁶Data in this paragraph taken from *Annual Report of Secretary of Treasury, 1940*, pp. 26, 28, 820.

It has been a matter of sheer coincidence when local governments have possessed adequate taxable resources. As a result some governments have been able to meet demands with ease; others have not been able to provide even a tolerable minimum of services. For the nation as a whole there is no minimum standard of local services, nor any general standard of financial aid.

Defense has now complicated the position of municipalities. The federal government is spending at the rate of one and a half billion dollars per month and will soon spend two billion per month. The national government alone will spend twice as much in a year as all governments collected in taxes in 1940. The war production program has already made scarce and more costly many materials needed by both governments and civilians. The requirements of the armed services and the opportunities for service at higher wages in war industries have caused men to leave the employment of state and local governments.

Municipal Resources Reduced

The weight of federal taxation has reduced the resources available for municipal taxation and has increased the pressure of taxpayers and their associations for economy and tax reductions in local government. Both the financial and production programs have led to the demand that local governments curtail public works and capital outlay expenditures, not only to avoid competition with war efforts so as to keep down the cost of construction materials, but also to build up a reserve of useful projects

for construction in the post-war period.

The enormous financial requirements of the war have also led to demands for the curtailment of federal non-defense expenditures. This movement eventually may affect federal grants for highways, education, relief, or public works, and ultimately municipal provision for such services. On the other hand, suggestions to extend the scope of social security to municipal employees will cost cities real money.

Production for defense has increased the quantity of money going into the pockets of the people, while at the same time fewer civilian goods are available for purchase. The resultant upward trend in prices will mean higher costs to municipalities. Statistics indicate that prices have been steadily rising.

Many areas, too, have been peculiarly affected by defense activities within their borders. In municipalities where defense production has been greatly expanded, naval yards or military facilities constructed, numerous water and sewer systems have been found insufficient. Streets to handle increased traffic have been lacking, satisfactory housing has not been available, recreational facilities have been inadequate, even sanitary precautions have not existed. Many municipalities have not been able to provide these essentials to adequate defense because of the financial burdens they have already been carrying and because of the utter inadequacy of their own tax systems.

It was inevitable that the exigencies of defense should bring to the fore

the problems of intergovernmental fiscal relationships. As between the federal and local governments, who should bear the cost of defense facilities and outlays needed within municipalities? Were the local governments to make these expenditures as contributions to national defense? Or were national expenditures to provide local facilities vital to defense? Could arrangements be worked out for dividing costs among the governments involved? Whatever answer is appropriate can be made, but the fact should be recorded that there is no present machinery for frankly meeting these problems.

Property Tax Limited

Between the state and local units the problem is different. The localities are creatures of the state, subject on the whole to state control. The state, typically, has diversified and lucrative sources of revenue; it has retained the taxes most suited to central administration, and—surely it is hardly an accident—as such, the ones yielding greatest returns. As the state claimed these taxes it left the property tax to the local units in a rather uneven division. The state tax systems, moreover, are elastic—better able to meet rising costs of government, as in the case of state sales taxes. Urban tax systems, on the other hand, are not readily adapted to meet rapidly changing economic conditions or sudden increases in the cost of government; they are not, in short, geared to meet the requirements of defense.

With the property tax as a main support, municipalities can secure added funds only as valuations or

rates—or both—increase. Frequently the tax rates are so limited that valuations must rise before added revenues can be secured. This takes time. How much effect will defense plants or military establishments have on property values? Do the undertakings hold promise of permanent gains for a period long enough to justify the capitalization of future expectations into enhanced property values? Or does the prospect of ghost towns after the emergency is over tend to keep valuations from rising? It should be recalled, too, that many of the undertakings are federally-owned and are, consequently, tax-exempt. Others may be slow in showing up on the tax duplicate, due to lags in construction, assessment, and collection.

The property tax, in addition, seldom reaches transitory activities. Transients swarm to particular cities, but before they acquire taxable property or affect the value of the property of others they are gone. Money is squandered by itinerants without contributing to the support of local government. Huge payrolls and intense economic activity take place in communities lacking the power to reach such taxpaying ability. The state, on the other hand, does have power to reach this transitory ability through its sales, franchise, corporation, or income taxes.

The increased activities for defense give rise to demands for increased municipal services. Since adequate taxes cannot be collected, pressures arise to borrow needed funds. Future as well as present difficulties are thus multiplied. Now

is the time, however, to decrease state and local debts, not to increase them. It is the time, too, for individuals to pay their own debts. All can use their credit to better advantage in the post-war period. If debts are contracted now, what resources will be available to discharge them if, with the end of the war, economic activity abates, incomes decrease, and populations move to other regions? How much of the wartime expansion is to be permanent? How many of the transients are to become citizens interested in the payment of local debts? It is more prudent to pay today than to borrow.

It is also important, however, not to allow municipal services to become impaired during the emergency; in fact, many of them must become more efficient. Inadequate water supply, improper sewerage, breakdowns in health or police service—to mention only a few instances—may immediately be reflected in decreased defense production. Likewise the curtailment of recreation, sanitation, or educational programs may affect the morale of citizens and soldiers alike. It would be a sorry comment if, in the midst of the greatest boom in our history, the quantity or quality of municipal services should be allowed to suffer. Not only can the nation afford efficient municipal services, it cannot during the war emergencies afford to be without them.

A Coordinated Fiscal Program

One of the requisites for successful defense is a coordinated fiscal program for the entire nation—one for its many governments and its people, one in which the policies of public

and private finance are complementary. The program should cover taxes, expenditures, and debts. Harmonious policies among governments are required so as to avoid competitive expenditure, the only result of which would be to make all government functions—defense as well as others—more costly.

Tax and expenditure programs, the effect of which is to increase costs and create tendencies toward inflation, must be avoided. The federal government has already taken the leadership in the development of policies for financing defense and avoiding inflation; state and local governments should adapt their policies to the nation's program. All should become partners in the common enterprise, developing their programs so as to maximize defense and minimize the costs and hardships to citizens.

The nation has long needed a unified tax system, and one that would impose substantially equal burdens on citizens and business throughout the country. The independence with which the various states have framed tax legislation has led to unsavory competition between them for the location of industry, the domicile of the wealthy, and even the closing of state borders to the poor. Attempts have been made to develop home industries at the expense of trade with neighboring commonwealths. Tariff barriers within the nation have been erected by short-sighted states. Tax burdens have been inequitably distributed and have increased in many sections far out of proportion to the

(Continued on Page 129)

British Civilian Agencies in the War

There are many differences between the British and American patterns of local government; but there is much of profit to be learned from British experience.

By ERIC H. BIDDLE
American Public Welfare Association

A COMPREHENSIVE discussion of the effects of modern war upon local government would call for an examination of every branch of local government operating under war conditions, so all-pervading is the impact of total war.

During recent years, as war swept over Europe and Asia, it was only natural that its more dramatic aspects should register themselves most vividly on the consciousness of American observers. In the field of local government it was the new air-raid precaution services that caught the imagination of Americans viewing the spreading conflagration from afar—the auxiliary fire fighting and anti-gas measures and the casualty services. No one will deny the fateful and important part which the A.R.P. services have played in the preservation of the lives of the British people and the conservation of their property.

Yet, it is in the long developed, permanent services of government that we must look for the most significant changes effected by war conditions. Here are three important changes brought about by the impact of war:

(1) There is a strong tendency towards positive action in very many areas affecting the lives of the Brit-

ish people in which the government was formerly negative in its attitude.

(2) Increased efforts to meet war needs by maximizing the productivity of every worker have involved strengthening virtually all of the existing social services and adding a number of new ones to meet wartime needs.

(3) A greater degree of integration between local and national government has been brought about by defense requirements.

Take the first of these changes—the transition to positive government—and consider but three examples of this increased government intervention in the life of the citizen:

First: The Minister of Labor is empowered by defense regulations to direct any citizen to undertake any task in the United Kingdom connected with the war effort in Britain.

Second: The Minister of Health may requisition any residential property in Britain for the housing of evacuated children, transferred civil servants, or war workers.

Third: A greater control is being exercised over the distribution of income among the people by steeply increased income taxes and profits taxes, and over the distribution of supplies by rationing systems. Thus, the basic income tax (including com-

pulsory savings) has been stepped up and now ranges from a minimum of 50 per cent of net income to 97½ per cent in the upper surtax brackets. Another control of economic life is the concentration of industry, which groups industries whose output is not essential under war conditions around a nucleus firm, in order to keep some vestige of the business going for the duration of the war. By the closing of the other firms, large numbers of workers are released for the war effort.

It does not take much reflection on these facts to recognize that the exercise of each of these powers represents the infusion of national or local government in an important way into practically every human activity.

Control in Moderation

Observers generally agree that these powers have been exercised with the most extraordinary moderation, considering the situation in which Britain has found itself during the past year. Take, for example, those which the government has exerted over man power. To implement these powers the Minister of Labor adopted the National Arbitration Order which provides for the ultimate sanction of compulsory arbitration and is a declaration against strikes and lockouts.

It is worth noting that before promulgating this order, the Ministry of Labor originally referred it in its proposed form to a joint consultative committee of six representatives of the Trades Union Congress and six representatives from the British Employers' Confederation. After consultation between these represen-

tatives and the executive committees of their respective constituent bodies, the order was modified in important respects.

This same general scheme had been followed in the case of all other restrictive orders arising out of the wartime authorities over man power which had been conferred upon the Minister of Labor. An appeal machinery also exists to which workers may appeal for deferment from military service, the operation of the Essential Work Orders, or any other compulsive action.

In general, this method of procedure pervades the entire operation of the various restrictive measures referred to above.

Nevertheless, these enormous governmental powers do exist. To a very large extent they are being exercised, and to some extent they represent the temporary surrender or suspension of the highly valued and hard won rights of various sections of the population, notably the workers. It has often been said that all of this represents the determination of the British people to win the war. It is clear that if an objective is sufficiently desired by a large enough number of people in any country, there is a tendency to adopt collective measures the effect of which will be to increase the intervention of the state in the lives of the people.

First, it is important to recognize that these measures were not forced upon the British people by a dictator, but were adopted with the full support of the Labor party which, in the early stages of the war, pressed more vigorously for strengthening the

national effort by such means than did the Conservative party itself.

Second, the strengthening and expansion of the British social services is largely a counterpart of the first consideration. If the national purpose is to increase the production of the nation by such extreme measures as already referred to, then it follows that the government must insure that adequate food, clothing, medical care, and other necessities are available in order to guarantee the maximum productivity of every worker.

Welfare Programs Expanded

The government has provided that the unemployment and health insurance programs shall be broadened to include additional groups of workers and that benefits shall be increased because of the increased cost of living. In 1940 a supplementary Old Age Insurance Act was adopted which enabled recipients of contributory benefits to receive supplementary benefits from the Assistance Board (an agency of the central government). Nearly a million people, therefore, were removed from local poor relief rolls. The age at which women qualify for receipt of contributory old-age insurance was reduced from 65 to 60.

By a wartime act, known as the "Prevention and Relief of Distress Act," the Assistance Board is enabled to provide grants of financial assistance for individuals whose income falls below a certain level or who have lost their income as a result of war causes. The Assistance Board is also in a position to provide assistance for civilians injured in action,

who are subsequently entitled to pensions for continuing disability as a result of the war injury. Real property and household goods are, within certain limits, covered under a compulsory War Damage Insurance Act.

It is still difficult for Americans to visualize the extent to which such controls have been adopted in England and their implications upon the problems of public administration, to mention only one aspect of their far-reaching effects. It is only a short time since Congress declared war. A price control bill has recently been passed by Congress. The Office of Production Management has announced the suspension of the sale of automobiles and a rationing plan which rigidly limits the supply of tires.

Yet even today Americans tend to think of these measures with a kind of finality as though each represented the last step in restriction upon personal habits. Local government officials will be quick to recognize that these are only the first of many similar sacrifices that will have to be made in the interests of the war effort. Each successive step in this direction will create new and difficult problems for public administrators.

When the food supply of Britain was threatened, people became more aware of the need to insure that everyone receive an adequate supply of nourishing food. Local authorities were encouraged to open public restaurants known as "British Restaurants" where a substantial hot meal could be obtained by any one on the payment of the standard price, which ran from eight pence to a shilling.

Any one who could not afford to pay could receive free tickets for the meal from the Public Assistance Committees. The national government financed deficiencies incurred in the operation of these restaurants and underwrote their capital costs.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Labor established an advisory board dealing with welfare measures, both inside and outside the factory. Among the measures resulting from this board's deliberation was the promulgation of a rule by the Ministry of Labor requiring all factories employing more than 250 persons, upon order of the factory inspector, to provide a canteen equipped to serve a hot meal during each shift. Another rule has been adopted to the effect that factory inspectors may require that any new defense industry factory have a full or part-time medical service. Many additional measures provide for new social services for children and mothers evacuated to the country districts, as well as measures for the provision of additional community activities in or near air raid shelters. This account does not by any means exhaust the list of the new welfare measures, but gives some idea of the vast increase of social service provisions.

With the exception of the factory welfare measures which are in the main the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Labor, and the further exception of the extended services of the Assistance Board, the actual carrying out of most of these services is in the hands of local government officials. Wartime demands have put a new emphasis on the functions of local government and the qualifica-

tions of local government officials. So much are these services involved with the personal habits, likes and dislikes of the people in the community that they are matters of daily concern.

It is true that government had previously been concerned with such matters as education, public assistance, parks and playgrounds, and utilities. But more vital matters, such as air raid precautions, life in shelters, the evacuation of children, or the operation of British restaurants, required a greater understanding of the way of life of the people, their habits and desires, their hopes and fears.

Local Officials Important

The relationship of the local official to the community as a whole in the pre-war period was an important one, but it was generally related to matters that were impersonal to most of the community. The emphasis has now changed to matters of vital personal concern for citizens.

But as to most of these matters, the local official, by force of circumstances, is dependent on an integrated national service. Thus, if an air-raid warning is to be given in sufficient time to serve its purpose, an elaborate national communications system must be functioning on all cylinders. Or, take the matter of transport, which is of such vital concern to the safety and comfort of people. More than ever, under war conditions, local authorities are responsible for supervision of local highway transportation. As to the national fuel supply, it is an elaborate system of government procure-

ment and distribution that must provide the necessary gasoline that "makes the bus go."

Again, in a time of heavy enemy attack, all the services that the locality has at hand will not be enough. There will be a need to bring wardens and fire fighters and other personnel from distant points to supplement local services. And since the extent of the attack cannot be predicted, there must be a comprehensive organization whose authority covers a territory as wide as the need may require.

This brings us to the third point—the greater integration of local and national government which has been the inevitable outcome of the war. To meet this situation the national government created a new Ministry—the Ministry of Home Security—whose responsibility it is to devise the major strategy and tactics of defense, acting through a regional commissioner in each of the twelve civil defense regions into which the country has been divided. When the government designed the civil defense areas, it elected to utilize to the maximum possible extent the initiative and resources of local authorities.

Thus, when the local authority established its warden services, casualty services, police and rescue functions, it was the regional commissioner's duty to approve all the plans submitted before the central government would reimburse the local authority for its expenditures. The regional commissioners also worked out mutual aid schemes and directed transfer of personnel and equipment from one local authority to the other within the region as need arose.

At the outset, the authority of regional commissioners tended to be resented as an invasion of local responsibility. But once the bombs began to fall, the criticism much more generally tended the other way. Result: a pressure on the regional commissioners and the central government to assume more responsibility and leadership in both the development of preblitz measures and actual supervision of their operations.

The process has represented an evolutionary development as a result of wartime experience. There seems to be widespread agreement that some form of regionalization will become a permanent part of the British government, probably quite different in kind and form from the present system which is actually a devolution of the national government, rather than the concentration of any combination of local authorities as such. It will be of especial interest to American observers that all of the ministries dealing with internal affairs and concerned with civil defense have been required to set up the same regions of operation, and each such region is now co-extensive with the boundaries of the twelve civil defense regions.

Granting that there are many differences between the British and American patterns of local government, nevertheless the central problems of war administration confronting local government in the two countries differ mainly in degree. There is much of profit to be learned from the British experience.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address before the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, November 18, 1941.

Impact of National Defense on Family Life

The life that Americans have made for themselves and their families is far from perfect; but we are free to work together for its improvement.

By ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN

Chief Information Officer, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services

WHAT DOES defense mean to the average American family? Until recently it has meant practically nothing to many of them. One woman, for example, felt she had a personal grievance against the entire United States government because her new electric refrigerator was delivered without its proper complement of aluminum ice trays. The newspapers carried a story about a fond mama who boasted that she had been able to get her selectee son home from camp three times with the same cryptic telegram: "Come home at once. Grandma is dead." All she neglected to specify was that grandma had been dead for something like ten years.

Even before war was declared a lot of people had learned what defense means at first hand. Here are a few who can speak from their own experience:

The farmer whose pasture accommodates 23 trailers, and the close to a hundred men, women, and children—powder plant workers and their families—who are living in this temporary slum-on-wheels;

The trucker who hauls drinking water twelve miles to another squatter settlement near a new defense plant and the families that must depend on this meager supply until the city pipe line catches up with them;

The manufacturer who is working against time to switch from lingerie lace to army mosquito net and his employees and their families who may otherwise be on relief;

The small town furniture dealer who bedded down overflow soldiers on the fine new mattresses in his showroom after the maneuver invasion had exhausted all the sleeping quarters in every home, tourist camp, and hotel in town.

These incidents are important, not because they are extraordinary, but because they are matter of course. By now things like this are part and parcel of the day's work to thousands upon thousands of Americans and their families.

Under the guidance of Charles P. Taft, its assistant director, the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services is compiling an over-all list of defense communities—those where military posts or expanding defense industries have disrupted ordinary life. There are something like a thousand of these towns, big and little, and the families who live in them don't need to be told that national defense begins at home.

It was natural that recreation for men in military service should have been the first of these defense problems to boil to the surface and demand attention. At any rate, for

more than a year now people in all these towns have been working whole-heartedly at this job and it has changed the pattern of life not only for the men in camp but also for the families in the towns. Grange halls, church parlors, courthouse squares, school gyms, local swimming holes, vacant stores, family living rooms—and even family bathtubs—have been pieced together into a pattern of real community hospitality—a demonstration of what practical ingenuity and plain human kindness can do. It is not too much to say that for the men in uniform and for their hosts this experience “blesseth him that gives and him that takes.”

It did not take long to see that something had to be done for a million and a half men, most of them young, many of them away from home for the first time and thrown suddenly into the strange and stringent surroundings of military training.

Army in Overalls

It has taken longer to realize that for the army in overalls life is at least as uprooted and even more complicated. There are many times more people on the production line of national defense than there are in military service and more of them have families. In spite of relatively good wages, most defense workers do not draw munificent pay—the average is about \$140 a month. On this income a defense worker with a family is, to say the least, not much better off than the army private—who gets his keep as well as his \$21 a month.

The defense family's first headache is to get a roof over its head. Rents have skyrocketed. And beds, like

machines, are being used in three shifts in more than one defense town these days. But say that a family gets some kind of a roof over its head. How is it going to eat? With food prices going up, \$50 a month provides only bare necessities for a family of four. Add transportation, clothes, doctors' bills, and the inevitable odds and ends, and the industrial worker's family has very little left out of its \$140 a month.

Even if its members have money for recreation, where can they go? When factories work round the clock, men and women have their free time at awkward hours. Some defense plants are in country villages as overcrowded as any camp town. Others are in cities which sometimes seem to feel that the place for these strangers is literally and figuratively on the other side of the tracks. Movies and restaurants are not content merely to hang out standing-room-only signs. They lock their doors when the crowd of potential customers gets too thick. Gambling joints, drinking places, and dance halls do a land-office business.

Schools are overtaxed, kindergartens are being discontinued, and elementary and high school classes run in two shifts. One town closed all its 23 schools until after the first of the year. And even where there are school buildings, it is hard to get teachers because there is no place for them to live. Children are short of care not only at school but at home. Many women are working in the defense plants along with their husbands. The children are left to shift for themselves—on the streets unless the mother takes the somewhat precarious precaution of locking them in.

It is not unheard of for two or three youngsters under school age to spend the day cooped up in a trailer with the door bolted on the outside. You can't lock adolescents in so easily and among older boys and girls there has been a marked increase in juvenile delinquency.

The permanent residents in some of these industrial towns are beginning to see that they cannot wash their hands of this problem. They are opening their doors to the newcomers. One small city whose population has increased about 200 per cent has set up eight family clubs in different neighborhoods. Every one of them is used 24 hours a day as people come off the three shifts in the defense plant.

Schools Inadequate

School shortages are also being met somehow. More schools are being built at strategic points with federal help where necessary. Yet this fall there were in the United States some 350,000 youngsters who were school children only by courtesy. Overcrowded defense towns had no schools to which to send them. Emergency quarters are, however, being found. One town has housed overflow children in a vacant store. School books and supplies have been made to do double duty. The town's undertakers provided chairs; its hardware dealers, coat hooks and paint to turn one wall into a blackboard; its fuel dealers, coal; and across the street the "Keep Off the Grass" signs came out of the town square to make way for a playground.

For older children defense pressures on schooling are, if anything, even more acute. For a boy or girl who

has grown up in a family on the borderline of poverty, the temptation to stop school and go to work may be particularly hard to resist today. Wages seem high in comparison to the meager past and opportunities are unusually plentiful for young workers because they are easy to train and because they are not subject to selective service. This is a particularly acute problem in agricultural areas. With the shortage of farm workers the regular employment age of sixteen has a tendency to be overlooked. Yet the false economy of letting young people stop school too soon is underscored by the needs of defense. Job training for young people who are ready for it—and considerably more than a million finish high school or college this year—is essential. Without it the young job seeker is caught in a vicious circle. He cannot get a job because he has no experience; he cannot get experience because he has no job.

This problem is, of course, not confined to youth. Too many families remain on the borderline of dependency because the wage earner has, even in these times, no marketable skill. Yet these are the very families who are most likely to pile the children into the old car and start off on any rumor of distant jobs.

The repercussions of defense reach even those who seem most remote from the main stream of national activity—some 10,000 farm families, most of them in the five states of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Missouri, have been uprooted to clear the great open spaces needed for the military and industrial operations of all-out war.

Even families to whom defense activity offers promise of increased security may meet tragedy. Migration and the hazards of often physically dangerous defense industry are ever-present threats and there is also the very real possibility that shortages and priorities may create a new kind of spot depression in the midst of capacity production.

Add to all these the fact that there is still in this country a vast no man's land unprotected by any adequate nationwide provision for general relief. A recent count shows that in 134 counties in ten states not one single payment was being made for general relief to needy families or individuals who were so unlucky as not to meet the requirements for protection under the Social Security Act.

These are some of the high spots, but these are the beginning rather than the end of the home-front problem. Add to the millions now or soon to be in military service all those in defense industry, and you get a tremendous total.

Nutrition Important

But this number, large as it is, represents only a small fraction of the whole American people. Families all over the country are ready and eager to do their part. One place where families can start—and start now—is in fighting malnutrition.

During the last ten years more progress has been made in the science of nutrition than at any time in the past. Yet with all this knowledge and with the greatest food resources in the world, we are not well fed. Selective service figures show that out of a million men, more than 150,000 were unfit for military service be-

cause of physical disabilities due in one way or another to malnutrition. These were the children of a generation ago. What about the children of today?

Utilizing food for health is a national responsibility. It involves nationwide production, processing, distribution, buying power, and consumer education but it is also a peculiarly local problem. Three meals a day don't happen in some never-never land called "the national scene." They happen where people are—at the family table or in a one-arm quick lunch. Federal agencies stand ready to help on this front as on others, but the job itself must be done in the homes and by the housewives of the nation.

These are some of the problems, the challenges, that national defense brings into American family life. The liabilities are all too apparent—the dangers of overcrowding, insanitation, epidemics, disrupted schooling, malnutrition, and the breaking up of families by all sorts of economic and social hazards.

Against these, however, there are at least some assets: Perhaps we shall now make up at least some of our arrears in community service and family protection. People are always readier to work together in hard times than when everything looks rosy, and we should capitalize on this awakened concern.

There are signs all over the country that we are doing just this. We are beginning to realize that defense towns need not only more *things*—more schools and hospitals and recreation facilities and roads—but also

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Developing Responsible Citizens

Education for constructive citizenship is infinitely more involved and more important than the fragmentary courses offered in our schools and colleges today.

By ALONZO G. GRACE

Commissioner of Education, State of Connecticut

THE National Municipal League since its inception has had a vital interest in the training of the citizens of tomorrow for active participation in local government. The program of education for civic responsibility, sponsored by the League over these many years, is well known to the membership and to many citizens throughout this country. A more recent development, however, is the establishment of a section of the League's annual National Conference on Government for the discussion of the relationships between government and education. The primary objective of this growing section of the conference is to bring the educator, the expert in the field of political science, and the practitioner in the field of government into closer cooperation.

Public education was the subject of the first general session of the 1941 St. Louis meeting, with discussion of the theme "Developing Responsible Citizens." The following day one of the major sectional meetings was devoted to "Reorganizing Our Public Schools."

Developing Responsible Citizens

It is evident that education for constructive citizenship is infinitely more involved and more important than the fragmentary course in civics offered in the secondary school. It involves more than the course in

political science or American government in college which the few students may elect.

A study of the problems and principles of democracy must be made concrete and utilized if our effort be successful. An effective education for citizenship must include not only adequate provision for the mastery of fundamental intellectual tools and techniques of learning, but also a thorough understanding of the social system of which the individual is an integral part. It includes self-discipline which is fundamental in the quest for freedom, for only when the individual is conscious of having conquered himself is freedom either desirable or safe for society or the individuals therein. Freedom is an attainment that is conditioned by discriminating judgment. An effective education includes all the techniques, habits, appreciations, and attitudes that make complete living possible for the individual with other individuals.

The production of a constructive attitude toward government and the democratic way is not possible merely by waiting for it to develop. It may be pertinent, perhaps, to summarize several of the major concepts presented in this discussion on constructive citizenship:

1. Education for civic responsibility involves more than classroom teaching. It involves a coördinated

effort in which the total resources of the community, including the school, are utilized.

2. Training for democracy begins by putting democracy to work. This is illustrated by the extra-curricular activities in the school, and, in particular, by the student council organization.

3. A program of apprentice training in socially constructive enterprises in the community is essential in a realistic approach to responsible citizenship. Organizations in our communities should have affiliated with them promising leadership in secondary schools and colleges; membership in and service on committees of such organizations as the League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, chambers of commerce, rotary clubs, and others is recommended.

4. Responsible citizenship involves more than casting a ballot. It involves consistent and constant alertness to civic problems and the willingness to assume responsibility in arriving at rational decisions concerning the solution of these problems.

5. A course in democracy must become something more than a streamlined course in civics. We are too prone to use terms without changing the context of the course.

Reorganizing Our Public Schools

Many problems were presented at the section concerned with the re-direction of public education. In addition to two able papers on the educational program itself, certain other major problems were presented. These were as follows:

1. Organization of Administrative Units

There are in our country literally thousands of small school districts, in many cases educationally ineffective and financially costly. Four important points

should be kept in mind, however, as we study administrative organization. These are:

1. Use Resources of the State

The study of administrative units within a state should be accomplished by utilizing the wisdom and intelligence in that state. The real job involves not only research but an adult education program as well, if there be fruitful results. In too many cases magnificent studies have been completed but the machinery for putting the research into operation has not been developed.

2. Consolidation May Not Reduce Costs

Consolidation should not be sold to a people on the basis of economy. Consolidated schools definitely will cost more in most cases. On the other hand, an improved educational service generally is the result.

3. Distinction Between Administrative Unit and Attendance Area

A clear distinction must be drawn between the administrative unit, which is a taxing area and the area for administrative purposes, and the attendance area, which represents the school which a child or youth will attend. America must recover from the idea that consolidation or the creation of larger administrative units means that there shall be but one school within the area. There may be one or more high schools, junior high schools, several elementary schools, and possibly a one-teacher school within an administrative unit.

4. Service Unit

Beyond the administrative unit there is need in America for the development of an intermediate service district to provide such services as cannot be provided effectively within a single administrative unit. In some cases services may be rendered directly by the

state, perhaps in other cases by the federal government, but *within a state* such matters as transportation, visual education, supervision, improvement of instruction, health examinations, frequently may be better considered on a regional basis.

II. Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools

Membership on the board of education is perhaps the most important office a citizen can hold. Not only is the board of education responsible for the expenditure of a considerable portion of the community's taxes, but also it is developing the policies—if it is a real board of education—that determine the kind of education the community shall have.

Service on a board of education must be entirely non-political. The board must be composed of statesmen devoted to the study of educational problems and to the determination of fundamental policies. The business of the board is to select the best obtainable executive officer, or superintendent, and then permit him to work. *The superintendent of schools should be the sole person responsible to the board.* No administrative organization is sound, nor is anyone responsible, if the superintendent is superintendent in name only. There cannot be three or four people representing different areas of the educational organization reporting directly to the board of education if there be a coordinated organization, and if the superintendent of schools be held responsible for this major enterprise.

No board of education should exceed nine in membership. In many of our states larger boards still prevail. Such boards are unwieldy and frequently fail to devote themselves to the study of fundamental policy. Where school systems have competent personnel little excuse exists for the division of a board of education into committees to carry on the administrative work that should be done by the experts appointed by the board.

III. Federal-State-Local Relations

For over a generation a new kind of federalism has been developing in our country. There is need in the light of trends during recent years for new definitions of federalism and localism. Perhaps the one fundamental ideal implicit in democratic organization, and most important to the maintenance of democratic ideals, is the strengthening of local initiative and responsibility. The efficiency of government is measured not only in terms of effective organization and efficient management, but also in terms of the sustained interest of the governed. We must distinguish between the policy that may be established by a centralized authority and the administration of policy. Fundamental principles are involved here not only from the standpoint of education but also from the point of view of our whole governmental structure.

IV. Organization of State Education Departments

One of the most potentially important parts of the educational organization is the state department of education. Inasmuch as the state, legally and traditionally, is responsible for education, it is essential that state departments of education be strengthened. The function of the department should be leadership, service, research, and planning. It should administer statutes in an educational manner. It should not become a domineering bureaucracy. It must be composed of scholars and leaders in the field of education. Its leadership and research should be sought by, not imposed upon, local school systems.

The staffs of state departments of education should be selected solely on the basis of merit. In each of our states there must develop a condition which will make possible scholarship, acceptable leadership, and fruitful research and planning on the part of the departments of education. This is a major problem in America.

V. Development of a Sound Education Program

In spite of the magnificent progress

which has been made in the educational program, the last ten years have revealed many deficiencies. Too often the secondary school program has become primarily a training for college. It has been almost wholly academic in nature. There has been too little occupational training in many of our school systems. There has been no widely accepted program to make democracy function in a school system. What we need is a horizontal education for life and not a vertical education for more education.

We need in America acceptance of the qualitative ideal even in a mass education system. Perhaps it is better that we do fewer things in our schools, and do them better, than run the risk of mediocrity. Our youth must learn not only how to make a living but they must learn how to live. Our procedure has been one largely of memorization, of repeating on examination, verbatim, textbook assignments or lectures. Men must be taught how to think independently and constructively, and this will never be done through a memorization procedure.

VI. Close Relationship Between Government and Education as Part of Government

We have in America one school of thought that conceives of the American school system as a fourth branch of government. The arguments by those who share this opinion and by opponents have not served to bring the two groups, so-called, together. It is my opinion, however, that this conference of the National Municipal League, together with developments in the Graduate School of Education and the Littauer School of Harvard University, in the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse, and similar developments, will tend to bring the educator and the specialist in the field of governmental organization more closely together.

No thinking citizen desires to return to the procedures and practices either in government or in education that prevailed in generations past. On the other hand, every citizen has a right to expect these social institutions to keep pace with changes in society. The simple process of adding services or of developing new functions, either by legislative enactments or through social pressure, to meet the exigencies of the moment does not necessarily indicate progress. Destructive criticism, unintelligent budget-cutting, and false economy will not solve the major problems. A far-sighted policy of planning and of constructive action should be the ultimate objective of all who seek to preserve and to improve these fundamental institutions. The meeting of educators with the political scientist, the city manager, the governmental research expert, and others inevitably will lead to constructive results. The program of the National Municipal League must become better known.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Resumé of educational sessions held at the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 17 and 18, 1941.

Correction. The article in last month's REVIEW, "Cities to the Fore in Wartime England," by A. Emil Davies, was based on a talk before the Institute on Administrative Responsibility in War, conducted by the Bureau of Training of the New York City Civil Service Commission, and not before the Arkwright Club (at whose address it was held) as erroneously stated in the editorial note following the text of the address.

Writing a New Constitution

National Municipal League's Committee on State Government reports to the St. Louis Conference.

By W. BROOKE GRAVES, Temple University

Chairman, Committee on State Government of the National Municipal League

THE *Model State Constitution* was originally published in 1921 and revised in 1928 and 1933. The new fourth edition is the result of two years of fairly constant effort on the part of the Committee on State Government.

In the interests of continuity about half the members of the preceding committee were asked to continue as members of the new committee. Members were selected, not only with a view to achieving a high level of professional competence, but to getting a wide range of geographical distribution so that all types of states and conditions might be taken into account.

Interests of committee members were so distributed that it was possible to delegate to each member responsibility for revision of some one article of the constitution, the subject matter of which lay within his field of specialization.

In addition the committee had the assistance of some seventy-five persons in academic life and in the public service each of whom possessed some special competence, and who served as a consultant.¹

Thus, every reasonable effort was made to organize and make use of the talent and ability of a great many of the best informed persons in the

country on problems of state government. The final result in every case, however, was the work of the entire committee.

Many difficulties confronted the committee. The number of states is considerable, and the conditions confronting them are nearly as varied as the states are numerous.

The committee quickly realized it would be impossible to devise a constitutional form or mold into which the needs and requirements of all the states could be poured. The committee never conceived of its work as providing a plan applicable in its entirety to conditions in any one state; it hoped, rather, that its work might be viewed as charting the way, as indicating the desirable lines of development in state institutions. It expected that states holding constitutional conventions would make such modifications as local conditions might require. In such event the recommendations of the committee, regarded as best for a majority of situations, would have served their purpose.

Another difficulty related to the concept of a so-called model constitution. The term itself is not a happy one, but no suitable substitute appeared. The committee tried to avoid the drafting of a constitution which might be characterized as "a small imitation of the real thing." It was faced with the necessity of choosing

¹A list of committee members and consultants will be found in the 1941 edition of the *Model State Constitution*, National Municipal League, 50 cents.

between proposals which were so idealistic as to be of a utopian character and those which might be accepted and used at some time in the predictable future. In making these decisions, the committee tried to look ahead without losing sight of the practical; it sought to temper its judgment of what ought to be with its knowledge of what could be accomplished under existing conditions.

Characteristics of Constitution

The new edition of the *Model State Constitution*, which has been greatly improved in form and arrangement, must be considered as a whole. There may be temptation to select this item from one article or another item from some other; the committee has tried consistently to tie in each important provision to related matters in other parts of the constitution. The provisions for continuous sessions of the legislature, for instance, affect the relations of the executive and legislative branches with regard to the veto power, fiscal matters, and general administrative surveillance. It is dangerous, therefore, without careful scrutiny of the whole plan, to pull one group of provisions out of their context.

Believing that one of the reasons why the states have so often lost power to the federal government has been their frequent inability to take proper and effective action because of constitutional restrictions, the committee has tried to make each of the three branches of government free and responsible, and to provide between each pair of branches that degree of coöperation deemed to be essential to the proper discharge of the

entire government's responsibility to its citizens. This has meant omitting a great amount of legislative matter and many mandatory provisions now commonly found in state constitutions.

In spite of this attempt to exclude non-essential provisions, and in spite of the committee's determination to adhere to generally accepted principles of constitution-making, the increased number and expanding scope of government activities has resulted in a document of greater length than the one it replaces—117 sections as compared with 98, arranged this time in thirteen articles. The numbering system used for articles and sections, similar to that used in legislative codes, makes possible the incorporation of amendments with a minimum of change and inconvenience.

Here are some of the more important features of the new constitution:

It is short where most of the existing constitutions are long;

It recognizes some of the newer social and economic rights of individuals;

It recommends a single house legislature instead of a senate and house;

It makes legislation a continuous process rather than a biennial jam session, and provides for improved legislative procedure;

It makes the governor the chief executive in fact as well as in theory;

It provides for a unified court system, with adequate provision for the administration of the work of the courts;

It provides the most up-to-date methods of financial supervision and control;

It continues to emphasize the

importance of home rule for local units;

It places all state employees and all employees of civil divisions under the merit system;

It contains a flexible grant of authority in the public welfare field, broadly conceived;

It recognizes the importance of recent developments in the field of intergovernmental relations;

It seeks to make possible, by self-executing provisions, the periodic revision of the constitution, and to provide for the proper conduct of constitutional conventions;

It includes a schedule to ease transition from the old constitution to the new.

In presenting the new constitution to the National Conference on Government at St. Louis, the members of the panel were chosen for the most part from the personnel of the committee or from its consultants. Each participant attempted to summarize the outstanding features of the article on which he spoke. Several distinguished persons, mostly residents of St. Louis or of Missouri, were called upon to take part in the discussion.

The Bill of Rights

*By Robert S. Rankin
Duke University*

In revising a state constitution few changes are usually made in its bill of rights. Fundamental rights remain fundamental rights down through the years. In times of war, when rights are limited, the preservation of civil rights becomes very important. The temporary limitation of these rights is not because of any low value placed upon them, but because of their paramount importance.

What is desired is a clear, concise

statement of these rights. Indeed a broad statement of fundamental rights is all that is required; and, generally speaking, no long itemized statement should be attempted in any state constitution. In the *Model State Constitution*, therefore, provisions were intentionally basic and brief. An attempt was made to avoid duplication of provisions in the federal constitution.

New sections have been included on legal rights, and for the purpose of preventing raids on the public treasury by interest groups. The duties of citizens as well as their rights are emphasized.

Consideration was given to the possible inclusion of new rights—such products of our technological age as the right to organize and the right of collective bargaining—that might be as fundamental as some of those long recognized.

Suffrage and Elections

*By Wilbert L. Hindman
University of Southern California*

The provisions on the suffrage follow in the main the constitution of New York State.

Here especially was the committee perplexed by the difficulty of determining provisions suitable to large, populous, bipartisan states; to single-party states, chiefly small and rural in population; and to states with restricted suffrage.

The qualifications for voting follow the usual provisions; disqualifications for voting, involving corrupt practices, have been included in the belief that this subject is sufficiently important to justify inclusion in the constitution.

Provision is made for permanent registration and for absent voting. The use of voting machines is encouraged.

Election officers are to be selected in accordance with such methods as the legislature may prescribe, but in any event upon the basis of "merit and fitness, to be determined, as far as practicable, by competitive examination." It is thus sought to provide a means of escape from the evils of the bipartisan election board, found in many states, without forcing single-party states to adopt some system unsuited to their political practice.

The Legislature

*By Frederic H. Guild, Research Director
Kansas Legislative Council*

The committee continues to believe that "a single body, chosen by proportional representation and not too large in number, will be at once more representative and efficient than the present two-chamber systems." It recognizes that the unicameral legislature will probably not be adopted in many states in the near future, and that, in fact, we have no assurance that this form would prove suitable in some of the larger and more populous states. (Senator Allen Reynolds of the Missouri legislature later voiced opposition to this feature of the new constitution.)

The major changes affecting the legislature are three in number: (1) The legislative process is made a continuous one. The need for legislation is not one that exists only during three or four months at the beginning of odd-numbered years. (2) The legislative council is strengthened as an agency of the legislature. (3)

Emphasis is given to the improvement of committee procedure. These changes are designed to attain due process in lawmaking, as it has long been sought in law enforcement. The citizen has a right to know when, where, and by whom crucial decisions are made, and to know what they are after they have been made. Thus the meetings of legislative committees must be announced beforehand, a record of proceedings kept, and executive rules and regulations must be published before they can become effective.

The committee was of the opinion that, from the point of view of protecting and strengthening the machinery of the democratic process, nothing is more important than the improvement of legislative procedure.

Direct Legislation

*By A. R. Hatton
Professor-Emeritus, Northwestern
University*

The spread of the initiative and referendum represented an attempt to overcome the defects of a representative system that have so often failed to show a proper regard for public sentiment. Constitutional restrictions on the legislature had prevented some abuses, but had failed in the positive effort to secure desired legislation. The initiative and referendum offered a method of meeting this need.

Although the provisions on direct legislation in the earlier edition of the *Model State Constitution* were generally satisfactory, some changes were thought desirable. These were designed to make the provisions more specific, to eliminate confusion or

conflict, and to include some new restrictions and safeguards.

It is significant, however, that the successful operation of the other provisions in the constitution affecting legislation will have a tendency to make the devices of direct legislation less needed and probably less used.

The Executive

*By W. Brooke Graves
Temple University*

The new edition continues to stand firmly for the principle of concentration of administrative responsibility in a single popularly-elected executive. Recognizing the limitations imposed by the "span of control," effort has been made to restrict the number of departments without imposing unreasonable or improper limitations upon the power of the legislature to make such changes in the administrative setup as may from time to time seem desirable.

Formal recognition is given to the need for management in a new provision for an administrative manager of state affairs and for such administrative aides as may be required to assist the governor in his task of administrative supervision. For the present, it is suggested that these might include a financial assistant, a personnel assistant, a planning assistant, an assistant in the field of research and statistics, and an assistant in charge of public reporting and information—although, in keeping with the committee's policy of excluding the names of particular administrative officers from the constitution, these positions are not mentioned by name. The plan is similar to that recommended by the President's

Committee on Administrative Management, and adopted when the Executive Office of the President was established.

The governor is elected, still for a four-year term, in alternate odd-numbered years. To insure the focusing of public attention upon the actions of the governor, it is provided that executive orders shall be published before they become law—a safeguard on the administrative process which has generally been overlooked in state government.

The Judiciary

By Dr. Graves

Unification is the keynote of the judiciary article, which provides for a general court of justice to perform all trial and appellate judicial functions of the state. The chief justice is made the executive head of the judicial department and is responsible for its efficient organization and smooth functioning. He is assisted by a judicial council representing all parts of the judicial system.

Since the chief justice and the judicial council would provide a continuous supervision of judicial agencies, they can be freed from frequent sporadic meddling by political officers. Thus a real independence of the judiciary is secured—an aim long lauded as an ideal, only to be flouted in practice.

The organization is flexible; the council is vested with rule-making power. The chief justice is popularly elected for a term of eight years; he selects the judges, from a panel of names recommended to him by the council, for a term of twelve years. Each judge is subject to an auto-

matic recall election at the expiration of one-third of his term, after the manner of the plan now in use in California and Missouri.

Taxation and Finance

By George H. McCaffrey

*Commerce and Industry Association of
New York*

The article on finance is intended to include all provisions relative to state finance and financial procedure that the committee deemed it necessary to write into the constitution. These provisions relate to general taxing and borrowing powers, debt limitations, budgeting, expenditure control, purchasing methods, post-auditing, and excess condemnation.

Such items as accounting procedure are not covered; their necessity is taken for granted, and it is assumed that they may be adequately provided for by statute.

These provisions seek to make effective the principles of administrative organization established in the article on the executive. In conformity with the trend of recent years, financial functions should probably be integrated in a department of finance.

The governor is made responsible for submitting a comprehensive budget to the legislature. He is given power to require estimates and other information from all spending agencies; the procedure to be followed is outlined, and the resulting appropriation bill is given priority in the legislature. The governor is given authority to reduce expenditures under appropriations when, in his judgment, it is necessary or desirable, and through allotments or otherwise to control the rate at which appropri-

tions are expended during the fiscal year.

There is a provision to encourage centralized and coöperative purchasing, and for an effective post-audit.

Local Government

*By Roscoe C. Martin
University of Alabama*

A commentator on a constitution for a modern state may perhaps be pardoned for approaching his assignment with certain preconceptions, such as the belief that all constitutional provisions should be held to a minimum, and that they should be phrased in general terms. As he contemplates provisions on local government, he may also expect to find recognition of the trend toward centralization, the fundamental soundness of which is now widely accepted.

The decision of the Committee on State Government to include in one article the provisions on city and county government is in accord with the goals of simplicity in organization and brevity in expression, but as a solution of the local government problem in the constitution, it is beset with certain difficulties. Cities and counties are, in fact, quite different in legal nature. There are not only important differences between the two in their relations with the state but in the purposes served and the governmental functions performed.

When one approaches the specific question as to what the local government article should contain, the significance of these difficulties becomes apparent. Clearly, provision should be made for the creation and organization of the government of both

types of local unit. The legal status of these units, involving the important question of home rule for cities and counties, should be clearly defined, as should their powers, the constitutional statement of which must be supplemented by statutory provisions.

Provision for intergovernmental relations is highly essential in a modern constitution. Those relating to the interrelations of local units may well authorize transfers of functions, functional consolidation through inter-unit contracts for services, and coöperative action. In the larger field of state-local relations, separate provisions should be included governing the relations of the state with its counties and with its cities. State administrative supervision is essential in the case of the former; provision for home rule plus state administrative supervision in the case of the latter.

How, then, does the new *Model State Constitution* measure up to these specifications in its local government article? As a general observation it may be said that there is much in article VIII to be commended, but that the decision of the committee to make similar provisions for both cities and counties is open to question. The provisions in section 800 on the creation and organization of local units are good. Section 801 properly provides for home rule for cities, but the extension of this principle to counties may be questioned. The inclusion of detailed provisions regarding the procedure to be followed in the framing, adoption, and amending of local charters

is definitely objectionable. As some members of the committee well realized, this type of provision violates the well accepted principles of constitution-making, already referred to.

Section 802 on the powers of local units, the first part of section 803 on the powers of counties, and the first paragraph of section 804 on the powers of municipalities, are all good, but the lengthy enumeration of specific powers of cities in section 804 is certainly unnecessary and may not be sound.

Section 805 is a step in the right direction; the minimum of state supervision should cover budgeting, purchasing, the accounting system (accrual, double-entry), auditing, financial reporting, and personnel. Some of these items, to be sure, are included elsewhere in the constitution.

Civil Service and Public Welfare

The provisions on civil service were drafted at a joint meeting of committees representing the National Municipal League, the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, and the National Civil Service Reform League. An effort was made to include the entire civil service of the state and its political subdivisions, including legislative and judicial employees, under merit system provisions.

A department is made responsible for the classification of positions, the establishment of salary ranges, the establishment of rosters, and the general administration of personnel functions. Counties and municipalities which prefer to operate their own

personnel agencies may do so under state supervision; otherwise, they are subject to the jurisdiction of the department.

The provisions on public welfare, which have been considerably revised, seek to outline a general framework of constitutional powers which will guarantee to the state ample authority to establish and maintain an effective program of public welfare services in the fields of education, health, public assistance, inspection of welfare institutions, housing, conservation, and the protection of the sightliness and good physical order of the state.

In order to prevent the possibly unfortunate effects of a narrow judicial construction of these provisions, it is specifically provided that "the enumeration in this article of specified functions shall not be construed as a limitation upon the powers of the state government."

Intergovernmental Relations and Constitutional Revision

The article on intergovernmental relations is largely new, and grows out of the experience of recent years. Its provisions seek to eliminate constitutional barriers to federal-state and interstate coöperation, and to encourage the consolidation and co-operation of local units.

The questions which arise in this field are so numerous, and consequently so pressing, that definite provision should be made in advance to insure the constitutionality of such measures as may be thought necessary by responsible legislative and executive officers. The importance of these provisions is now being daily emphasized as national, state, and

local governments grapple with the problems arising in connection with the defense effort.

Provisions governing the legislative proposal of constitutional amendments have been revised to conform to the idea of continuous legislative activity. The people are given the right to vote on the question of a constitutional convention at least once in twenty years, and provisions with regard to the number and method of choosing convention delegates have been redrawn.

There is provision for a preparatory commission to assemble information relating to constitutional questions for the assistance of delegates. Provisions affecting constitutional amendment and revision are made self-executing, but the legislature may adopt legislation to facilitate their operation. A schedule has been added to provide for the transition from the old constitution to the new.

Conclusion

In view of the long period of constitutional stagnation that has afflicted the American states in the Twentieth Century, it is to be hoped that the publication of this new edition of the *Model State Constitution* will stimulate interest and activity in this field. There are hopeful signs in the recent conventions in New York and New Hampshire, and in the widespread interest in constitutional revision which has developed in New Jersey, Michigan, and Missouri.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Resumé of session on "Writing a New State Constitution," held at the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 19, 1941.

Contributors in Review

WORKING side by side with air raid wardens and social workers during and after the air attacks on every major British city in 1940-41, **Eric H. Biddle** (*British Civilian Agencies in the War*) is the only American administrator who had a chance to observe British civilian agencies in wartime. He was sent to Great Britain by the American Public Welfare Association and carried with him also requests for information from the War Department and from other federal agencies dealing with war preparation. Mr. Biddle's experience includes not only years in public administration in the United States but a knowledge of the British scene gleaned from World War I when he was an airman with the R.A.F.

A TYPEWRITER and a social conscience are the tools with which **Zilpha Carruthers Franklin** (*Impact of National Defense on Family Life*) has tackled life ever since her University of Colorado undergraduate days. After study at the London School of Economics and an M.A. from Columbia in American social history, Mrs. Franklin turned to newspaper work, then to eight years as editor of *Child Study*. Beginning in 1936 she was with the information service of the Social Security Board; since April of last year she has served as chief information officer of the federal Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

A FORMIDABLE list of professorships, chairmanships, research directorships, and commissionerships, in centers scattered from New York to the state of Washington, constitute the passport of **Alonzo G. Grace** (*Developing Responsible Citizens*) in the educational world. To mention a few items in the list—Dr. Grace has been commissioner of education in Connecticut since 1938. Before that he was professor of education at the University of Rochester. It was he who directed the survey of the educational system of the state of Washington in 1937-38, and was in charge of many of the studies of the New York Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Education.

WITHOUT the name of **W. Brooke Graves** (*Writing a New Constitution*) the bibliography of state government would be sorely impoverished. Thirty-three magazine articles and one-fourth as many books have come from his typewriter since he received his master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1923. For the same length of time he has been a teacher of political science at Temple University, where he now holds a professorship. Extra-curricularly Professor Graves is chairman of the Committee on State Government of the National Municipal League and was one of those responsible for the recent revision of that organization's *Model State Constitution*.

SIMEON E. LELAND (*Wanted: More Equity in Tax Division*) is both a professor of public finance and a practicing banker. Recently appointed Class C director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago and deputy chairman of the board, the acting chairman of the University of Chicago's Department of Economics has served off the campus also as a member of the Illinois Tax Commission, as member of the board of the University State Bank of Chicago, as special assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, and as consultant to the National Resources Board. He is the author of notable books and articles on government finance and taxation.

On the Local Front

Public Health Service in defense and war; state nutrition committee chairmen hold conference to report on state efforts and lay coordination plans.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

THE United States Public Health

Service is concerned with the conservation and strengthening of the nation's man power. Important in peace, an aggressive public health program is an urgent necessity in war. In the past year the Service has directed its health defense efforts toward seven major objectives: safeguarding the health of industrial workers, improving sanitation and health services in military and industrial areas, controlling venereal disease, developing emergency medical services for civilian defense, training additional nurses and other professional personnel, appraising community needs for health and sanitary facilities, and intensifying research in problems of wartime importance.

Federal, State, and Local Cooperation

The existing pattern of federal-state cooperation through grants-in-aid and technical assistance has been of the utmost value in meeting acute needs promptly and efficiently in critical defense areas.

The emergency health and sanitation appropriation made by Congress has made it possible to augment state and local personnel and facilities for meeting the health problems created by the national emergency.

Five hundred new federal public health workers have been sent into the field to strengthen existing state and local health services, or to establish new services in 150 critical defense areas. Although more workers are being

recruited and trained as rapidly as possible, only half the 300 areas needing assistance have been supplied with added personnel.

In the past year, 300,000 acres of land have been drained or treated for control of the malaria mosquito, thus protecting 700,000 civilians as well as nearby military populations.

For the first time in the history of military medicine, a blood test for syphilis is being given to army candidates under the Selective Service Act. This has already resulted in the most extensive case-finding program ever undertaken. Approximately 50,000 of the first million selectees tested were rejected because of syphilis.

The nation's 3,245 venereal disease clinics have given more than eleven million treatments to an average monthly load of 411,000 patients. Laboratories have performed some eighteen million serologic tests; case work has been carried on by 7,800 full- and part-time workers. The venereal disease control program must be further expanded by at least two-thirds the present accomplishment to safeguard our soldiers, sailors, and industrial workers, as well as the general population. Facilities for the treatment of men rejected for military duty because of venereal infection must also be expanded.

Industrial Health Safeguards

Recommendations for the improvement of working conditions and control of work hazards in industries have

been made and put into effect. Co-operating with the U. S. Army, the Public Health Service has completed surveying 30 large government munitions and airplane plants, arsenals, and other military establishments, employing 100,000 civilian workers in addition to army personnel. Fifty more plants owned by the government but operated by private management are under survey today. Forty-two state and local industrial hygiene units are performing similar work throughout the country under the technical guidance of the Public Health Service in civilian plants producing war materials. Approximately 7,500 plants employing more than two million workers have come under such supervision since July 1940.

Research has been redirected toward problems directly related to war needs. To keep pace with the introduction of new, and often hazardous, substances in war industry, the Public Health Service continues its vital laboratory and field research on the causes and control of occupational diseases and accidents. A new laboratory is being built to expand research in aviation medicine. Laboratories engaged in collecting human blood serum and drying it for use with the wounded have been inspected and approved. Special research units are seeking new chemical substances to replace opium and quinine, which come from the war zone.

Emergency Services

Physicians of the Public Health Service, assigned to the Office of Civilian Defense, have developed a program of Emergency Medical Service for care of the injured among civilians subjected to enemy attack. Service engineers have set up precautions against sabotage or destruction of water supplies and sewerage systems.

The training program for nurses, au-

thorized by Congress, has brought 2,000 additional student nurses into training this fall; 3,500 graduates are receiving post-graduate or refresher courses. The estimated need was for 50,000 nurses before the declaration of war; that estimate must be revised upwards immediately and the need must be met.

Defense Against Epidemics

Under pressure to clear without delay for transportation of war supplies, ships from foreign ports often arrive unannounced. Numbers of them may come in at once—including many with poor sanitary provisions. More adequate detention facilities are needed to hold passengers from such ships for observation. Personnel should be increased to inspect ships adequately and fumigate them without delay. Expansion of air services to South America and to Africa increase the health hazards of yellow fever and other tropical diseases to the United States.

During 1941 not one case of quarantinable disease entered the United States. Foreign quarantine continues to hold the first line of defense against plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhoid fever, and typhus.

War Pressures

The declaration of war has not materially altered the objectives of the Public Health Service, but has served to accentuate such problems as rehabilitation of every man rejected under selective service because of a correctible or remediable physical defect, aggressive action in dealing with the problem of commercialized prostitution around defense areas, and provision of adequate hospitals and sanitary facilities in defense areas.

More military camps and naval bases will create more health problems in more civilian areas. The problem of industrial disability will be intensified

by the employment of more older men, women, and youths, by the speed-up to meet production schedules, and by overcrowding in existing plants until new construction is completed.

The threat of enemy attack finds practically the entire country in need of further preparation to meet possible mass dislocations of population and disorganization of health and medical services which might be occasioned by disaster. Care of the homeless and injured and control of epidemics among refugees must be provided for without delay.

These problems concern each state and municipality in the nation. Full protection of this sector of the local front demands all the re-enforcements the nation and its communities can muster.

Conference of State Nutrition Committee Chairmen

Nutritional highlight of the past month was the Conference of State Nutrition Committee Chairmen held at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago, Illinois, January 9 and 10. Chairman of the conference was M. L. Wilson, Assistant Director in Charge of Nutrition, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, who called the meeting of state leaders for the purpose of projecting mutual objectives in 1942 and coordinating the efforts of the 48 states and the District of Columbia.

In his opening address Mr. Wilson told of the progress of the national nutrition program to date, and surveyed future plans with an eye on wartime developments. He cautioned the state chairmen that, in such times, it will hardly be possible to lay down an absolute program, but that in many cases action may have to be taken during the coming year on a step-by-step basis. He made specific suggestions, however, on the matter of general poli-

cies to follow, and how to tackle basic issues.

Following Mr. Wilson's talk, brief reports on the state programs were made by the state nutrition chairmen, telling of the most important things that were being done and the principal problems which were being encountered. Below are some of the highlights of the state reports:

Tennessee: The State Department of Health and the state university are cooperating in educating elementary school teachers on the subject of nutrition. Special courses have been set up for them, which they may take for credit or merely "audit." Kits are also being prepared for teachers' guidance in adapting nutrition material for schoolroom use.

Michigan: Summer school courses in the six state institutions are being planned. Colleges and schools are being asked to work on low-cost menus and help put them over.

Nevada: A state poster contest is being sponsored in the public schools. This is proving one effective way of reaching parents as well as children.

Maryland: Six nutrition institutes are now training home economists. The dental school is opening a course on nutrition.

North Carolina: For the past two years practice demonstrations of what to eat and how much it costs have been in progress. Children taking part in these demonstrations gained from two and one-half to seven pounds each on a balanced diet costing nineteen cents per day.

South Carolina: At a Negro college proper food-farming is being taught. As a demonstration a small mill has been used to grind home-grown wheat into flour. Practical problems such as production and processing are stressed.

Vermont: College students specializing in nutrition are responsible for pre-

paring a weekly article on nutrition, which the state committee furnishes to all state newspapers.

Connecticut: Nutrition committee members have been on the radio every day since the first of May in coöperation with the Bureau of Markets. Since the first of November they have also participated in the Connecticut Farm Forum broadcast.

Washington: A nutrition leaflet has been published for the Girl Scouts. All public school children are given score cards so that they may see how adequate their diet is.

Wisconsin: Nutrition centers are being set up at which not only the proper foods are discussed but food storage, food preparation, labelling of canned goods, and even the medical aspects of nutritive foods are taken up.

Delaware: Nutritionists are planning a radio market news report to go on the air regularly. One canning center has been set up, with others to follow.

Louisiana: Every grocer and baker in the state has been interviewed and urged to bake and sell vitamin-enriched bread.

Arkansas: People are being educated to use surplus commodities—rice, sorghum, and alfalfa meal are being introduced as an addition to, not a substitute for, meat, eggs, etc.

Mississippi: A food guide and other nutrition leaflets have been published and distributed. College presidents, county superintendents of education, county health officers are all aiding the drive for better food.

Oregon: A subcommittee on hotel and restaurant organization met with the state hotel men; they are co-operating effectively—featuring enriched breads and so indicating them on their menus, stressing the other protective foods as well, and cooking their vegetables so that the nutrients are retained.

Kansas: Food posters have been placed in every doctor's office, school-room, railroad station, and county welfare office.

South Dakota: Nutrition courses of ten lessons each have been organized and given in many counties; garden lessons are also given.

Wyoming: The Mexican population, working only in the summer, has had very little to eat in the winter. The nutrition committee has taught them how to can the food they grow themselves: the Mexicans say this is the first winter they have had anything like enough to eat.

Georgia: Librarians have been made members of the State Nutrition Committee: they are developing nutritional information shelves.

Utah: Publicity pamphlets are a co-operative venture: members of the Nutrition Council write the text, WPA artists make the covers, secretaries employed by WPA assemble them.

North Dakota: The State Committee on Family Living is a subcommittee of the State Nutrition Council. Each county council has a family living chairman instead of a nutrition chairman, who covers nutrition as well as family living, and prepares and revises food budgets.

Minnesota: The homemakers section of the home economics program in Minneapolis covers the state by radio. An in-service training program is being developed.

California: County councils have now embarked upon placing a representative in each of the air-raid areas. The job of this person is to take care of the food problems of the people in case of bombings. At all times this representative acts as the local educational service contact for the committee. Two research projects are under way: one is being carried out under the direction of the doctor at a large aircraft company; the other covers the

school children of Santa Barbara County.

Pennsylvania: A state outline called *Nutrition and National Fitness* is being printed and distributed.

Arizona: The Nutrition Committee is giving much time and thought to problems of mass feeding in order to be prepared for possible evacuees from California.

New Mexico: Half the population is Spanish-speaking, and it is these people nutrition committees are seeking especially to reach. Nutrition students from State College are helping by going into these communities and giving courses to the women in Spanish. The Extension Service is also adding a number of Spanish-speaking home demonstration agents who have put on a vigorous home food campaign.

New Jersey: Milk consumption has increased more than 100 per cent because of the Nutrition Committee "2 for 5¢" campaign.

Nebraska: The Nutrition Committee has built up a home economics exhibit for teachers. It has also furnished teachers with materials to be used for community and class talks. Typing and penmanship classes, instead of writing staid old practice sentences, practice on "Eat the right food and make America strong," etc.

Kentucky: Large community meetings stressing the milk program are held for parents. One result has been that milk distributors in the state are now sending out to their customers information on the benefits and uses of milk.

Iowa: The Extension Service has assigned all its people to giving nutritional lessons. Counties have all been organized, and are doing excellent work. Local committees in those counties are really getting to the people.

New York: The Governor, who is the defense coördinator, has allotted enough money to nutrition committees to take care of postage and mimeographing. The Department of Health furnishes secretarial help and publicity services. The Defense Council is giving money to some of the county divisions.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND FAMILY LIFE

(Continued from Page 87)

more good will and more human kindness. We are beginning to apply the good neighbor policy here at home, and in so far as this becomes a permanent part of American life, I think we must all agree that it will be clear gain.

Certainly we are rediscovering that the responsibility of being an American citizen cannot be delegated. What has happened to families in the nations that have discarded democracy has shocked us out of our complacency. The efficiency of dictators sets store by youth to a degree that should give us pause. The methods of dictators—the regimentation of school and play, the abasement of family loyalties—sets a pattern which we will oppose with all the physical strength and spiritual conviction that we command.

The life that Americans have made for themselves and their families is far from perfect. But there is this about it and about us. We are still free to acknowledge its imperfections and to work together for its improvement. That is the job American families are up against today.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address before the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 18, 1941.

The Researcher's Digest: February

Cost of living and public salaries; a Georgia reference work; Texas assessors' manual; tort liability in Virginia; public personnel in New Hampshire; seven papers on budgeting.

HIGH cost of living, sometimes known as HCL and a familiar of all wars, is of interest now not only to a Henderson, but also to the man in the street and to the man in the city hall. It takes this month's research bureau spotlight, with no less than five bulletins devoted to the problem of what to do about public employees' salaries.

Consensus of opinion appears to be that the cost of living is rising, but that it has not nearly approached 1929 levels. The St. Paul plan, whereby salaries are automatically adjusted in accordance with the current cost of living index, comes in for a great deal of favorable discussion.

The **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** presents the most comprehensive discussion of the problem in its December *Memorandum on Wage Policy and Cost of Living*. Though it leads off with a section on wage policy in Boston, the study deals chiefly with matters of general interest—factors of wage policy, methods of salary adjustment, recent action on wage policy by large cities, and wage policy and personnel classification.

Other bureaus with recent bulletins on wages and cost of living are the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** (December bulletin); **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State** (December 12 issue); and **Governmental Research Institute of Hartford** (*Taxpayers Business*, December 6). The **Civic Research Institute of Kansas City, Missouri**, has a 14-page study on *Teacher Salaries* alone (January 1942) which also sees merit in automatic periodic adjust-

ment of salaries to reflect changes in cost of living.

Georgia from Top to Bottom

The kind of reference work which most states unaccountably lack is *Municipal Government and Administration in Georgia* by Lloyd B. Raisty. A joint research enterprise of the TVA and the **University of Georgia Institute for the Study of Georgia Problems**, the project was begun in 1938 and the result is an exhaustive work covering the history and legal aspects of municipal government in Georgia, inter-governmental relations treated along functional lines, administrative organization, personnel and financial administration, public works and utilities. Sixty-one tables bulwark the book, and there is a detailed index as well.

Two Basic Works

Also on the monumental side are a *Manual for Texas Assessors* by Aldro Jenks, published by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** in coöperation with the State Board of Vocational Education, and *Municipal Tort Liability in Virginia* by George A. Warp, published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia**. The former was preceded by bureau studies of assessing problems throughout Texas which revealed the need for the manual. The latter constitutes the first attempt to consider on a statewide scale the legal and administrative aspects of municipal tort liability in Virginia.

Conventions and What Comes After

There are at least three schools of

thought on the subject of the preservation for posterity of the proceedings of conventions. One coterie, not to be recognized in respectable society, holds for the omission of all published after-the-fact records, on the ground that the only important sessions take place in highly informal surroundings where stenographers are not present, at least in their official capacity. A second, majority, group advocates the strain-out-the-nuggets system, whereby the best speeches would be published with all the irrelevant anecdotes and personal pronouns deleted—on the theory that warmed-over humor and second-hand geniality are more apt to be embarrassing than entertaining. Adherents of the third confession, generous to the stay-at-homes, reduce editing "to the barest minimum in order to retain the spirit of the sessions, including individual colloquialisms." This latter system does work, as evidenced by *Governmental Personnel in New Hampshire*, summary of the proceedings of the fourth **Institute of Public Affairs of the University of New Hampshire**, edited by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi.

Personal pronouns are also retained, and without damage, in *Toward Better Budgeting*, seven papers presented at the 29th and 30th conferences of the **Governmental Research Association**. The experts who have their say are D. Benton Biser, Frank M. McLaury, F. D. Jones, Donald C. Stone, A. E. Buck, Grover William Ensley, and J. M. Leonard.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessing

Manual for Texas Assessors. By Aldro Jenks. Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas, in cooperation with the State Board of Vocational Education, Austin, 1941. 232 pp.

Budgeting

Toward Better Budgeting. By D. Benton Biser, etc. Seven papers presented at the 29th and 30th conferences of the Governmental Research Association. Detroit, 1941. 36 pp. mimeo.

County Finance

Income as an Index of the Fiscal Capacity of Michigan Counties. By Marvin A. Bacon. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1941. viii, 78 pp.

Municipal Government

Municipal Government and Administration in Georgia. By Lloyd B. Raisty. University of Georgia Institute for the Study of Georgia Problems, Athens, 1941. xvi, 316 pp.

Municipal Law

Municipal Tort Liability in Virginia. By George A. Warp. Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia, 1941. 127 pp.

Personnel

Governmental Personnel in New Hampshire. Summary of the Proceedings of the Fourth Institute of Public Affairs. Edited by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi. University of New Hampshire, Durham, 1941. 55 pp.

Purchasing

Purchasing Organization and Procedures in Jackson County. Kansas City (Missouri) Civic Research Institute, November, 1941. 15 pp. mimeo.

Salaries

About Detroit City Salaries. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Minute*, December 15, 1941. 2 pp.

About Perspective on City Salaries and Wages. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Minute*, January 5, 1942. 2 pp.

Cost of Living Increased But Still

Below "Normal." Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State, *Bulletin*, December 12, 1941. 2 pp.

How Much Have Living Costs Increased? Hartford (Connecticut) Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers Business*, December 6, 1941. 4 pp.

Memorandum on Wage Policy and Cost of Living. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, 1941. 22 pp. mimeo.

Salaries and Cost of Living. Providence Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, December 1941. 1 p.

Teacher Salaries. Kansas City (Missouri) Civic Research Institute, January 1942. 14 pp. mimeo.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 72)

to take the point of view of those who hold this opinion (whether or not they are conscious of its implications), we should have to say that, immediately upon the nation's becoming involved in such a struggle as this war, it is not only necessary but desirable that all civic work be immediately stopped. I recently received a letter from a man who has achieved a national reputation for effective community service in which he said, "No amount of municipal reform will avail us if we lose the war." But we are convinced that the winning of the war will avail us nothing if we come out of it with a fundamental impairment of those social values for which our state stands, and which alone give validity to our position in the struggle.

There is a fable of a man who fought for the preservation of a great treasure, but who became so engrossed in the struggle that he stooped to ignoble methods and so

made himself unworthy of that which he guarded. When victory came he opened the strong box in which his treasure lay only to find that it had turned to ashes.

Let us admit that, because of the regard in which the warrior has been held since the beginning of man's life, they who take a direct part in the struggle work in the full blaze of sunlight, while those who serve less obvious needs of the state work in the shadow. This must be accepted. It is a difficult thing to deny the claims of service directly connected with the conduct of the war, and to this many of us can testify. But, as I conceive it, there must be men who are willing to deny themselves the satisfaction of directly contributing to the aims of the war, in order more effectively to render that service which they know themselves best able to perform. Some of us must remain in civic activities in order that the values which are conserved by those activities may be saved to the nation in the days of victory. . . .

If we once grant that civic work is more or less of a luxury, to be undertaken by men who have nothing better to do, then we are engaged in an unworthy task, whether in war or in peace, and our work should stop. But if we believe we are serving the essential needs of the state, strengthening the foundations for a more truly democratic society and buttressing the walls for a finer community life, then our work must go on—in some way and with some instruments. Our treasure must be preserved intact, so that the great struggle shall not prove bootless.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor of the

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

The editorial entitled "Philadelphia Is No Defense Boom Town," which appeared in the November issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, is, we feel, an undeserved slap at Philadelphia.

This city has done more to place its financial house in order during the past few years than any city of which we have knowledge. One of the very necessary steps to achieve this end was to secure an additional source of income which was found in the so-called payroll tax. We are sure you realize that it is difficult for Philadelphia to continue to rely almost exclusively upon the real estate tax when its assessed valuation has fallen to two-thirds of what it was ten years ago.

We are not sure you realize that current expenditures in Philadelphia, exclusive of debt service, were \$14,000,000 less in 1941 than they were in 1931. They have been reduced from \$61,000,000 to \$47,000,000. The city has pulled in its belt, balanced its budget, and will have a sizable current surplus at the end of this year. The present generation is suffering from an overdose of spending in the past and not only is supporting its current expenditures but is bearing the service cost of past mistakes.

It was unfortunate that the city's annual income from the city-owned gas works had to be mortgaged for a period of years in order to wipe out an accumulated current deficit, but there seemed to be no other effective way of cleaning off this deficit. Since it was eliminated, the payroll tax, coupled with the real estate tax, has provided an adequate source of income.

As you undoubtedly know, many other cities have looked to the experi-

ence of Philadelphia with the payroll tax with much interest and only this past week our office had requests from two other cities for detailed information concerning the tax. We doubt if you are justified in saying that it is a "desperate expedient."

The substance of the editorial you wrote, however, was not about the payroll tax, but about the fact that Philadelphia was not a defense boom town and should not endeavor to tap federal funds to assist it in putting its water and sewer systems in shape.

Philadelphia authorized sufficient revenue bonds a year ago to put its water system in shape and work was going on rapidly in that direction when it was slowed down by the priority situation. The sewer system needs approximately \$50,000,000 spent on it. Two efforts have been made within the past year to find a legal way to borrow sufficient funds to do this work. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania turned down both suggested methods. Again, priorities make this work virtually impossible at the moment.

It was not until the President of the United States suggested that federal funds might be available for this purpose that the city this year made application for these federal funds. The idea did not originate in Philadelphia but in Washington. Philadelphia should not be criticized for following up the suggestion of the President of the United States that federal funds might be available to construct a sewage disposal system for Philadelphia.

This is particularly true because Philadelphia has only received a small proportion of its per capita share of federal funds for construction projects over recent years. Because of the antipathy that existed in this community

to asking for federal funds when the PWA was in its prime, Philadelphia delayed making application for any of those funds until past the time when they were available. The city government was roundly criticized for this delay both inside and outside the community. To criticize it again for asking for federal funds, when the President suggested that they might be available for a specific purpose, seems rather harsh on the city.

In view of all these circumstances, do you not feel that you are the one who has been unfair when you say, "It is patently unfair to say, in effect, to the hundreds of cities which have been through the arduous process of putting their own houses in order—and footing the bill themselves—'Philadelphians haven't the courage to do this for themselves, so now you'll have to bail them out'?"

R. H. LANSBURGH, *Director*
Philadelphia Committee
Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.

To the Editor of the

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

As the belief in highway zoning grows in the public mind the billboard industry becomes increasingly alarmed. True, the highway zoning which would affect its business is but one item in the broad program of county or state zoning, but it is an important item and one that is coming into demand. Endorsed by the American Automobile Association, the National Real Estate Board, state planning boards and highway departments, highway zoning is today the most serious threat faced by the billboard industry.

To meet this threat the industry is using its so-called "coöperative" movement. In his "Letter to the Editor," appearing in the September issue of the REVIEW, the president of the Out-

door Advertising Association of America referred to the "coöperative" movement as one which "shows promise of success," citing the Pennsylvania Co-operative Committee for Roadside Improvement as an outstanding example. The Pennsylvania situation is well worth investigating.

In 1940, owing to the active campaign of the Pennsylvania Roadside Council, thousands of protests against rural billboards were going directly to advertisers. The council was also backing a bill for state highway zoning.

The billboard men had to do something to quiet this agitation so alarming to their clients, and to ward off legislation. So they persuaded the State Secretary of Commerce to sponsor a "coöperative" movement. Twenty-two "scenic areas" were selected, totaling two hundred highway miles (one half of one per cent of the state highway system), from which it was agreed all advertising should be removed.

Eighteen months have elapsed, yet no noticeable cleanup has anywhere been effected. On only one of the twenty-two areas has the demonstration really started. There, when the billboard industry had removed its eight large billboards, the real challenge—the weak spot in the whole "co-operative" method—became apparent. There still remained the many "independent" signs owned mostly by hotels, garages, and other local business. Who was to remove these? The industry had no control over these signs and refused the job. Local civic committees, they said, must handle this, admittedly the hardest part of the whole project.

But the local committee found that some independent owners refused to co-operate. At least 10 per cent of these signs would remain. This at once doomed the project to ultimate failure.

When Smith retains his signs his competitor, Jones, in self-defense must do the same. As local agitation inevitably slows down the signs will reappear and the last condition of the highway is often worse than the first.

This is the history of all such "cooperative" projects. Only a law binding all alike can hold the gains won by public opinion.

The Pennsylvania Secretary of Commerce has already stated his dissatisfaction with the result of the Pennsylvania experiment, and has publicly declared that his department will no longer bear the expense involved; that unless the roadsides throughout the state are cleaned up within a reasonable time his department will recommend control legislation.

Yet the billboard men are everywhere boasting of the "success" of the Pennsylvania movement. And for them it has indeed been a success. They have won the definite gains they sought. They have quieted the advertisers alarmed by protest letters. And, so far, they have defeated the zoning bill. To the advertisers they could say, "Renew your contracts. All is now harmonious. We are coöperating with the protesting women." And to the legislators: "Why pass a drastic untried law? Wait two years and see what we will do by coöperation."

Building on their so-called "success" in Pennsylvania the Outdoor Advertising Association seeks to start "co-

operation" in Fulton County, Georgia, where county zoning is in effect; in Chattanooga, Tennessee, where agitation has started to clean up the atrocious south approach; in Knox County, Tennessee, where the new zoning ordinance allows billboards only in the business areas and requires all existing boards in residential and agricultural areas to move out within two years. This ordinance was not two weeks old when the billboard agents appeared to urge a "coöperative" project. The industry would remove at once some of the non-conforming boards, they said, if they were given locations in the forbidden agricultural areas, which they insist must be open for their use even though closed to business in general.

Of the many "coöperative" projects within the past twenty years, none have had any noticeably beneficial effect on the landscape. All have paid substantial dividends to the billboard industry. "Coöperation" is always limited in area and offers protection against advertising signs only; no protection against roadside slums, juke joints or junkyards, which may develop anywhere within the scenic areas.

Highway zoning would segregate all forms of roadside business in appropriate areas, and would protect the safety, appearance, and property values along all rural roads.

ELIZABETH B. LAWTON, *Chairman*
National Roadside Council

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Plans for Post-War Adjustments

Public and Private Agencies Look to Peacetime Needs

DESPITE intense and urgent concentration on war needs, national leaders are not losing sight of the necessity for planning now to meet the tremendous problems of employment and of a general adjustment of the national economy that will arise whenever the war ends.

The National Resources Planning Board has been especially prominent in the effort to anticipate these problems. In its second annual report to Congress on January 14 it outlined major objectives in "planning to win the peace," as stated by President Roosevelt in transmitting the report. He said that at his direction the board is correlating plans and programs under consideration by many federal, state, and private organizations for full employment, security, and nation-wide development after the war.

The report pointed out that our greatest resource is men at work, and that at the war's end the nation's productive capacity should be greater than ever and more of its people trained in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, while shortages in many kinds of public works, housing, durable consumers' goods and equipment for their increased production will call for men, materials, and both public and private capital.

On January 28 the board released a pamphlet entitled *After the War—Full Employment*, by Dr. Alvin H. Hansen, Littauer Professor of Economics at Harvard University; this emphasized

that no post-war depression need occur, and that if purchasing is maintained at a high level private enterprisers will have a great market to supply. For that future period it proposed progressive taxation policies with sharp reduction of consumption taxes, plans for private investment projects, a program of public improvements, expansion of public welfare expenditures, and international collaboration to promote effective world-wide use of productive resources. Safeguards against a runaway boom were also suggested.

Addressing the 89th annual meeting of the American Society of Civil Engineers on January 21 A. D. Morrell, national director of the Public Work Reserve, established last summer within the Federal Works Agency, told of the long-range public works program being prepared by his organization, to be held ready for the day it is needed. A procedure and form of assistance is also being established to encourage local governments to plan an orderly and well considered schedule of such work as they may be able to undertake within budgetary limitations.

States and cities are closely restricting their capital expenditure plans for the current year, thus adding to the reservoir of projects for post-war execution and leaving present energies, facilities, and public and private funds available for the immediate war effort. Governor Lehman of New York, in his budget message of January 26, proposed a complete embargo on all non-defense construction from bond moneys; present authorizations and appropriations of more than one-third of a billion dollars in that state would thus be deferred.

Large-scale replanning and rebuilding of American cities in the post-war period, with government and private enterprise working together, are the objectives of a far-reaching program adopted by the Urban Land Institute

at its recent annual meeting in Chicago. Its proposals include the establishment of a federal urban land commission, to be provided with funds and powers to make grants to local planning agencies for the purpose of preparing master plans for metropolitan areas and re-planning blighted areas, and to extend credits to local land commissions for the purpose of acquiring land in blighted areas, by condemnation if necessary, for redevelopment by private enterprise; taxation of redeveloped areas on the basis of assessed values related to income-producing power and utility of the property; and the creation of a national laboratory to conduct research and study for the development of new building materials, housing design, construction methods, housing standards, the marketing and financing of dwellings, and building regulations to reduce the cost of dwelling construction. This national laboratory should be a part, or a subsidiary, of the federal urban land commission.

War and Defense Dominate State Legislative Sessions

Civilian defense measures and appropriations to pay for them are foremost on the agenda for the eight state legislatures holding regular sessions this year, according to the Council of State Governments. Other questions include legislative reapportionment, increased financial aid to schools, and state re-organization.

Seven legislatures convened for 1942 sessions last month—Kentucky, Mississippi, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Virginia. Louisiana, the eighth state with a regular session this year, is scheduled to convene May 11. California, Illinois, Maine, and Michigan have held or are holding special sessions.

Although all the states face requests for large appropriations for defense and

other uses, and a probable decline in certain tax revenues, several have substantial surpluses from current revenues due, at least in part, to the defense boom. In Virginia the legislature must deal with an unobligated amount of more than \$12,000,000 in the general fund.

War emergency legislation covering air raid precautions, fire defense, military traffic control, health and sanitation, and acceptance of federal grants by the states, prepared by representatives of the states with the aid of the Council of State Governments, is ready for consideration where needed. Five other uniform defense bills relating to transfer of state guards across state boundaries, sabotage, control of explosives, and other matters, which were adopted by many legislatures in 1941, also may be utilized further.

Of the non-defense measures, legislative reapportionment is up in Kentucky, New York, and Virginia, though Kentucky may at the suggestion of the governor postpone this subject for a later special session.

The Virginia legislature has been called on to consider a report on re-organizing the state government, and recommendations by the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council on jails, probation and parole, personnel administration, retirement of state employees and school teachers, and child welfare.

Before California recessed its December 1941 special session to January 12 it approved an act permitting cities and counties to revise their budgets to meet war defense emergencies. Further topics include workmen's compensation for civilian defense workers and direct aid to cities to meet defense needs.

The Illinois special session has approved a \$5,000,000 appropriation for the state reserve militia and \$750,000 for the state council of defense, and adopted a rural health defense bill au-

thorizing the state health department to establish boards of health and prescribe their duties.

Civil Service Methods Improved for Defense Needs

New or improved procedures and intensification of activities, as federal, state, and local governments have made adjustments to meet defense and war demands, characterized public personnel administration during the last year, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

More extensive advertising for positions, lengthening of the application period, and relaxing of non-essential qualification requirements have been adopted by many personnel agencies to recruit and maintain qualified personnel. Resident requirements have been waived with increasing frequency and, in some instances, cities have undertaken a program of nation-wide examinations to fill both technical and non-technical positions.

A large number of state and local civil service agencies made their eligible registers and other facilities available to the United States Civil Service Commission during the last year for use in recruiting defense personnel. In addition the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, begun in 1940 under joint administration of the federal commission and the National Resources Planning Board, has catalogued specifications of more than 150,000 people, and has certified more than 40,000 individuals to defense agencies.

So as to recruit qualified personnel as rapidly as possible, the federal commission reorganized its examining procedures and extended the practice of continuous examination for certain classes of positions. It advertised in nearly

fifty college alumni journals. Its recruitment specialists go into the field in connection with various examination projects. Some two hundred commission representatives, other than members of the local examining and rating boards, are placed in various parts of the nation to work closely with field appointing officers of the government and to maintain contacts with the public.

The commission's principal examiners visit colleges from time to time in order to stimulate interest in government employment, and official representatives of the commission attend conventions of various organizations to present the latest information as to federal personnel needs.

Cooperative Highway Repair Plan in New York State

A mutual aid plan for highway repair and debris clearance, involving co-operation of state and local highway departments in New York, particularly in cases of emergency, has been approved and placed in operation by Governor Herbert H. Lehman. It was prepared by a committee of state and municipal engineers, created by the New York State Conference of Mayors and the State Department of Public Works.

The ten existing state highway districts, together with the city of New York, are made highway and debris clearance zones, each under a zone coordinator whose duties include the making of an inventory of highway and maintenance personnel, equipment, and supplies; determining their availability in each zone; distributing this information to the public works and highway officials, and devising a plan, in conjunction with all units of government in the zone, for use of the resources in an emergency.

Upon request to a zone coordinator

by any unit of government for personnel, equipment, or supplies he may provide the desired aid under the plan. Inter-zone requests are made of a state coördinator, appointed by the governor from the staff of the State Department of Public Works.

Legislation recommended for the purposes of the plan would empower municipalities and other governmental units to lend personnel, equipment and supplies to other units, the borrowing unit to pay salaries, wages, and necessary expenses and to be liable for workmen's compensation, damage to equipment, and cost of supplies.

State district highway forces and equipment are to be almost immediately available, together with local forces and facilities where an emergency arises. Resources of other local units comprise a reserve which, under the plan, could be utilized in an orderly and rapid manner, according to the extent and seriousness of the emergency.

Model Blackout Ordinances Prepared

The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers has prepared a blackout ordinance, approved by the Office of Civilian Defense; it delegates reasonable administrative powers to the proper executive officer and contemplates both actual air raid conditions and those of practice blackouts. Several state leagues of municipalities have also prepared model ordinances, including those of California, Virginia, and Wisconsin, and the Pennsylvania League of Third Class Cities.

The first city to enact a blackout ordinance was Seattle, Washington, early last year. Many others have done so more recently, the ordinances ranging in character from the type that delegates all authority to the mayor or city manager to those providing no delegation of power but outlining com-

pletely the rules for civilian conduct during blackouts. In some cases, at least, the city is declared not liable for damage to persons or property resulting from an authorized blackout.

Funds for Defense Housing and Community Facilities

On January 22 President Roosevelt signed legislation authorizing the expenditure of \$450,000,000 for housing, school, health, and recreational facilities in communities affected by the war production program and in urgent need of additional facilities. Of this total, \$300,000,000 is for housing of war workers, increasing to \$600,000,000 the appropriations and authorizations for such housing. The remaining \$150,000,000 brings the total for other community facilities to \$300,000,000.

The addition to housing funds is expected to provide about 75,000 more dwelling units.

The act provides that the federal administrator shall pay from rentals annual sums in lieu of taxes to a state or political subdivision thereof, with due allowance for his expenditures for streets or utilities relating to the properties.

Washington Rent Control

Operation of the country's first legislative measure for definite rent control began last month in Washington, D. C. The act pegs rentals and sets minimum service standards at the January 1, 1941, level and provides various safeguards for tenants.

Council-Manager Plan News

The total number of cities and counties where the council manager plan was in effect at December 31, 1941, was 543, according to the International City Managers' Association. This was an increase of nineteen over December 31, 1940. During 1941 there

were eighteen adoptions of the plan—seventeen by popular vote and one, **Palm Springs, California**, by ordinance. The seventeen consisted of the cities of **Port Huron, Michigan; Wilmington, North Carolina; and Clifton Forge, Virginia** (where the plan does not take effect until September 1942); the villages of **Northfield, Poultney, and Windsor, Vermont**; and the New England towns of **Manchester and Northfield, Vermont, and Castle Hill, Corina, Danforth, Island Fall, Mars Hill, Mercer, Merrill, Patten and Sherman Mills, Maine**.

In **Cambridge, Massachusetts**, which adopted a manager charter in November 1940, the plan went into effect on January 1. Three cities began operating in 1941 under manager plans adopted in 1940.

No additions occurred in 1941 to the meager list of 28 municipalities that have voted to abandon the plan in its 33-year history. Referenda were held in five cities in 1941, but the plan was upheld in each instance.

The International City Managers' Association added to its list of approved council-manager municipalities—places with a manager plan that meets certain requirements as to scope and status—the names of seven municipalities operating under plans which, upon investigation, were shown to be adequate for listing. Two of these have manager charters—**Masardis, Maine, and Nacogdoches, Texas**. Five have managers by virtue of ordinances—**East Grand Rapids, Michigan; Fuquay Springs, North Carolina; and Ashland, Fox Chapel, and Harrison Township, Pennsylvania**.

Petitions have been circulated in the borough of **Westwood, New Jersey**, calling for a referendum on adoption of the manager plan. It is favored by adherents of a fusion movement which challenged the organization in power and succeeded in electing two council-

men. The dominant regime, however, over the Mayor's opposition, has displaced various officials who showed interest in the fusion movement.

In **Richmond, Virginia**, the Richmond First Club advocates the manager plan, with a nine-member council to be elected at large as the successor of the present large bicameral council. Many other local government reforms are urged by the club.

A newspaper poll sponsored by the **Newark, New Jersey**, Citizens Union resulted in an expression of preference for the manager plan by 10,644 out of 17,431 voters. The aldermanic form of city government was favored by 5,713, the commission form (now in effect in Newark) by 918, and the strong mayor form by 156. A Citizens Union meeting on January 19, with three hundred present, voted unanimously in support of a city manager movement.

Public Administration Fellowships

The University of Minnesota, in Minneapolis, offers until April 1 a limited number of in-service fellowships in public administration for the 1942-43 academic year, with stipends ranging from \$1,000 to \$1,500 for the year. They are for young men and women in the service of government, of graduate standing with at least three years experience in public service, who can obtain leaves of absence. The fellowships are under the university's Committee on Training for Public Administration.

The University of Denver announces ten competitive graduate fellowships in government management, under a grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. They carry maximum stipends of \$1,800 for the eighteen-month training period if the holder is single, and \$2,700 if married. Applications to the university Department of Government Management close March 10.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Louisville Citizens Attack Blight Problem *Rehabilitation Campaign Planned by Local Group*

FORMATION of the Louisville Rehabilitation Council is the culmination of a series of steps on the part of the city and of private citizens to prevent the damage being done in many neighborhoods by blight and decay.

When we were contemplating a housing program in Louisville, the City of Louisville Municipal Housing Commission and the City Planning Division jointly sponsored a WPA project for a general housing survey. This survey brought out one rather astounding fact—that, measured by a fair definition, 39 per cent of the dwelling units in Louisville were more or less substandard. In some cases blight was just beginning to creep in, but certain districts were in a bad state of deterioration and still others were beyond hope.

In order to clear some of the worst of our slum areas and make our city housing-conscious, we adopted a slum clearance program designed to sweep clean one hundred acres of our worst slums and rebuild them with decent dwelling units. This program had three parts:

1. About three thousand units of United States Housing Authority-aided public housing for the lowest income group, who could not build or pay for it themselves, and for whom private capital was either unwilling or unable to build;

2. Encouragement of the building of low-cost FHA insured homes by private capital for that group just above the income limits eligible for USHA housing; and

3. The general rehabilitation of

sound, old structures and the general rehabilitation of the entire city on a long-time plan.

After we had either built, or arranged to build, all of the public slum clearance housing we felt proper for a city of our size—and a very considerable number of houses were built by private capital—and after our city had become thoroughly housing-conscious, we frankly faced the problem of general decay and disintegration of city structures of all kinds, dwelling and commercial.

A group of prominent citizens, representative of the entire business and civic structure of Louisville, met in the Mayor's office to discuss what neighborhood blight and natural decay and disintegration were doing to large areas of property within the city limits, for the benefit of which the city had spent millions of dollars on streets and alleys, sidewalks, sewers, and water facilities. It was pointed out that the city tax structure was based on the reasonable assessed value of land and improvements, which were yearly becoming less and less able to bear the resulting taxation. We became aware of the threat to the adequacy of future city income without resorting to other methods of taxation, and as Mayor of the city, I requested this group to appoint a committee to consider what could be done about it.

This Committee, after several months of work and study, evolved and incorporated a non-profit association known as the **Louisville Rehabilitation Council**, and invited as members more than one hundred civic-minded citizens. These members all serve on various committees to assist the Board of Directors in carrying out its policies. The Board is composed of six members elected for terms of one, two, and three years by the Council and elects its own officers. Directors include a

prominent trust company executive representing a large life insurance lending agency, two outstanding building and loan executives, the president of the city's largest firm of general contractors, a leading realtor, the City Housing Administrator, and the Mayor, ex-officio.

City Departments Help

The city makes available the facilities of all of its departments. All services are voluntary except those of an executive manager and his office staff.

The annual budget is raised by private subscription from building and loan associations, financial institutions, public utilities, and large interests. The city and its municipally-owned water company are liberal contributors. Actual rehabilitation is financed by the property owners themselves with FHA insurance where loans are desired.

The objectives of this movement are:

(1) To provide adequate protection for areas that are still new and in good condition; (2) rehabilitation of blighted districts; (3) reconstruction of areas beyond repair; (4) control of new land subdivision in Jefferson County; (5) modernization of the city building code; (6) protection and preservation of the downtown business district; (7) an air-tight ordinance that will effectively do away with smoke, dirt, and noise; (8) revision of the tax structure to encourage appropriate land use, including the agreement to refrain from increasing any assessments on property improved in collaboration with this movement for a period of five years; (9) a sound method of organizing various neighborhoods, and close coöperation with them as they organize for their protection and advancement.

Since Louisville is a vital defense area the immediate objective will be the encouragement of the rehabilitation of sound, single family homes capable

of being converted into two or more units, thus coöperating with the United States Defense Coördinator in providing additional dwelling units for defense workers. This work is now under way.

It is recognized that the accomplishment of the other objectives of the movement will cover a long period of years. In fact, an organization of this type should be a permanent part of the city structure to meet changing conditions as they arise through the years.

The Louisville Rehabilitation Council has laid down a challenge to every Louisville citizen and civic body which, if accepted by them, can well develop into the greatest nonpartisan civic endeavor ever attempted by the citizens of Louisville, and one which, if successful, will serve as a guide to other municipalities similarly situated.

JOSEPH D. SCHOLTZ

United States Office
of Civilian Defense
Louisville, Kentucky

Defense Council Functions in Unincorporated Area

There are doubtless many unincorporated areas, especially those located near large metropolitan centers, which can see no way in which to organize their civilian defense efforts so they will fit into the picture of state, county, city, and village defense councils, which generally develop from the impetus provided by a chief executive. The successful procedure followed in Oceanside, an unincorporated village of seven thousand population in Nassau County, New York, may provide a pattern which can be followed by others.

The local defense program is grounded upon existing community organizations and the basic governmental unit of the area, that is, the school district.

At the request of the county defense

council, an official of a local patriotic organization called the first public meeting of interested citizens in the high school auditorium. A permanent chairman was selected and nominations from the floor were made for temporary council members. One week later permanent appointments were made to six operating divisions set up within the council.

Schools and Civic Groups

Four operating officials came from civic associations. The chief of the volunteer fire department is head of the fire division. A member of the auxiliary of the community hospital acts as chief of the health and welfare division. A member of a trucking concern has charge of the public works and transportation division. A business man supervises the air raid precaution division.

The school system furnishes two operating heads. The superintendent of schools is in charge of the recreation and education division. The chairman of the social studies department of the high school serves as head of the administrative division. The permanent chairman acts as the liaison man between the local council and the county council.

Since there were no community records of population distribution and of local resources, the first task before the council was the dissemination of questionnaires to every home in the community. The head of the family was asked for information relative to the services he might contribute in an emergency. The administrative division handled the distribution through the volunteer efforts of high school students.

After the circulars were returned, an analytical breakdown was made by the high school commerce department. Divisions of the council use the statis-

tics of the administrative division to train local citizens for the more efficient performance of their volunteer duties.

Local services generally performed by the incorporated unit are thus to be provided through the efforts of the local defense council. Community doctors are setting up a health program. The fire division is training emergency fire and police personnel. The water needs of the community are normally supplied by a private company. Emergency plans for furnishing essential utilities are being drawn up by the public works and transportation division.

Periodical public meetings are held in the high school. For further public information, the recreation and education division has prepared a panel of local speakers who appear at civic meetings to report on the progress of the council. Revenue for incidental expenses such as printing and postage is secured through contributions of civic associations. Coöperation has become the keynote of community activity.

The essence of democracy is community activity and community responsibility. Unless patterns for the organization of civilian protection in unincorporated communities are well developed, an important challenge to American self-government will have been overlooked.

WILLIAM G. TORPEY
Oceanside, New York, Defense Council

N. Y. Citizens Union Sets Legislative Goals

The **Citizens Union of New York City** has come forth with an ambitious state legislative program. It consists of 21 items which the organization considers worthy of special emphasis in the 1942 New York legislature.

In announcing the program the Union reiterates its belief that "it is important

not only to defend the democratic way of life but to continue to improve its operation so as to remove all possible causes of dissatisfaction with it."

Included in the program are the following:

1. All steps necessary to cooperate with the national government in the emergency and to insure the safety of the people of New York State.

2. Opposition to any attacks on the fundamental principles of the bill of rights and of American democracy.

3. A fair legislative and Congressional reapportionment on the basis of the 1940 census.

4. A constitutional amendment, carefully safeguarded against hasty action, to permit constitutional amendments by petition and popular vote, so that a widespread and sustained public demand may eventually prevail even in matters which the legislature finds politically embarrassing to propose.

5. A constitutional amendment to give the Court of Appeals power to remove or retire judges.

6. Measures to implement the county reform victory in New York City.

7. State fiscal improvements including: (a) payment of the state income tax in four equal installments; (b) removal of inequalities in the stock transfer tax; (c) a constitutional amendment to permit the setting aside of surplus tax revenues to retire state debt or as a stabilization reserve to make increased tax rates unnecessary in the expected post-war depression; and (d) establishment of a state capital budget.

8. Removal of mandatory expenditures imposed on New York City and not similarly imposed on other cities.

9. Abolition of the Transit Commission and transfer of its functions to the State Public Service Commission.

10. Reorganization of the New York City school system.

11. Election reforms including permanent registration and changes in petition procedure.

12. Amendment of the city home rule law to permit complete charter revisions as well as limited amendments to be put on the ballot by petition.

13. Compulsory periodic inspection of all motor vehicles by state inspection stations supported by small annual fees.

14. State licensing and control of outdoor advertising.

15. Maintenance of civil service standards against attempts: (a) to extend exemptions from competitive examinations; (b) to outlaw oral examinations or educational qualifications; (c) to remove probationary periods; or (d) to grant new preferences to veterans or other special groups.

16. Maintenance and improvement of housing standards.

17. State health insurance.

18. Strengthening of the Torrens law for public registration of land titles by creating a statewide insurance fund and amending the constitution to make certain that the state can put its full credit behind the Torrens system.

19. Improvements in legislative procedure including electrical voting in the legislature and compulsory reports from legislative committees, not necessarily favorable, on all bills requested by one-third of the members of the house.

20. Improvements in the administration of justice.

21. Scientific rent control law to go into effect wherever less than a specified percentage of vacancies is found in any class of houses and to cease applying when the vacancies increase a specified amount above that percentage.

R. M. W.

Roundup—

For an excellent job of adapting its program to wartime conditions, take a look at the new pamphlet of **Kiwanis International** entitled *Your Community in the War—a Guidebook of Home-front Activities*. Copies are available from the organization's headquarters.¹ The manual contains a large number of specific suggestions for local club activities under the following headings: citizenship, public affairs, agriculture, boys and girls work, vocational guidance, underprivileged child, support of churches, and business standards—and there is certain to be something suited to the interests and resources of almost any group. The pamphlet seems to us a well balanced combination of inspirational material and concrete advice.

One more study of the whys and wherefores of non-voting² has been made—this time by the **Saginaw (Michigan) League of Women Voters**. The League discovered that the odds are against the voters who live comfortably in a good residential district going to the polls unless a dramatic issue is involved.

The **Seattle Municipal League** has done another good job with its annual report for 1941. Attractive typographically, the report highlights the year's activities in a few succinct and well written paragraphs and presents a clear picture of the League's financial condition. A membership report and a complete roster of members are also included.

R. M. W.

¹520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Schedule of prices: 1-24 copies, 10c each; 24-49 copies, 9c each; 50-99 copies, 8c each; 100 copies or more, 7c each.

²See also "Here Are the Answers to 'Why Voters Don't Vote.'" by Selwyn Pepper, **NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW**, May 1941, p. 279; also report on survey made by Minneapolis Research Bureau in **Citizen Action Roundup** for last month, p. 42, last two paragraphs.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

State and Local Debt Reported

Slight Decline Shown Over Last Fiscal Year

BETWEEN June 30, 1940, and June 30, 1941, the gross debt less sinking funds of state and local government in the United States declined 2/10 of 1 per cent, according to the preliminary report of the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census.

State debt alone declined 3.9 per cent and county debt 6.4 per cent, while school district debt was down 8/10 of 1 per cent. City debt was practically stationary, showing a 1/10 of 1 per cent increase, township debt was up 1 per cent, and special district debt increased 8.6 per cent, largely as a result of new borrowing by local housing authorities.

State and local net debt (gross debt less sinking fund assets) was \$18,149,534,000, at June 30, 1941, while gross debt (after deduction of state loans to local units) was \$20,182,739,000. A year earlier the net debt had been \$18,182,790,000. The tabulation below shows the net debt at the two dates:

Gross Debt Less Sinking Fund Assets (Last 000 omitted)

	June 30, 1940	June 30, 1941
States	\$2,949,231	\$2,834,330
Counties	2,011,512	1,883,133
Cities	8,737,900	8,742,568
Townships	274,233	276,998
School Districts	1,705,237	1,691,385
Special Districts	2,504,677	2,721,120
Total	\$18,182,790	\$18,149,534

Including the federal debt computed in the same manner, total federal, state, and local net debt was \$69,162,000,000 at June 30, 1941, as compared with

\$63,196,000,000 a year earlier. The state and local debt fell during the year from 32 per cent of the total to 29.2 per cent.

While the figures above show in total little net change in the last year if the new borrowing by local housing authorities and by New York City for public service enterprises is excluded, state and local net debt decreased 1.6 per cent. The obligations of the former rose \$216,000,000 during the year, while New York City added \$93,000,000 for transit unification and water supply.

Mere mention of these two sizeable additions during the period emphasizes that the totals are to be used cautiously as an indication of the burden of debt on local taxpayers. Housing authority debt is of course subsidized, and receives some direct or indirect property tax support, but water debt and the debt of numerous other public service enterprises is invariably self-supporting from utility revenues and charges although it is included in the gross-less-sinking fund totals. Thus a sizeable portion of the included figure for cities, which accounts for very nearly half the total, is actually supported from revenues other than property taxes.

Unfortunately, figures on public service enterprise debt are not segregated in the preliminary report, although in its annual reports on cities of 100,000 population and over the Census Bureau now fully segregates these obligations. That the amount is large may be easily shown, however; for cities of 100,000 population and over gross debt less sinking funds at June 30, 1941, was \$6,267,542,000. In 1938, the last year reported with utility debt segregated, the comparable figure was \$6,951,059,000 of which \$2,820,024,000 was the gross debt less sinking funds of public service enterprises.

Local Labor Costs Move Upward

Out of 384 cities replying to question-

naires sent out by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, 247 took some action during 1941 to increase salaries or wages. The most common salary increases were 5 per cent and 10 per cent if stated on a percentage basis or \$5 or \$10 per month when stated in dollars. More common wage increases were between 5 per cent and 10 per cent and between 5 cents and 10 cents an hour.

The association in reporting its survey notes that the action appears consistent for all sizes of communities reporting. Some communities increased both salaries and wages and some increased only one or the other.

The general tendency was to give preference to those in the lower income brackets, and in many cases the increases were granted only to those receiving pay below stated levels. Communities close to defense industries or troop concentrations faced special problems in meeting private pay rates, particularly for mechanics and engineers.

Of the 247 cities reporting action on the subject, 133 granted general increases, 87 granted them to specially designated groups of employees, 22 granted miscellaneous and minor pay adjustments, and five restored rates of pay formerly cut. In the case of 118 cities the increases were granted for an indefinite period, in 29 they were limited to one year (either a period of one year or a specific fiscal year), in three they were for six months or less, and in 97 the period was not reported. Data were gathered to cover the situation about November 15, 1941, and it is likely that the number of cities showing higher rates has been considerably increased since then.

Census Bureau Studies State and Local Finance

State and local officials throughout the country are being asked to cooperate with federal agencies in supply-

ing information on various subjects. Requests for information are of particular importance at this time because of the problems created by the war and for post-war planning. The results of such inquiries will prove of importance to state and local officials as well as to the federal government.

Among the inquiries of this nature are several being made by the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census. That agency is giving special attention to the compilation of information on state and local government finance for the formulation of fiscal and economic policies for the war program. Preliminary reports already have been issued on *State Tax Collections: 1941*¹ and *State and Local Government Debt: 1941*.² Final reports under these titles will release detailed figures within a short time.

One series of studies by the division is to supply current information for the special committee of the Treasury Department on intergovernmental fiscal relations.

Questionnaires are being sent to all states, large cities and counties, and to a representative sample of other cities and counties and special districts, requesting financial statistics for 1941 on general property tax levies and collections, assessed valuations on which these levies were made, and revenues from other sources, especially grants and public service enterprises.

Instead of asking state and local fiscal officers for data on expenditures for 1941, it is planned to obtain figures for the major functional groups from the records of the Social Security Board, the Office of Education, and the Public Roads Administration. The Office of Education is undertaking a special survey of its own to obtain the most recent

data on school revenues and expenditures for states and local school districts.

Federal financing of the war and its impact on states and local governments makes most important the assembling of these types of information by a central agency such as the Bureau of the Census. In accordance with the Bureau's practice, copies of the reports resulting from these inquiries will be supplied to cooperating officials.

C. E. RIGHTOR, *Chief Statistician*
Division of State and Local Government
Bureau of the Census

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Federal Grants to County Personnel Agencies Proposed

*War Needs Make Patronage,
Inefficiency Intolerable*

IN AN article published recently in the *Public Personnel Review*, Professor Leonard D. White proposes federal grants-in-aid to counties as well as to states and municipalities for the establishment and operation of public personnel agencies. He asserts that most counties operate according to the personnel principles and practices in existence before the Civil War. He suggests his plan be made wholly voluntary on the part of the cooperating units, but he hopes it will lead to a coordinated federal-state-local personnel program.

Professor White proposes grants of two types. First, there could be unconditional grants to cover those expenses resulting primarily from performing services for the federal government; second, there could be conditional grants based on federal approval of proposed plans embracing all aspects of local personnel adminis-

¹See this department for November 1941, p. 661.

²See p. 121, this issue.

tration and probably embodying the matching principle on a 50-50 basis.

In defense of his proposal Professor White points out that the United States Civil Service Commission already has been authorized by recent executive order to use state and local civil service registers where proper consent can be obtained. He advocates the greatest degree of mobility of civil servants among the various levels of government rather than the present tendency by which the federal government merely drains the best personnel from state and local governments. Or if state and local governments may properly be regarded as reservoirs from which to recruit its employees, the federal government then has an obligation to itself to improve the personnel systems of the lower levels. Abolition of patronage systems locally would make the federal civil service system less vulnerable to attack from those Congressmen who have had no experience with the merit system at home.

Professor White believes his proposal to be opportune because the needs of war and defense make patronage and technical inadequacy even less tolerable than under normal circumstances, and furthermore, the national war effort is going to result in pressure for local retrenchment in which personnel agencies customarily are the first to suffer. The feasibility of the plan is demonstrated by comparable features in the social security program which similarly has required the coöperation of all levels of government.

Westchester County Resumes Study of Governing Board

Although voters of Westchester County, New York, recently rejected a proposed charter amendment that would have reduced the board of supervisors from 43 to eleven members,

a citizens' committee, authorized by the Republican County Committee, is continuing its efforts to develop a more equitable distribution of votes in the county board. It seeks to eliminate at least such glaring inequities as that which gives the town of Poundridge, with a population of 778, as much voting strength on the county board as is given the town of Rye with a population of 40,126.

Since reduction of representation from the smaller towns is not possible under the existing law, the committee has recommended a plan of "weighted" voting. This plan would allow each city and town one vote with an additional vote for each 10,000 of population. Such a plan would not eliminate many of the evils that the proposed amendment attempted to destroy, but it would be much more equitable than the present system.

Townships in Chicago Area Act as Health Authorities

A sudden increase of population in small municipalities and unincorporated territory in the Chicago metropolitan area has brought with it urgent problems of public health and sanitary housing. In Cook and DuPage Counties these problems have been met by the adoption of rural zoning ordinances declaring that commercial buildings and residences requiring water supply and sewage disposal services shall provide those facilities in conformity with standards developed by the State Department of Public Health.

Five other counties in the Chicago area have not adopted rural zoning laws. For these counties the Chicago Regional Planning Association has proposed that health regulations be enforced by township health boards, on the ground that such regulation can be

established more quickly than county regulation can be achieved and that the Illinois township has more legal authority over sanitary conditions than is generally realized. At present two townships in the five unzoned counties have established such boards and a third has the matter under consideration.

LEON WEAVER

University of Illinois

Milwaukee County Park Maintenance Saves Money

Consolidation of the function of maintaining parks and parkways in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, has resulted in more economical administration, according to a report to the American Municipal Association. Since the plan consolidating the city and county systems was inaugurated four years ago, the taxpayers have paid an average of \$145,000 less taxes per year for this service. The park system operated by the Milwaukee County Park Commission now contains 5,015 acres of land consisting of 61 parks and eight parkway units. The 1934 resolution inviting the seventeen towns, cities, and villages in the county to convey their local parks to the county has been accepted by seven of the units thus far.

Sheriff Fee System under Fire in Virginia

In response to a recommendation in the Governor's *Message on the State of the Commonwealth*, a bill was introduced recently in the Virginia Senate providing for the payment of salaries to county sheriffs and abolition of the fee system as a method of compensating such officers.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Cambridge Starts Well

P. R. Elections in Hamilton and Boulder

INDEPENDENT citizens of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who had been bitterly disappointed when the reform slate of the Plan E Committee failed by 30 votes to win a majority control of the council at the first P. R. election in November, have had an agreeable surprise.

Instead of dividing in the traditional way into opposing camps, all nine members of the council—four "Plan E" candidates, three official candidates of the Democratic organization, and two other Democrats—started at once to meet and plan together in the best coöperative spirit, which the P. R. plan is designed to promote. Such differences of opinion as developed were not on group lines and the decisions so far taken seem highly auspicious for the future welfare of the city.

Between the election and the inauguration of the new council on January 5, eight meetings of all the councillors-elect were held. One of the two Democrats who had not been on either ticket was chosen as secretary for the temporary unofficial work of preparation. There were no caucuses. One of the members writes: "The councillors-elect acted, I believe, to a man as individuals without any cliques being formed. To my mind the whole thing has been an example of real democracy at work."

Attention was focussed, of course, on the choice of the first Cambridge city manager. The model application form of the International City Managers' Association was adopted, out-of-town

applications were invited through the association's magazine and otherwise, and ten Cambridge organizations, including the Rotary Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Knights of Columbus, were asked to encourage the best qualified local men to apply. Thirteen applicants, eight from Cambridge and five from other cities, were interviewed by the entire council-elect.

When the council held its first official meeting, Colonel John B. Atkinson, a highly regarded local shoe manufacturer and merchant who had never been connected with partisan politics, was elected city manager on the first ballot. He received the votes of three Plan E councillors and three others. His beginning salary was set at \$15,000 a year, \$5,000 less than the maximum allowed and considerably less than his earnings in private business.

It took three ballots to choose the mayor, who will be the president of the council and the ceremonial head of the city, but on the third ballot eight of the nine votes were cast for John H. Corcoran, head of a local department store who had been elected on the Plan E ticket, and his election was then made unanimous. The councillors voted him a salary of \$5,000, as the law permitted, instead of the regular councillor's salary of \$4,000, but the additional \$1,000 he promptly donated to the Cambridge United War Fund Drive.

After Mr. Corcoran's election as mayor, William M. Hogan, Jr., a member of the old council who had been elected on the regular Democratic ticket, was elected vice-mayor on the first ballot by six votes out of nine.

The new council cut down the number of council committees from 23 to 10. The important Committee on Finances consists of the whole council. Each councillor heads at least one committee. All the committees are planning to do active work, whereas formerly many of

them were just a collection of names and much of the legislation was passed under suspension of the rules without any study in committee.

One of the city manager's first acts was to appoint as city solicitor John A. Daly, an able non-political lawyer who is a member of the State Judicial Council, a recent president of the local bar association, and son of one of the city's most respected mayors.

The manager's first big task is the preparation of the new government's first budget, which must be submitted to the council by February 15.

Hamilton's Eighth P. R. Election

The eighth use of P. R. for the election of the city council in Hamilton, Ohio, this fall appears to assure the continuance of the efficient nonpartisan government for which the city has become noted during fourteen years of non-political councils with a single city manager, Russell P. Price. Five of the seven councilmen were re-elected, another was a former councilman, and the seventh was a candidate of the Charter League group which has largely taken the lead in the good government regime.

Three of the successful candidates were candidates of the Charter League, three were candidates of a coalition backed by leaders of the local Democratic and Republican organizations, and the seventh was an independent labor man not on either ticket. On most questions all the councilmen have worked together without any division on group lines.

The new council, listed in order of election, is composed of former mayor Raymond H. Burke, Charter League, an insurance company representative in private business, who has served continuously on the council since the P. R.-manager charter went into effect;

John A. Schwalm, coalition, a theatre owner, who was first elected in 1935 as a charter group candidate; William Beckett, Charter League, treasurer of a paper company; Andrew Bruck, coalition, restaurant proprietor, a former councilman under P. R.; Mayor Leo J. Welsh, coalition, a railway clerk, who like Mr. Burke was elected for the eighth time; Howard F. Wilson, the new Charter League councilman, district manager of a national finance company; and Joseph H. Toerner, independent, a machinist.

The only councilman defeated for re-election was Dr. Mark Millikin, well known single taxer and liberal, who had been one of the original charter councilmen elected in 1927 and had served continuously ever since, though he had not always received the charter group's blessing. He was not on any ticket this fall.

There were 17 candidates in all.

All of the councilmen-elect reached the quota of 1,525 votes, except Mr. Toerner, who was credited with 1,464 in the final count and would undoubtedly have gone over with votes to spare if the 1,098 ballots of the runner-up had been distributed to their next choices. Eighty-seven per cent of those who cast valid ballots (10,614 out of 12,197) helped elect councilmen for whom they voted, 65 per cent of them (7,884) electing their first choices.

The invalid votes were only 395, or 3.1 per cent of those marked, while only 52 were blank. The *Hamilton Journal and Daily News* of November 6 remarked in a headline that "Hamilton Electors Are Learning Their P. R.'s."

The P. R. count was competently conducted again under the direction of Harold Moser, local accountant, starting the morning after election and ending in the early hours of the next day. The *Journal* reported that "there were no complaints about the 'accu-

racy' of the count. It can be said without fear of contradiction that no professional politician had any finger in any of the counting that was done."

Boulder's Thirteenth P. R. Election

The city in this country which has used P. R. the longest is Boulder, the seat of the University of Colorado. This little city has had a P. R. election every second year from 1917 on. Each time it elects three of the nine councilmen for a six-year term, an arrangement which reduces unnecessarily the scope of representation but has not prevented generally satisfactory and popular results.

Frequently there have been no noticeable issues in Boulder's municipal elections other than the competence and popularity of the individual candidates, but in 1941 three of the seven candidates were known to be interested in securing municipal ownership of the city's electric system. These three polled among them enough of the first choice votes to have secured one of the three places for the municipal ownership group (as has occasionally happened in the past) if their supporters had supported all three as a ticket. The transfers showed, however, that much of their vote was a personal vote rather than a vote for municipal ownership, and that quite a few of those who had given first choices to the two lowest municipal ownership candidates preferred one of the other candidates to the only municipal ownership candidate who had a chance of election. The result was the election of three more conservative candidates, the third of them with the aid of surplus votes from the first.

Two of the three successful candidates, a coal company office manager (Mayor Frank W. Thurman, who led the poll) and a real estate and insur-

ance man, were members of the council seeking re-election. The third is a dairy operator. The runner-up and one of the other defeated candidates were university professors, but the university community did not vote at all as a unit, as the transfers showed.

Seventy-two per cent of those who cast valid ballots (1,060 out of 1,463) helped elect someone for whom they had voted, and 61 per cent (899 out of 1,463) saw their very first choices elected. In five of the six precincts a good majority of the voters saw their first choices elected, and in the sixth, where the municipal ownership candidates ran strongly, 47 per cent did so.

The invalid ballots (probably including blanks) numbered 61 out of 1,524, or about 4 per cent.

According to the *Boulder Daily Camera* of November 5, the count proceeded smoothly and was completed in three hours on the evening of election day by a canvassing board of fifteen, including the holdover members of the council, under the general direction of the city building inspector, the city attorney, and the city clerk.

Accounts of the P. R. elections on November 4 in New York City, Cambridge, Yonkers, Cincinnati, and Toledo appeared in this department in December and January.

Annual Meeting of the P. R. League

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, held at St. Louis on November 18, was one of the best attended and most enthusiastic the organization has ever had. Over three hundred League members and friends filled the large room on the roof of the Chase Hotel in which the gathering was held.

As is the P. R. League's usual custom, the meeting was held in conjunc-

tion with the annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League.

Dr. A. R. Hatton, president of the P. R. League and professor-emeritus of political science at Northwestern University, presided.

At a short business session the League's present trustees were unanimously re-elected. They are: Richard S. Childs, New York City, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League; Paul H. Douglas, professor of economics at the University of Chicago and alderman in the Chicago City Council; C. A. Dykstra, Madison, Wisconsin, president of the University of Wisconsin and past president of the National Municipal League; President A. R. Hatton; C. G. Hoag, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, honorary secretary of the P. R. League; J. Henry Scattergood, of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania, former assistant federal commissioner of Indian Affairs; and Thomas Raeburn White, chairman of the Philadelphia City Charter Committee.

Addresses were given by representatives of five of the seven cities holding P. R. elections during the year. Charles P. Taft, assistant director of the United States Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services and city councilman of Cincinnati, spoke on "P.R. in Cincinnati"; Paul J. Kern, president of the New York City Civil Service Commission, "New York's Third P. R. Election"; Robert Goodwillie, former city councilman of Yonkers, "The Second P. R. Election in Yonkers"; Dr. Mark Milliken, former city councilman of Hamilton, Ohio, "Hamilton's Use of P. R."; and O. Garfield Jones, University of Toledo, "Toledo's Experience with P. R." Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., also gave a short talk on the subject "St. Louis Needs P. R."

In his resumé of the year's activities in the field of proportional representation George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary

of the League, who had spent a week in Cambridge during the P. R. count in November, reported on that city's first P. R. elections for council and school committee—the latter being the first school board election in this country under P. R. He also discussed the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court holding P. R. constitutional in that state.

E. S. P.

WANTED: MORE EQUITY IN TAX DIVISION

(Continued from Page 78)

services rendered.

As tax burdens have increased the importance of a nationally-integrated tax system has also increased. The exigencies of the defense era complicate the fiscal problems of governments. The independent status of state and local governments in our political hierarchy, the lack of coordination in their fiscal systems, and the comparative absence of coöperation between the tax administrators of the various governments make difficult the task of developing harmonious tax, loan, and expenditure policies relative to defense, or anything else.

The development of an integrated tax system is a job which cannot be hurriedly undertaken; it will doubtless require years of hard work, particularly because few steps have been taken even to formulate the principles on which action or planning can be based.

Not all the answers to the questions of intergovernmental finance are to be found in Washington. In spite of the fact that many of them are there, municipalities would do well to concentrate at this time on the necessity for state action. Perhaps the states can be induced, or forced, to give localities increased fiscal authority with respect to tax levies and rates, plus greater freedom of choice in the revenue measures to be used. The principle of revenue-sharing should be extended and unconditional grants might well be tried on an experimental basis.

Of course, none of these steps should be taken except under appropriate budgetary, accounting, and auditing procedures. Resistance on the part of many local governments to the adoption of such rudimentary aids to honest and efficient service should stop. Nor can municipalities expect financial aid from states without certain forms of central supervision. On the one hand the supervision should be sympathetic and intelligent; on the other, the financial assistance should be prompt as well as adequate. A strong nation needs strong cities. The cities become strong as their finances are secure.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered before the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 19, 1941.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Federal Finances in the Coming Decade. By Carl Shoup. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1941. xii, 121 pp. \$1.

Because of the defense effort the United States faces a financial problem the size of which few persons appreciate. The solution to this problem cannot be found until figures of some sort are set down by means of which a full realization can be obtained of the size and complexity of the problem and the relative importance of its various parts.

Professor Shoup has attempted this, and no more. By means of his "estimated minimums" he has plotted in rough outline the financial future of the country for ten years ahead. He has, of course, based his study upon some definite ideas of what the future holds for the world, setting forth twelve basic assumptions.

This book is a small one, but it treats of the largest figures this or any other government has ever been called upon to consider.

Case Reports in Public Administration. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. 10 cents each, obtainable on standing order; Nos. 1-60, with two loose-leaf binders, \$5.60.

Each of these "case reports" deals with a particular problem and the manner in which it has been solved in a particular instance.

Publication of these case histories represents a much needed effort to make available to administrators, researchers, and teachers, solutions to administrative problems which have been worked out by others in the field. Included are discussions of problems and decisions from the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the U. S. Housing

Authority, Federal Reserve Board, Social Security Board, the states of Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Missouri, Cincinnati, Wayne County, Michigan, and others, covering such subjects as maintenance of morale and production in routine clerical work, selection of employees for promotion, relations between a state department and local agencies, recording purchase requisitions for budgetary control purposes, control of the use of city-owned motor equipment, methods of obtaining efficient action where two bureaus work together in the production of reports, etc.

The reports have been collected and edited by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council and will be added to as new material becomes available.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Accidents

Financial Responsibility in Motor Accidents. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1941. 39 pp. mimeo.

Accounting

Governmental Cost Accounting in the Los Angeles Area. By Irving Tenner. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1941. 16 pp. 20 cents.

Advertising

Advertising by the States (revised edition). Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1941. 36 pp. \$1.

Budgeting

Budgeting in Texas Counties, 1931-1940. By H. C. Bradshaw. College Sta-

tion, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, 1941. 33 pp.

Constitutions

Problems of Constitutional Revision in Illinois. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1941. 35 pp. mimeo.

Defense and War

School and College Civilian Morale Service—How to Participate. Washington, D. C., U. S. Office of Education, 1941. 28 pp.

391 Local Boards Defer Projects as War Aid. St. Paul, Minnesota Taxpayers Association, 1942. 16 pp. mimeo.

Democracy

Constitutional Government and Democracy. By Carl J. Friedrich. Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1941. xix, 695 pp. \$4.

Nazi Poison. New York City, Council for Democracy, 1941. 55 pp. 10 cents.

Education

The Law and Public Education. By Robert R. Hamilton and Paul R. Mort. Chicago, The Foundation Press, Inc., 1941. xxv, 579 pp. \$4.75.

Opinion Conflict and School Support. By Frederick T. Rope. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. viii, 164 pp. \$2.

Unit Costs of School Buildings. By Henry H. Bormann. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. 87 pp. \$1.60.

Highways

An Analysis of the Douglas County Highway Department During the Years 1930 Through 1940. By Max P. Heavner, Jr. Superior, Wisconsin, The City and County Economy Association, 1941. vi, 40 pp. mimeo.

Housing and Urban Development

Communities for Living. By F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., in collaboration with Sam Schiller, for the Advisory Panel on Regional Materials of Instruction for the Tennessee Valley (in connection with the panel program of making regional research and report materials available for school use). Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1941. ix, 56 pp. illus. 40 cents.

A Handbook on Urban Redevelopment for Cities in the United States. Suggesting certain powers and procedures and an integrated long-term program for dealing with slums and blighted urban areas. By Federal Housing Administration. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1941. ix, 105 pp. 15 cents.

Housing for Health. Papers presented under the auspices of the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, The Science Press Printing Company, 1941. 221 pp. \$1. (Copies may be obtained from the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, 310 Cedar Street, New Haven, Connecticut.)

The St. Marks Neighborhood. A study of housing and general property conditions in a congested urban area. By the staffs of the Department of Real Estate, School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance, New York University, and the Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society of New York. New York City, Community Service Society, 1941. 52 pp. mimeo., maps. 50 cents.

Milk Regulation

State Regulation of the Sale of Milk. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1941. 31 pp. mimeo.

Municipalities

The Effect of an Emergency upon the Police Powers of a City. By Louis H. Burke and Robert H. Patton. Berkeley, League of California Cities, 1941. 45 pp. mimeo. \$1.

Intermunicipal Coöperation in the Americas. A report to the chairman of the American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities from the retiring liaison officer with the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities. By John J. Kennedy. Chicago, American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities, 1941. 45 pp. mimeo.

Municipal Affairs. By Ernest W. Steel. Scranton, Pennsylvania, International Textbook Company, 1941. 389 pp. \$3.50.

Municipal Index and Atlas. New York City, American City Magazine Corporation, 1941. 649 pp. tables, maps. \$2.50.

Personnel

As I See It—Observations of a Civil Servant. By Warner W. Stockberger. Washington, D. C., The Graduate School, United States Department of Agriculture, 1941. 51 pp. 35 cents.

Merit System Installation. Problems and procedures in establishing a public personnel agency. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. vi, 58 pp. \$1.50.

Planning

National Planning in Selected Countries. By Lewis L. Lorwin, for National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. iv, 173 pp. 40 cents.

Political Parties

Party Government. By E. E. Schattschneider. New York City, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942. xv, 219 pp. College edition, \$1.25.

Public Administration

Administrative Procedure Legislation. Addresses by Francis Biddle and Roscoe Pound etc., before American Bar Association. Chicago, American Bar Association, 1941. 22 pp.

A Letter from a Dean of Public Administration to His Graduates about the "Tools of Administration." By Lent D. Upson. Detroit, 1941. 12 pp.

Work Measurements in the City of Los Angeles Building and Safety Department. By Irving Tenner. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1941. 16 pp. 20 cents.

Recreation

Proceedings of the 26th National Recreation Congress and the Defense Recreation Conference. New York City, National Recreation Association, 1941. 240 pp. \$1.

Taxation and Finance

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Vol. XXXI, No.

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 3

Total Number 309

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

How Shall We "Teach" Citizenship

THE occasionally expressed thought that there is something essentially fascistic about the idea of teaching citizenship to American youth seems rather strangely hobgoblinish. The few effective efforts made in that direction have never even remotely approached the forced feeding tactics of totalitarian indoctrination. They have striven toward broad and full understanding, not toward the atrophy of the youthful mind.

It is encouraging that educators and other thoughtful leaders who expressed themselves in the poll taken by the National Self Government Committee, described elsewhere in this issue,¹ are so overwhelmingly agreed that colleges should do more in the way of citizenship training. The need obviously exists, not only at the college level but perhaps even more acutely in high schools because, as one educator says, "college is so late and collegians too few."

There will be greater difficulty in reaching agreement on the method than on the need for the teaching. In a recent letter a professor of education, who in the hope of finding a plan of action has been faithfully attending conferences on education for citizenship, figuratively throws up his hands and describes such sessions as "chiefly words, words, words. All this prating about democracy and education for it," he adds, "is utterly futile from my point of view and this is the reason for my opinion:

"One learns democracy, whatever it may be, by living it. It is not learned by talking about it or by reading about it. If we take our definition of democracy from the Bill of Rights and such other classical statements, it is plainly apparent that citizenship training must be placed on a behavioral basis. This means that the school must become a working democracy and this is hardly possible except as the school is located in a community which is also a working democracy. We are far removed from either or both of these steps.

"There is perhaps one hopeful sign in the present. As conditions grow more desperate, social aims will of necessity be more unified. And with this unification, both in school and community, children and adults may have the opportunity to learn the ways of democracy through practical living. . . . Both my fears and hopes lead me to believe that such education and such civic participation will develop increasingly."

In the overtones of this explosively thoughtful outburst there can be sketched scores of incidents in which the attempts of educators to do a constructive job of "teaching democracy" through helping their students to live it have been frustrated by the politically powerful or by the parents of the students.

Today, however, the public mind is especially receptive to ideas designed to strengthen the self-governing process. We should capitalize on this receptiveness now before we sink back

¹"Why Not Citizenship Training in College?" page 143.

into the complacent indifference of peace times and again run the risk of desiring a return to so-called normalcy. What we need is a specific, practical plan which can be applied generally and will be widely accepted.

Several such plans, which might with variations be made generally applicable, already have been quite thoroughly tested. Among them are

the University of Toledo course in "Effective Citizenship" and the course designed for the high schools of Zanesville, Ohio, both of which have been described in previous issues of the REVIEW.² These systems and others have been in use for a sufficient time to permit objective study with a view to more widespread adaptation and adoption.

Pointing with Pride

THE public official who has long been accustomed to "point with pride" to grand scale public works is going to have to reorient his thinking—and soon.

Even though there might still be enough labor to continue these projects as usual, there will be less and less of basic materials and public funds. It is obvious that essential public services in cities, counties, states, and in the nation at large must be kept at a high level of efficiency, but people who are asked to go without automobiles, sugar, and other things which have become necessities during prosperous times are not likely to continue for very long to look with approval on projects which can be postponed or dispensed with entirely.

It is not a question of money being available to build a city hall, an armory, a bridge, or a new street. It's a question of self-denial and self-discipline in the non-military use of basic war materials. If curbs are not self-imposed by cities and other governments, they will inevitably be imposed from Washington even more strictly than they are now, with a resulting loss in local self-determination.

Tire rationing and the shortage of new automobiles already are decreasing motor traffic. Is there, then, as compelling a demand for the immediate completion of new bridges, roads, streets, or for their maintenance on the basis of normal traffic increase?

In most large cities school populations have been on the decrease. Can we not, therefore, get along for the duration of the war without new school buildings?

Small trailer pumpers which can be drawn by any truck are being manufactured for use in small communities and as auxiliaries in larger communities. Here is a case in which the local patriotism which demands as big, as shiny, and as impressive a piece of fire apparatus as the neighboring town has should be superseded by a larger patriotism which will make the firemen proud of their self-denial.

Maury Maverick, chief of the United States Governmental Requirements Bureau, who has the prin-

(Continued on Page 185)

²"A Civics Course for Today," by Jesse J. Pugh, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1940, pp. 372-375; "Citizens of Tomorrow," by O. Garfield Jones, February 1940, pp. 98-100.

U.S. Housing Agencies Consolidated

President acts to eliminate chaos resulting from numerous overlapping units; places the spending of millions recently appropriated in hands of a single national organization.

By ROSALIND TOUGH and RUTH G. WEINTRAUB
Hunter College, New York City

TO INSURE "swifter and more efficient prosecution of the present war" President Roosevelt, on February 24, 1942, consolidated sixteen federal housing organizations into a single National Housing Agency. Mr. John B. Blandford, Jr., formerly general manager of the Tennessee Valley Authority and more recently assistant director of the Bureau of the Budget, has been appointed to head the new agency.

The reorganization is expected to end a series of inter-agency conflicts which reached a climax within the past few months. Recently before a committee of the House of Representatives Mr. Nathan Straus, then Administrator of the United States Housing Authority, referred to our defense housing organization as a "confused multiplication of defense housing agencies with ill-defined functions competing avidly with one another."

The situation was complicated by the fact that the authorities were completely at odds over immediate as well as ultimate ends. Officials who wished to entice private capital in the field to build for workers in defense industries did not see eye to eye with others who were convinced that only the government

could afford to construct homes for the vast majority of these workers.

To date, February 1942, a total of \$1,063,000,000 has been appropriated or allotted for defense housing. At the moment, when a new agency has come into the field which will hereafter be responsible for implementing the wartime housing program, it would appear desirable to summarize the government's accomplishments since the program was first undertaken.

The initial step in the legislation, taken on June 25, 1940, gave the Reconstruction Finance Corporation powers liberal enough to give indirect aid to defense housing.¹ Three days later the Navy and War Departments and the United States Housing Authority were permitted to coöperate in making housing available to persons engaged in defense activities but no appropriation accompanied this legislation.

Congress authorized the United States Housing Authority to furnish technical assistance and to transfer available funds to the Navy and War Departments, if the latter were chosen as construction units.² An appro-

¹Public No. 664, 76th Congress, June 25, 1940.

²Public No. 671, 76th Congress, June 28, 1940.

priation of \$100,000,000 for defense housing to the War and Navy Departments followed. Both the Secretaries of War and the Navy were permitted to utilize other agencies in effecting their objectives.³

The Federal Works Administration was chosen as the agency to disburse the largest appropriation for defense housing purposes, granted under what is popularly known as the Lanham Act, originally passed on October 14, 1940, with an appropriation of \$150,000,000.⁴ It was augmented on April 29, 1941, by \$150,000,000;⁵ under the most recent amendment that total was increased by another \$300,000,000.⁶

In addition to the legislation which provided for governmental construction of defense housing, an impetus was given to private construction through amendment of the National Housing Act by the addition of a provision, the province of which was specifically limited to defense areas. This amendment created a Defense Housing Insurance Fund, a revolving fund to which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was authorized to advance \$10,000,000. The aggregate amount of principal obligations was not to exceed \$100,000,000; this sum was later increased to \$300,000,000.⁷ The new title does not require

that the mortgagor be the owner and occupant, so that a builder operator may be the mortgagor. Thus houses can be built by private industry and rented to families in defense areas.

To enable the President to provide temporary shelters for defense workers an initial \$5,000,000 was appropriated;⁸ later an additional \$15,000,000 was added.⁹ By the end of 1941 the need for temporary and mobile housing had become so acute that an additional sum of \$300,000,000 was appropriated for this purpose.¹⁰

Allocation of Appropriations

From June 25, 1940, to June 30, 1941, \$463,000,000 was appropriated or allotted for defense housing. To initiate the program the United States Housing Authority transferred approximately \$33,000,000 from its regular funds to defense housing uses. Three hundred million dollars were put at the disposal of John M. Carmody, former Federal Works Administrators by act of Congress. About one-third of this was allocated to the Public Buildings Administration, less than one-third to the United States Housing Authority, and a large sum to a new Division of Defense Housing. Small allotments were made to the Farm Security Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Army, and the Navy.

In addition to the funds which the Army and the Navy obtained from the Federal Works Agency, a direct Congressional appropriation of \$100,-

³Public No. 781, 76th Congress, September 9, 1940.

⁴Public No. 849, 76th Congress, October 14, 1940.

⁵Public No. 42, 77th Congress, April 29, 1941.

⁶Public No. 371, 77th Congress, December 23, 1941; Public No. 409, 77th Congress, January 21, 1942.

⁷Public No. 24, 77th Congress, March 28, 1941, as amended by Public No. 248, 77th Congress, September 2, 1941.

⁸Public No. 9, 77th Congress, March 1, 1941.

⁹Public No. 73, 77th Congress, June 30, 1941.

¹⁰Public No. 353, 77th Congress, Dec. 17, 1941.

000,000 for defense housing was received by these two departments. The Navy set up its own organization; in contrast, the Army turned over to the Public Buildings Administration most of its housing construction. The President assigned to the Farm Security Administration two appropriations for temporary housing amounting to \$20,000,000.

These sums total \$453,000,000; the remaining \$10,000,000 was allocated to the Federal Housing Administration for setting up the Defense Housing Insurance Fund. With the moneys appropriated or allotted, the agencies separately and in collaboration have been constructing housing accommodations for various classes of defense workers.

Construction Progress

On September 1, 1941, the Division of Defense Housing Coordination, Office of Emergency Management, reported that accommodations for 125,479 families or single persons were in process of construction or had been completed in public defense housing projects. The United States Housing Authority alone was providing for 24,447 families; acting with local housing authorities, it was housing an additional 6,344.¹¹ The Public Buildings Administration was building or had completed 33,409 family units, approximately another 25 per cent of the total. The remaining units were under the supervision

of such agencies as the Navy, Division of Defense Housing, and Farm Security Administration. These figures do not include the most recent allocations, estimated at \$150,000,000 or 40,000 units, under the January 1942 amendment to the Lanham Act, and another \$150,000,000 or 42,000 units, under the December 1941 appropriation for mobile housing.

Civilians in private defense industries will benefit from about 43 per cent of the new construction; 54,589 family units and living quarters for men have been allotted to them. With minor exceptions the remaining accommodations, 70,890 units, will be for groups of civilians working in governmental industrial plants, non-commissioned officers and enlisted men of the Army and Navy, and civilian employees in the navy yards.

In addition to the 125,479 families provided for by governmental housing in defense areas, another 200,000 families are likely to be housed by private construction, according to a report of December 1941. Although this housing is being financed by private agencies, the mortgages are insured by the Federal Housing Administration.

Dwellings constructed under the governmental defense housing program are varied in type. As of November 30, 1941, it was announced that about 38,500 families whose work is essential to defense had been accommodated in government-built permanent homes. Another 1,500, mostly workers employed in temporary jobs such as the building of army camps, had been housed

¹¹Although the local housing authorities are constructing more than 6,344 units under the Lanham Act, many of those in excess of the 6,344 units are being built by local housing authorities as agents of the United States Housing Authority.

with their families in demountable houses or trailers, which can be moved from one location to another as needed. An additional 4,000 workers—bachelors or married men who had left their families at home—were living in the government's dormitories. These data indicate that approximately 44,000 housing quarters of the 125,479 under construction or completed on September 1 were actually occupied on November 30.

Planning and Construction

Criticism has been levied against some of the government's projects from the points of view of land-use planning and construction. For example, the Navy development known as Benmorrell Park in Norfolk, Virginia, with 1,350 dwelling units for the families of enlisted men, has six straight streets each about two thirds of a mile long. Current standards of community planning provide that among other requirements streets be curved to fit the contours of the land in residential developments.

Poor planning affecting the two-family houses themselves is indicated by lack of kitchen space for refrigerators and by straight iron stairways as rear exits from second floor apartments. Building materials have been dubbed inferior; within a four-month period stucco used for the exterior of the houses was reported to have cracked and to be discolored by rain water.

Unfavorable comments have not been restricted to the housing produced by the Navy; the Public Buildings Administration has come in for its share of censure. One writer

on housing recently stated that this organization had put up "architectural atrocities," houses "not only unsightly but flimsy." For this reason the organization has been nicknamed the "Public Barracks Administration."¹² Members of the Congressional subcommittee named by the House to investigate complaints against the governmental housing program reported similar reactions.

In contrast, praise has been elicited by the project Avion Village, at Grand Prairie, Texas, a park community development for families of workers at the North American Plant near Dallas, Texas, an example of one of the new decentralized communities which constitute part of the governmental defense housing program. The community is built around a large natural park with essential facilities in the center such as project office, day nursery, and playgrounds. Traffic which is not essential to Avion Village is routed around it not through the community. Streets fit the contours of the land and are varied in width to meet residential and business needs. The four- and five-room houses are built of prefabricated materials and are located on narrow radial dead-end streets which attract no traffic other than that essential to service the houses.

Comments in general have been favorable with regard to defense housing erected by the United States Housing Authority. It is claimed that the previous experience of this

¹²T. J. Hamilton "Asks that Palmer Be Kept on Housing," *New York Times*, Dec. 4, 1941.

organization with low rental housing has enabled it "to incorporate the latest advances in individual house design and in site layout."

Prior to housing for defense, prefabricated materials were not used on a large scale in governmental housing.¹³ Today the Public Buildings Administration at Indian Head, Maryland, is assembling houses from prefabricated units. As an integral part of the separate units are found electric wiring, plumbing, bathroom and kitchen fixtures, windows, screens, doors, and kitchen cabinets. The units are bolted together.

In a 538-family project built by the United States Housing Authority at Newport, Rhode Island, the contractor has built whole roofs, complete with shingles, on the ground and then has swung them into place with cranes. Frames of whole walls have been laid out on platforms, siding nailed on and windows installed before the walls have been raised into place.¹⁴ Prefabrication has been used in these and other governmental defense housing projects in an effort to reduce per unit family costs.

Priorities for Defense Housing

Soon after the program for defense housing was initiated, scarcity of essential building materials resulted from wartime demands. As this sit-

uation became acute the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board prohibited on October 9, 1941, new construction of any non-essential public or private building projects requiring "appreciable quantities of critical materials." Essential housing construction is defined as that necessary to provide living quarters in designated defense areas for workers both in governmental service and private industry. Mr. Charles F. Palmer, then Defense Housing Coördinator, had arranged on November 30, 1941, to have sufficient critical materials released for 200,000 privately and 100,000 publicly financed units.

Private construction is primarily limited to houses designed to cost not more than \$6,000 or to rent for no more than \$50 a month. Most of these homes are being financed through the FHA.

The extent to which privately constructed houses can meet the needs of workers in defense areas raises another problem. On the basis of 16,000 applications for accommodations the Division of Defense Housing reported that 30 per cent of the defense workers were making less than \$1,500 a year, an additional 60 per cent were receiving between \$1,500 and \$2,100, and only 10 per cent were earning more than \$2,100. These incomes were on the basis of a 40-hour week and do not include overtime.

Assuming that a family should not spend more than one-fifth of its income for rent, the amount available in at least 30 per cent of the families of defense workers is \$25 or less per month. Mr. Palmer told a House committee investigating defense hous-

¹³Richard Gray, acting president of the American Federation of Labor, Building and Construction Trades Department, declared that under an agreement last May settling a strike in Detroit the American Federation of Labor Unions announced their willingness to work on pre-fabricated houses. Louis H. Stark, "Moves to Abate Housing Friction," *New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1941.

¹⁴*Business Week*, Aug. 16, 1941, p. 46.

ing that "private enterprise cannot produce housing which is adequate for families at \$25 per month and less." It is evident that much of the housing for workers in defense industries must be built by government rather than by private enterprise.

Administrative Conflicts

When federal agencies project their work into the pattern of state and local activity, inter-governmental friction is likely to result. Prior to the latest amendment of the Lanham Act, the Federal Works Administrator had adopted the policy of agreeing to make annual payments in lieu of taxes up to 15 per cent of the annual rent charged for occupied units in a defense housing project. These payments in lieu of taxes were conditioned on the rendering of the usual services and facilities furnished by the municipalities and other taxing bodies.

Some localities were convinced they could not afford the "luxury" of federally-financed defense housing. Local officials felt that in spite of the contractual payment the community would not be able to meet the cost of the increased necessary public utilities, i. e., water and sewer systems, school facilities, fire and police protection. Recent legislation, however, has tried to meet this problem.¹⁵

¹⁵Public No. 137, June 28, 1941, authorizes expenditure of \$150,000,000 for local community facilities such as waterworks, public sanitary facilities, and hospitals.

Public No. 409, January 21, 1942, provides for the payment from rentals of annual sums "in lieu of taxes" to a state or local government on property which has been acquired for public housing purposes. This amount must approximate the taxes

Other conflicts have arisen. For example the refusal of the Public Buildings Administration to apply for a building permit from the city of Baltimore before it proceeded to build a \$3,700,000 project within the boundaries of that city has given rise to local concern as to whether local ordinances designed to protect health would be complied with.

With sixteen major agencies becoming involved in the housing program excluding local organizations, it was inevitable that jurisdictional conflicts should arise. Friction developed at an early stage among rival organizations within the Federal Works Agency. Mr. Nathan Straus, then Administrator of the United States Housing Authority, was perturbed at receiving less than one-third of the allotment made possible by the Lanham Act.¹⁶ His objections were based on the fact that two organizations which received money, the Public Buildings Administration and the Division of Defense Housing, had no previous experience in the construction of dwelling units. In addition, he complained that his agency was subjected to a raid of its personnel to staff the new and from his point of view unnecessary Division of Defense Housing. Mr. Straus's attitude on the multiplicity of agencies is indicated in the following quotation from the *New York Times* of November 13, 1941:

which would be paid if the property were not exempt from taxation, with certain allowances for expenditure by the government for streets, utilities, etc., to service the property.

¹⁶President Roosevelt accepted the resignation of Mr. Straus, as of February 17, 1942.

The Federal Works Agency has things so worked out that there are some projects where the land is acquired by the Department of Justice, the construction is done by a local housing authority, the supervision of construction is done by the U. S. H. A., and the management is done by the Division of Defense Housing through field offices competing with the U. S. H. A. and also competing with the local authority.

Administrative unity was not promoted when the President set up a new Division of Defense Housing Coördination in the Office of Emergency Management with Mr. Charles F. Palmer at its head. Conflicts of authority became inter- as well as intra-departmental. Mr. John M. Carmody, former head of the Federal Works Agency, had been given the power to allocate appropriations under the Lanham Act. He resented, therefore, attempts by the new coördinator to decide the location and construction agency for projects.

Obtaining the consent of the President, Mr. Palmer extricated his organization from the control of the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board. Since this gave the coördinator all authority over housing priorities, it increased the tension among the various housing agencies.

During October 1941, the situation became acute; the President called on Justice Samuel I. Rosenman of New York to make a confidential report of the defense housing program. Meanwhile a subcommittee of the House Building and Grounds Committee made a coast-to-coast study of the situation.

Based on the investigation made by Justice Rosenman, the new Nation-

al Housing Agency has been organized to effect a consolidation of the sixteen existing federal housing agencies. It is reported that the new administrator, Mr. John B. Blandford, Jr., has been given power to carry on all the work formerly under the direction of such organizations as the United States Housing Authority, the Federal Works Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Federal Home Loan Bank System. As a result of the President's order creating the Agency, the office of Defense Housing Coördinator has been abolished. Mr. Charles F. Palmer, who until February 24, 1942, held this post, has been requested by the President to undertake an investigation of British housing under wartime conditions.

Housing administration scattered over a multiplicity of agencies has undoubtedly retarded progress. The American Federation of Labor estimates that homes must be provided for 660,000 families plus accommodations for 300,000 single workers. Only 13 per cent of this number is already under construction or has been completed by the government. It is estimated that an additional 8 per cent can be built as a result of the newest appropriation.

Construction has begun on 200,000 privately financed Federal Housing Administration insured homes which when completed will constitute about 20 per cent of the estimated housing needed. To what extent the most recent reorganization will "speed up" housing production for war workers must at the present remain in the realm of conjecture.

Why Not Citizenship Training in College?

Analysis of questionnaire in which educators, writers, political scientists, give views on education for citizenship at college level.

By O. GARFIELD JONES
University of Toledo

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The author of this article is a pioneer in the preparation of college students for "effective citizenship." In an article entitled "Citizens of Tomorrow," appearing in the February 1940 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Dr. Jones describes in detail the work of his classes in citizenship at the University of Toledo. In order to give readers adequate background for the present discussion, we quote a few passages from that story.

"The course is required of sophomore students in all the colleges on the theory that they must all be citizens . . .

"Insight into basic political processes is given by limiting the two-semester study to just three processes. The first two are subdivisions of policy determination, that is, policy determination at the ballot box and policy determination in a deliberative assembly. The third process is the administration of policy . . .

"By using the government of Toledo as the basis of our study to supplement a standard text on municipal government we are able to give each student a separate and distinct laboratory assignment in precinct politics and in municipal administration . . ."

The Question:

"Is Dr. Jones right in his criticism of the colleges?" This refers to my published "Letter to the Editor," appearing in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, for August 1941, in which I protested "the omission of

college citizenship training from the program of the Conference on American Self-Government" at Indiana University, in May 1940.¹

The key sentence of this letter was: "How pathetic that this conference, which was 50 per cent a university group, should tell the high schools and the non-collegiate adult groups how to train for citizenship, but neglect to scrutinize their own classroom program to see if they were really teaching anything that could be called a 'final course in citizenship training for college students!'" This additional sentence was more pointed: "Isn't it about time that we stop trying to teach citizenship by mere 'manipulation of words' and rely on more thorough and more effective methods of training?"

The question, together with a reprint of my "Letter to the Editor" and a return post card, was sent out to some eight hundred educators and others by the National Self Government Committee, an organization interested in democracy within the public school as a means of training for citizenship.²

Most of the persons who answered

¹For a description of this conference see the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for June 1940, p. 356.

²For a description of the work of this Committee see the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for October 1941, p. 602.

the question knew nothing about my own "Effective Citizenship" course at the University of Toledo. Consequently, most of the answers testify as to the general criticism of university citizenship training and are in no sense an approval or disapproval of my own type of required college citizenship course.

A Good Return

The answers came from nine public school teachers or administrators, thirty-eight college of education men, ten university administrators, fourteen political scientists, five other social scientists, and twenty-one miscellaneous celebrities and ordinary citizens, such as Henry F. Pringle, biographer of Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, etc., and Ordway Tead, author and teacher, of New York, and H. G. Wells of England.

This return of almost 15 per cent at this writing is a fair return. Naturally, those who agreed with the criticism in the "Letter" were the ones most inclined to take the trouble of marking the return post card and placing it in the mail box. However, the very high percentage of agreements, ninety-three out of ninety-seven, with only 5 per cent of these agreements being somewhat equivocal, is *prima facie* evidence of rather widespread dissatisfaction with what the colleges are doing in the way of citizenship training.

The answers came from New Hampshire to Mississippi, and from Boston to Los Angeles. The most vigorous "No" came from Paul P. Cram, of Harvard University, who commented: "Dr. Jones evidently be-

lieves with the Nazis that education propaganda and a vocation are subject to uniform instruction. This is, of course, silly and fatal to democracy!"

Three vigorous approvals came from political scientists. Dr. Henry Reining, Jr., of the National Institute of Public Affairs, said: "I'm most interested to see you take up this cause. It is terribly important."

Dr. J. T. Salter, of the University of Wisconsin, said: "Dr. Jones is right, right, right! His statement, 'self-government is much more than an idea and a set of principles, it is a habit of doing things day in and day out,' hits the nail on the head. Colleges without citizenship training courses are like armies without guns—or guns and no training in their use."

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of *The Queen's Work*, St. Louis, said: "Dr. Jones's work in Toledo is the best college civics job being done anywhere. Still I do wish that energy were put on elementary and high school pupils before it was too late. College is so late and collegians too few."

Ben D. Wood, of Columbia University, is perhaps the most vigorous of the college of education critics of college citizenship instruction. He said: "I have long felt that the schools and colleges are largely responsible for the political illiteracy and the *naïveté* of most of our citizens. Consider the implications of the revelations of Eugene Lyons' *The Red Decade!*"

The one comment from England, that of H. G. Wells, was characteristically vigorous. He said: "Yes—but

he does not go far enough. The ignorance about world politics and social processes in America is almost blacker than that of our British governing class. Can I say more?"

Those who may be quite skeptical about citizenship instruction as another university requirement will enjoy the following comment by Dr. H. E. Cunningham of the University of Illinois: "What would be covered in such a course, and how would it be taught? Would it be a joke like some other universally required courses in some institutions?"

The present emergency in which the democracies find themselves raises for political scientists the same kind of problem that the biologists faced some years ago, when universities were struggling with the development of an adequate required course in personal hygiene. Some biologists made fun of the proposed course as a superdilute course in human physiology. But the advocates of this new requirement pointed out that even the student who majored in biology did not get all of the vital features of an adequate course in personal hygiene.

The college course in personal hygiene has two features in common with the college citizenship course. First, it is a terminal course, and therefore not a beginning course for biology majors. Second, it is designed to have an immediate effect on the daily life of the student. From this angle it might properly be called a "professional" course in personal hygiene because it draws upon many disciplines for its content of fact and principles and for its techniques. It may borrow from biology, psychol-

ogy, chemistry, physics, medicine, surgery, nursing, etc. The present tendency is to have it taught by physicians or by specialists in physical education, rather than by biologists.

Judging from this experience with the personal hygiene course, it seems to me that political scientists today are confronted with the alternative of working out an adequate terminal course in citizenship training for college students, or having such a course worked out by persons who are not political scientists. It was this second alternative operating in the field of high school citizenship instruction which aroused the American Political Science Association to vigorous protest more than a decade ago.

"Effective Citizenship" Course

The municipal university is perhaps more sensitive to a persistent demand of the general citizenry than other types of institutions, and for that reason may have done more experimenting in this citizenship training field to date. But no institution of higher education can afford to ignore this widespread demand for more adequate training of all students for effective citizenship as a functional political concept. Furthermore, such adequate training for citizenship on the college level must necessarily constitute one vital step toward preparing instructors competent to teach citizenship either directly or indirectly in the public schools either on the elementary or on the secondary school level. It is perhaps significant that the College of Elementary Education was the first to require all

(Continued on Page 153)

Maryland's Legislative Council in Action

The council has much more than justified its existence and hopes are high that during the next biennium achievements will be greater.

By HUGH A. BONE
University of Maryland

TWENTY-ONE years ago the first Model State Constitution of the National Municipal League provided for a "legislative council." This idea has survived all subsequent revisions and has been adopted in one form or another in about one-fourth of the states.

Although among the youngest of the councils, the Maryland agency, created in June 1939, shows itself to be one of considerable promise.¹ The Council, which held its first meeting on October 11, 1939, was compelled by statute to meet at least once every three months, a provision greatly exceeded. During the fourteen-month period from October 1939 to the publication of its report to the General Assembly in December 1940, the Council held twenty-eight meetings, generally with two sessions, morning and afternoon; on three occasions a session was held in the evening.

The fourteen Council members ap-

proached their task with earnestness as evidenced not only in the large number of meetings but also in the excellent record of attendance.

Sixty proposals for study and investigation were submitted to the Council between the 1939 and 1941 sessions of the General Assembly—41 at its first meeting. By the ninth meeting 59 of the 60 proposals had been presented. The Council, therefore, had ample time for study.

The propositions referred to the council came from these sources:

<i>Sponsor</i>	<i>Number of Proposals</i>
Governor	9
General Assembly	5
Senator*	14
Delegate*	23
Public Officials	2
Private Organizations or Citizens	7

*Many of the subjects submitted by senators and delegates were from members of the Legislative Council.

Although the Council was able to do much of its work during its sessions it was soon obvious that many of the proposals not assigned to the research division must be turned over to subcommittees. The latter also considered many recommendations of the research agency. It is interesting to observe, however, that no subcommittees were created until some six months after the Council had received its first proposals.

¹For a description of the Maryland council see, "A Legislative Council for Maryland," by the writer, in *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, June 1939, pp. 428-432. The council is composed of fourteen legislators, seven from each House—the respective presiding officers, chairmen of the Finance and Judicial Proceedings Committees, and minority floor leaders of each house, *ex officio*, plus three additional members from each house chosen by the presiding officers subject to confirmation by the respective houses.

Of the 60 subjects given to the Council 23 were given no consideration, six were discussed briefly in the Council only, sixteen were referred to the research division, eighteen received attention by subcommittees, and witnesses appeared before the Council in the case of nineteen problems. Communications were filed on twelve other proposals.

Bills (often more than one for each subject) were drafted by the Council and given to the General Assembly on seventeen of the 60 subjects. In two cases the Council recommended that the Governor appoint a special committee. Of the 23 given no consideration nearly half may be accounted for in terms of lack of jurisdiction or because they were subjects being studied by *ad hoc* commissions appointed prior to the creation of the Council.

Research Activities

At the outset the Council found a number of proposals submitted to it "which seemed to require considerable study and investigation in order to determine whether there was need for legislation and the kind of legislation which might be best suited for the particular proposal." These were referred to the Research Division and included: almshouses, building and loan associations, fireworks, highway condemnation, local legislation, municipal legislation, retail installment selling, and roadside control.

The research projects were directed by Dr. Horace E. Flack, secretary of the Council and director of research of the State Department of Legislative Reference. To Dr. Flack must be given much of the credit

for the successful research activities of the body.

The Research Division prepared nine reports on these subjects.² Copies were sent to members of the General Assembly, and were made available to civic organizations and institutions. An important by-product was their extensive use by civic groups both for study purposes and as factual material for lobbying activities. For the first time data on several of the state's important problems were made easily available to the public. In the eyes of many men's and women's clubs, especially in Baltimore, the Council more than justified its existence by these studies alone.

Reports on two of the most controversial and perennial issues, the almshouse problem and the regulation of fireworks, were prepared respectively by the State Department of Public Welfare and a staff member of the Council's Research Division. Both reports were handled with candor and the Council ordered legislative measures to be drafted embodying the recommendations of the Research Division.

The fireworks bill passed the General Assembly, but by only one vote in the Senate. A similar measure,

²These were published by the Research Division of the Legislative Council during 1940: *Regulation of Fireworks*, 57 pp.; *Report on Almshouses in Maryland*, 41 pp.; *The Problem of Local Legislation in Maryland*, 18 pp.; *Municipal Legislation in Maryland*, 59 pp.; *Roadside Control*, 65 pp.; *Retail Installment Selling*, 67 pp.; *Supplementary Report on Regulation of Fireworks*, 10 pp.; *Highway Condemnation*, 26 pp.; *Building and Loan Associations*, 72 pp. Many of these reports contain appendices, tables, and citations of value to students of comparable problems in other states.

which had a hectic history during the 1939 legislative session, passed the House by a wide margin but was defeated in the Senate by one vote.

The almshouse measure was permitted to die in committee because the Governor decided it was undesirable to issue state bonds to finance the new institutions contemplated.

The building and loan association study found that Maryland was the only state with no supervision over such organizations. "Out of approximately 800 associations in the state only 69 are members of the Federal Home Loan Bank, leaving over 90 per cent of the associations completely unsupervised." The Council was convinced, on the strength of the evidence in the report, that some form of regulation was desirable and submitted regulatory measures to the legislature. While one measure was passed the main regulatory measure failed to emerge from committee.

The suggestions of the Research Division on the question of retail installment sales were accepted. To the surprise of many legislators interested pressure groups were persuaded upon the basis of the research report that the legislation was desirable and lobbied for its enactment. The report has been generally credited with bringing about enactment with virtually no opposition. A unique procedure employed by the Council in this connection was adoption of a resolution requesting the Governor to sign the installment sales regulatory bill.

Two reports on highway condemnation and roadside control were prepared by two members of the Re-

search Division staff. The recommendations contained in these studies were also accepted by the Council. The General Assembly approved the highway condemnation and three roadside control bills but failed to pass an important highway zoning measure.

Local Legislation

Three of sixty proposals given to the Council for investigation dealt with legislative control over county and municipal affairs. The Council at once passed this hobgoblin of Maryland politics to two political scientists, who, after considerable study, drafted two reports. After pointing out the tremendous volume of local and municipal legislation,³ a fact long known but glibly ignored by the General Assembly, the following suggestions were made to alleviate the situation: constitutional home rule, statutory home rule, submission by counties and cities of their legislative programs to the Legislative Council, administrative control and review, general statewide laws to cover many matters now covered by special act, substitution of standing committees on counties and municipalities in place of the existing system of a committee for each county, and a municipal code. While these remedies received wide publicity in the press, it was their fate to die immediately after a brief discussion in the Council.

³During the last two decades over 50 per cent of the measures enacted by the legislature were for local purposes. The Research Division found that in "the 1939 session 509, or about two-thirds of the 779 acts passed, related to individual counties, towns, or cities."

Obviously the Council thought it premature to interject itself into this issue. To have championed reform in this area of state government might have aroused animosities which would have imperiled the prestige if not the life of the Council in its first session with the General Assembly. At least the Council has done some of the preliminary work toward solving the problem of one of Maryland's most serious legislative evils.

Although many recommendations of the Research Division failed to become law, the enactment of the fireworks, retail installment selling, and highway laws represented major achievements. The preliminary work on the reorganization of the almshouse setup and the regulation of building and loan associations should help to pave the way for enactment at a subsequent time.

Several other subjects were referred to the Research Division for study—amendment of rules of procedure to avoid congestion at the end of the legislative session, tax sale titles, license fees for vendors dispensing from vehicles, county distribution of auto licenses, the publication of administrative rules and regulations, state employees' retirement system, permanent registration of motor vehicles, and inspection of motor vehicles. The Research Division published no reports on these subjects but offered suggestions in the case of a few.

Comprehensive Use of Subcommittees

Twenty-six subcommittees, each numbering three members, were established. Ten of these were created to consider recommendations made

by executive departments. The remainder were assigned to study: almshouses, alcoholic beverages, aviation, fireworks, motion pictures, taxation, acquisition of rights-of-way, building and loan associations, conservation, habeas corpus, legislative expenses, parole, retail installment selling, roadside control, state auditor, and weights and measures.

Relations with Executive Departments

One of the most important and successful features of Maryland's Legislative Council is its relationship with the executive departments. Many proponents of the Council were disappointed when the statute did not include the Governor, and fear was expressed that the agency would accomplish little in the way of facilitating closer relationships between the executive and legislative branches of government. Although the Governor attended only one meeting of the Council and in general maintained a hands-off policy, his influence was considerable.⁴ Besides submitting nine proposals for study, the Governor sent several communications to the Council and lent his support to almost every bill submitted by that body to the General Assembly. He also gave statements to the press on

⁴In 1922 provision was made for an Advisory Council to the Governor, which had been more or less inactive for several years but was revived early in 1940. This caused some speculation as to whether this indicated the Governor's disaffection with the Legislative Council. But the Advisory Council has done little, and the anticipated conflict between the Executive and Legislative Councils did not materialize. See note by author in *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, March 1940, pp. 203-204.

frequent occasions commending the work of the Council. He vetoed only two of the Council's measures, in both cases in order to avoid duplication because their provisions were enacted in other measures. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Governor's support of Council measures was complete.

At an early meeting the Council decided to send communications to the several state departments, boards, and commissions, requesting their representatives to appear and present their needs together with recommendations for legislation where desired. The response was enthusiastic with some seventy-two persons from thirty-five different executive and judicial agencies attending at least one meeting.

The executive departments profited by this arrangement because it led to an analysis of their needs well in advance of the meeting of the legislature. Moreover, it gave them an opportunity to deliberate and iron out differences between themselves and key members of the General Assembly. The chairman of the two most important committees in each house, judiciary and finance, were on the Council and these hearings enabled them to become familiar with many of the problems which would later confront their committees.

Interest Groups and the Council

The Legislative Council received a large number of communications from various interest groups and many requests for an opportunity to give statements. The minutes of Council meetings disclose that spokesmen for thirty-six different organiza-

tions gave testimony. Six additional groups sent communications in behalf of or in protest against contemplated legislation.

In addition, a score of officials from various local governments, as well as many persons in a private capacity, appeared before the Council.

Relations with General Assembly

Attention may be turned finally to the Council's progress with the 1941 session of the General Assembly. On the second legislative day, January 2, the Council had 110 bills ready to place in the legislative hopper; 55 were introduced in each house. Eight measures were introduced later. When objection was raised to the legality of the Council's introduction of bills, an agreement was made to have the respective presiding officers submit the bills over their own signatures.

Out of the 118 measures introduced, 99 or 83.9 per cent were enacted (see Table I). This surpasses the record of the Kansas Council during its first experience with the legislature. Fifteen out of 24 bills or 62.5 per cent sponsored by the Kansas Council became law during the special session of 1933; at the first regular session (1935), however, only 26.3 per cent of its recommendations were enacted. Of the nineteen bills which the Maryland General Assembly failed to enact, one passed one house and the remainder died in committee. Slightly more than one-third of the measures were amended in the committee rooms.

While these figures are impressive, they should not be considered as a standard by which the Council's success can be judged. The most im-

TABLE I
LEGISLATIVE FATE OF COUNCIL MEASURES

No. of Bills Introduced		Left in Committee	Amended in House of Origin	Amended in Other House	Total Passed by Both Houses
House	57	4	11	7	51
Senate	61	14	10	9	48
Total	118	18	21	16	99

portant factor lies in the content of the bills passed or defeated, and in the groundwork laid for enactment at a subsequent date.

About one-third of the Council-sponsored measures were designed to repeal obsolete laws. Legislative opposition to these "repealers" was negligible and their passage added little to the prestige of the Council.

Of major importance was the enactment of measures relating to fire-works, retail installment selling, roadside control, highway condemnation, insurance, referendum petitions, conservation, and advertising constitutional amendments. Several Council bills containing amendments to existing statutes on judicial procedure and organization, penal practices, banking, public welfare, and workmen's compensation—some long overdue—were passed.

It must be conceded, however, that as many bills of major importance failed of enactment as became law. These embraced desired changes in the operation of almshouses, conservation (two measures), building and loan associations, roadside zoning, weights and measures, elections, and the merit system as well as others of less importance. Succinctly, the record in the passage of bills is excellent in the terms of numbers; in terms of the importance of measures success must be adjudged as only fair.

The record of introduction and passage of bills in the 1939 and 1941 sessions is shown in Table II. It will

TABLE II
LEGISLATIVE PROGRESS IN 1939 AND 1941
GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

	Bills Introduced		Bills Passed	
	1939	1941	1939	1941
32nd day	247	413	2	26
67th day	644	575	88	135
Last 23 days	463	453	689	777
Total	1354	1441	779	938

be noted that the 1941 record at the end of the 23rd and 67th days is somewhat better than the 1939 session, but the final three weeks showed little improvement. While the Council bills were the first introduced they received little priority in terms of enactment.

The Council system cannot be said to have substantially alleviated the "legislative jam" at the close of the session nor can it claim to have reduced the volume of bills introduced or enacted. To claim, as did many members of the Council, that the congestion would have been worse were it not for the Council is little consolation indeed.

One of the Baltimore representatives asked the Council to consider a plan for a unicameral legislature. After a brief discussion among the members the suggestion was promptly dropped.

The Council was also asked to study methods of remedying the delay in enacting legislation. Rather than recommend such controversial measures as a split session, reorganization of the committee system, unlimited legislative session, or a reduction of the volume of local legislation, the Council chose the path of cautiousness by stating:

The Council was of the opinion that if the Rules of the House and Senate were amended to provide that no bills could be introduced during the last twenty days, instead of during the last ten days of the session—as provided by the state constitution—some of this difficulty might be overcome.

Since most of the bills of the several state departments, boards, and commissions will be ready for introduction at the beginning of the session, it will be possible for committees to have hearings and report bills earlier in the session than has been the custom heretofore and this will also tend to reduce the number of bills which are ordinarily considered during the closing days of the session.

One or two other aspects regarding the attitude of the Assembly toward the Council demand consideration. On several occasions sponsors of bills cited the Council as an "authority" and its recommendations and studies were used freely to bolster the case for or against a policy. One member of the minority party complained that while he was favorably inclined toward the Council he thought that it had been used as a "steam roller" on a number of bills.

Many members of the legislature were not inclined to give Council bills preference over other bills. Others

regarded the agency as largely a research one and expressed the feeling that its activities should be largely restricted to that area. A small number regarded the Council's activities as essentially futile and one member of the lower house introduced a bill to abolish the Council but the measure never came out of committee. Still others were jealous and resentful of the Council because its members received additional compensation for their efforts.⁵

The Governor's budget, however, called for an increase of \$20,000 in appropriations for the Council's activities during the next biennium, from \$7,500 annually to \$17,500. No serious effort was made by the General Assembly to reduce this item. This would indicate that the majority of the legislators were impressed with the Council's work.

Conclusion

During its first biennium the Maryland Legislative Council has not shown itself to be a panacea for the most serious legislative ills. As has already been said, it left untouched many important problems. However, it is worth noting that the new Council, at its first meeting held on May 12, 1941, voted to consider ways of alleviating the end-of-the-session rush and to study further the problem of local legislation.

Despite its omissions the Council has made a substantial contribution to the state, paved the way for some improvement in the work of the Gen-

⁵One caustic critic of the "extravagance" of the Council seems to have been temporarily silenced by being appointed to fill a vacancy on the Council.

eral Assembly, and is a credit to the legislative council movement. Its contributions may be grouped into three headings. First, the Council has become an imposing research agency and has amassed data on many subjects which has been and will continue to be of value to the legislature and to civic organizations. Second, the many hearings and conferences with executive and judicial officers as well as with interest groups have provided a forum on state problems in advance of the general session.⁶ In many respects these hearings have been infinitely more satisfactory than those held by the often poorly attended standing committees during legislative sessions. In this realm the Maryland body has made a contribution to the legislative council movement. Finally, it prepared and submitted a comprehensive program to the General Assembly.

The Maryland Council has more than justified its existence and with an increase in appropriations for the next biennium hopes are high that achievements will be greater. The one cloud on the horizon is the election of a new General Assembly in 1942. With the high turnover in personnel that has characterized the Free State's legislature in the past, and with the Council's program pre-

pared in whole or in part by "retired members" it is hazardous to predict the fate of its recommendations in 1943.

CITIZENSHIP TRAINING IN COLLEGE

(Continued from Page 145)

its students to take my "Effective Citizenship" course at the University of Toledo back in 1922.

The fact that some 90 per cent of all collegiate students reach the voting age during their four years at college is a powerful argument in favor of a terminal course in citizenship at this level. Perhaps the ideal time for such a course would be, not at the freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior level, but rather at the time the individual student achieved the age of twenty, and was anticipating the exercise of his rights and duties as an elector. Weak as this anticipation may be at its best, it certainly needs the maximum of stimulation and encouragement among college students to whom we must look more and more for political leadership in this scientific and socially complicated civilization.

As professors charged with leadership in university education, we must do all we can to combat the philosophy—all too prevalent among college trained persons—of the drunken passenger who, when asked to bail water out of the sinking boat, said, "Let her sink! We don't own her!"

⁶The new Council has recently begun the interesting practice of traveling about the state to confer with local interest groups and local political leaders. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1941, p. 718.

State and Local Financial Relations in Texas

A well organized program should provide for improvement on all levels through the use of methods which are mutually sponsored in a spirit of understanding and confidence.

By H. C. BRADSHAW
Texas Agricultural Experiment Station

ACCORDING to recent compilations there are 7,685 units of government operating in Texas. These include the state itself, 254 counties, 560 cities, 6,580 school districts, and 292 water and other special districts. Each of these units has some sort of governing board, assesses and collects taxes, and provides one or more services.

Each citizen is subject, of course, to the operations of the state, the county, and the school district. In addition more than half the citizens of Texas must support city governments, and a considerable number must support water or other special districts.

It is the purpose of this paper to outline state and local relations growing out of the general laws respecting budgeting, assessing and collecting taxes, accounting, auditing, and public reporting, and to make certain suggestions with a view of improving the existing system.

Budgeting

The first Texas budget law became effective in 1905. This law was quite limited in application for it applied only to the counties having county auditors. Since Texas counties are not required to have auditors unless they have a valuation of \$15,000,000

or a population of 35,000, the law probably never applied to more than seventy-five of the 254 counties at any time.

In 1931 the uniform budget law applying to the state and to all local units was passed. This law requires each unit of government to prepare a budget and to file a copy with the state comptroller of public accounts. The law permits good budgeting procedures in so far as the local governments are concerned. Its worst defects are in the provisions regarding the state budget, a subject with which we are not concerned in this paper.

The budget law provided no field force or other means of assisting local units in preparing and administering budgets. But local officials soon began to ask questions of state officials and particularly of the state comptroller of public accounts. Finally the comptroller and the state auditor and efficiency expert worked out a standard county budget form—which has been twice revised—together with a manual entitled *Instructions for Preparation of County Budget Reports and Index to Laws Relating to County Finances*. This manual has continued to be a valuable aid to officials despite the fact that it does not describe the forms now in use.

Many counties have followed the practice of typing or mimeographing their own budget forms instead of buying the state form. In numerous instances the state form has been followed, in the main, but variations have been introduced to meet conditions peculiar to the particular county. Such adaptations should be encouraged for they emphasize the essential principles of budget preparation, but allow a great deal of discretion in the handling of details.

No state agency has prepared forms for cities, but the League of Municipalities once experimented with a budget form. Unlike the counties, the cities differ greatly in the purposes of their expenditures and it is extremely difficult to design budget forms which will suit their needs.

The cities have been quite lax in observing the law as indicated by the number filing budgets. "At no time have more than one-third of the cities ever filed their budgets with the state comptroller as required by law."¹ The number filing seems to be decreasing steadily. In contrast to the cities the number of counties filing budgets has remained fairly constant at about 80 per cent.

School districts use a one-page budget form prepared and furnished by the State Department of Education. This form is only a summary, and the districts which are really interested in budgeting use it in that way. Some of these districts prepare complete budgets for their own use, but file the standard form with the state department. The department

has no field force to assist in preparing and administering budgets, but some work has been done by other staff members. The director of information and statistics spends most of her time in September and October each year assisting in budget preparation. In addition, the twenty-four deputy state superintendents who assist in the rural aid program do some work on budgets when so requested.

In 1933 the Department of Education published a brief manual on school accounting and budgeting, which was revised in 1937.

Assessing and Collecting Taxes

The state of Texas has taken an active interest in assessing and collecting taxes, but only in so far as the work is confined to state taxes.

State *ad valorem*, poll, inheritance, and certain occupation taxes are collected by the assessor-collectors elected in each county. In the collection of these taxes they are responsible to the state comptroller of public accounts. These officials also collect auto license fees, but are responsible to the State Highway Department for these collections. Similarly the assessor-collectors collect beer, wine, and liquor permit fees under the general supervision of the State Liquor Control Board. In addition, the county clerk collects the note stamp tax and makes his settlement directly with the state treasurer.

The state comptroller of public accounts issues a booklet from time to time entitled *Instructions for Assessing*. The most recent edition bears this subtitle, "Giving the Statutory Requirements, Rules, and Regulations, Also the Special Instructions from the Comptroller Relative to the

¹"State Control of Local Budgeting," by Stuart A. MacCorkle, *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, September 1940, p. 122.

Assessment of State and County Taxes." In general, it may be said that an assessor who reads these instructions should know what he is supposed to do. But he may gain little or no idea of "how" to carry out his duties, for the instructions comment only incidentally on this point.

Some further instruction is provided the county assessor-collectors through the fourteen *ad valorem* tax auditors who check county accounts each year. A majority of these men have had years of experience in tax work and they are instructed to advise all officials who are interested in improving the conduct of their offices.

Every other year, following state and county elections, the state comptroller, in coöperation with the Assessor-Collector's Association, sponsors a business meeting at the state capital. This meeting lasts two or three days and is designed to acquaint newly-elected officers with their jobs. Of course, many of the officials who remain in office for several terms keep on attending these meetings, and they assist greatly in explaining the work of the office.

The comptroller's office is always well represented at the annual conventions of the assessor-collectors and this provides an additional channel for instructional purposes.

The comptroller carries on a vast correspondence with county assessors. In addition, many of them come to the state capital and talk over their problems in person. When new or unusual questions are brought up, the comptroller's reply is mimeographed and distributed to all the counties. Questions involving legal decisions are referred by the comptroller to the

attorney-general and the opinions resulting are also mimeographed and distributed to all counties.

From this outline it is apparent that the state comptroller does provide a great deal of advice and assistance to the assessor-collectors, despite the fact that he has no field force assigned specifically to that job. Nevertheless, it remains true that there has been little attempt on the part of the comptroller to issue general instructions covering the procedural or discretionary work of the assessor-collector.

The comptroller's office has little or no responsibility for the assessment and collection of city or school district taxes in Texas. Of course, advice has been given when requested.

The State Department of Education has provided no assistance to school districts other than to print the laws applying to the assessment and collection of school taxes along with other laws.

Accounting

Until recent years the only mention of local accounts was found in laws describing the records which were to be maintained. Following the passage of the uniform budget law in 1931, it was realized that accounts are an important tool of management. Accordingly, in 1933 the legislature passed a law requiring that the comptroller of public accounts design an accounting system for counties.

The bill which was introduced called for an appropriation of \$25,000, but this provision was eliminated before the bill became law. Despite lack of funds the chief clerk of the comptroller's office, with the aid of

an assistant state auditor and one independent auditor, managed to prepare a uniform system.

The system designed was printed and sample books containing each form, together with a manual of instructions, were sent to the county officials in 1937. The system is a good one despite the fact that it has several features which can hardly be used in practice; it has met a real need because it presents an over-all view of a county accounting system. One of the principal records called for is a multiple column ledger for the classification of receipts and disbursements. This record seems to have met a general need, for the number of counties using such distribution ledgers has increased tremendously since the system was released.

It should be emphasized that the state, through its agent the state comptroller, has made no demands upon the counties in regard to accounting systems. Local officials are free to adopt the system or not, as they may decide.

In so far as cities are concerned, the state has provided no direction at all as to accounts and record-keeping. But the League of Municipalities and the Municipal Finance Officers' Association have provided an *Accounting Manual for Texas Cities and Towns*, released in 1938.

One of the stationery houses designed and published a school accounting system which has been widely used by the school authorities. This system will provide the information needed for the budget and the annual reports.

Auditing of Public Accounts

The state has taken relatively little

interest in the auditing of local accounts. Auditing work is largely confined to the checking of state taxes collected by county officials, and the pre-audit of fees claimed by county and precinct officers in state cases.

The state provides no auditing service of any kind for cities and villages in Texas. The general law, of course, applies to the manner of taking bids for audits.

Similarly, almost no auditing service is provided for the school districts of the state. The state auditor and efficiency expert is required to pass upon the applications of the districts for equalization aids for salaries, transportation, and tuition. These aids are paid from the general fund of the state. For the most part these audits have consisted of examinations of the requests which were filed, together with an examination of the budgets, school census figures, and other information filed by the districts. The state auditor has never had more than three men to assign to this audit, and field examinations have never been possible.

The State Department of Education has provided some measure of auditing as regards the scholastic enumeration. While this is not an audit of finances it is closely related, for the number of scholastics determines the amount of state apportionment each district is to receive. This is by far the largest single state aid paid to the public schools.

The state law applying to local audits by independent audit firms merely prescribes the method by which such audits may be secured, and does not describe the content of any audit. The local unit must de-

cide for itself as to the need for an audit and the type of audit which should be made. The customary practice is to take bids for audits and to award the contract to the lowest and best bidder.

Reporting

The system of public reporting in Texas hardly justifies the name. Although a casual reading of the law indicates that reports are required, a closer examination reveals that these reports fail to provide a complete picture of local finances.

Each unit of government is required to make an annual report of tax collections and indebtedness on forms designed and furnished by the state auditor and efficiency expert. These forms are sent to the county auditor, or to the county clerk in counties having no auditors, and this officer, in turn, supplies the various units of government with the proper forms. When completed, each unit returns the forms to the county auditor or clerk. One copy is kept in the county and the other is forwarded to the state auditor. Generally speaking, this report shows only the *ad valorem* tax situation including current collections, delinquent collections, and delinquent taxes outstanding. In addition, it shows the current and time debt outstanding.

The state auditor compiles a statewide report based on the reports submitted from each county. This report has been quite useful, particularly to the security dealers who handle bonds issued by the local units of government.

A third report is required of each local unit of government as of June 30 annually. This report is made to

the state comptroller on forms furnished by that office. It is confined to a statement of outstanding indebtedness and sinking fund assets. This report has been ignored by many local units and in general has been of little value. In 1940 the forms and instructions were revised, and the number of units filing the reports increased considerably. But it is well to note that, in distributing the revised form, a letter of explanation was attached, and later a follow-up letter was used. Consequently, the increase in the number of reports filed may have been due to the increased activity of the comptroller's office.

There is a fourth annual report which is required of county fee officials only. This report is made to the state auditor and efficiency expert. One copy of each report is filed with the district clerk and a second copy is sent to the state auditor. Investigation reveals that about 80 to 85 per cent of the officials make these reports each year. Although the law specifies a fine of \$25 per day for each day following the due date, no such fine has ever been collected. One reason is that the locally-elected states attorney would have to file the suit. Generally speaking, all that is done is to write the local officials a letter requesting that such reports be made.

Each school district is required to make an annual report to the State Department of Education. This report is made on forms prepared and furnished by the state department. The usefulness of the report depends on the care exercised by the local officials in filling it out. Much of the information contained in these reports is summarized in the biennial reports

of the state department. While the data obtained are subject to numerous criticisms, it remains true that the school districts are the only units of local government whose complete operations are summarized and reported upon by a state agency.

It is apparent that even when all sources of information at the State Capitol are utilized it is impossible to secure a complete picture of the receipts, expenditures, and indebtedness of local units of government. This is absolutely true of cities and special districts and it is true to a considerable degree of counties. School districts, as has been explained, do have a reporting system which provides an over-all summary of operations.

Fiscal Years in Texas

No discussion of state and local financial relations in Texas would be complete without reference to the confusion caused by differing fiscal years. The state and school districts operate on a budget year ending August 31, the counties use the calendar year, and the cities and special districts use years ending on various dates. About one-half of the cities use a year ending in April.

The tax collection year for the state, the counties, and the school districts runs from October 1 to June 30. This means that portions of two tax collection years will be included in the state, county, and school budget year.

Likewise, cities organized under general law are required to use the tax collection dates of the state and county if they desire to apply penalty and interest on delinquent taxes. This often means that the city tax collection year does not coincide with

the budget year. Similarly, in two cases, the reports required to be made to the state may not agree with the periods used for any other purpose.

These differences in fiscal years also destroy most of the possibilities of working out the inter-relationship between local units and the state in so far as payments of money are concerned. For example, the payments by the state to the county fee officials are reported in the comptroller's annual report for a year ending August 31. But the county officials report these same fees to the state auditor for the calendar year. Similarly, the state tax collections from each county are reported on a year ending June 30, while the state aids to the local units are reported for a year ending August 31.

Conclusions and Recommendations

There is little rhyme or reason in the existing pattern of state and local relations in Texas. On the one hand, actions which need to be taken are ignored; on the other hand, actions which only partially meet a need are duplicated. While each session of the legislature is confronted with numerous bills affecting this problem, almost none of them recognize the real issues involved. Further, state and local officials who are familiar with the vital aspects of the problem are too seldom consulted by the legislature. It is believed that:

- (1) The laws should be codified in order to determine exactly the situation which exists at the present time. Such a codification would bring out the duplications as well as the gaps.

- (2) Steps should be taken to organize the calendar of fiscal years in

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Wartime Problems Must Be Faced

Most of these problems can be met in part, or their burdens lightened, as we are able to plan and to organize all community resources to meet them.

By FRED K. HOEHLER

Director of American Public Welfare Association

IT HAS become obvious in many places that the demands for defense programs cannot be met by cities or other jurisdictions of local government without some definite assistance, either in advice and counsel or through actual financial aid. The logical local agency for doing the coordinating and clearance job should be the local defense council. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of local government is the lack of awareness—and, what is worse, actual lethargy—with regard to the demands of a total defense program.

Politicians and chamber of commerce representatives are quick to run to Washington to get camp sites and industries located near their cities. After they are successful they run back to Washington crying for financial support. There is no disagreement that they need that help, but there is a total lack of responsibility for planning on the part of those same pressure boys.

It has taken nearly two years and a series of tragic events for the nation to come to any realistic understanding of the revolutionary shake-up the war program has given our economic and social institutions. Even today some of us cannot comprehend the scope of the program and its attendant problems objectively. We do not fully comprehend or accept what it means in the lives of

people. The change it is bringing about in the habits of people will affect in turn the jobs of those who have public responsibilities for assisting people burdened by economic adversity beyond their control.

So it is well for public administrators to look at the defense program from the point of view of its end results in terms of the individuals in the community.

At first our imaginations were staggered by the magnitude of the defense program. We could not at once visualize the present reality involving millions of young men leaving their homes, schools, and jobs to enter the armed forces; hundreds of thousands of men and women moving from one community to another to take up new employment in defense industries; expenditures and authorized funds for war measures totaling many billion dollars, with a high percentage of our total productive capacity devoted to war production.

These basic changes in our economy are naturally bringing in their wake a number of fundamental economic and social consequences. These are:

1. Incipient inflation and price increases. For the first time in many years spending power exceeds the goods available for purchase. The cost of living has already increased substantially.

2. A new fiscal policy being much

discussed presumes to discriminate between defense and non-defense expenditures. We must determine what are the non-essentials in a total defense program. It cannot be health and bread any more than it can be tanks and bullets. But there are conveniences and services which may have to make way for greater security and protection of all people.

3. We are already suffering from priority unemployment. Joint planning to meet this emergency should be effected by government, industry, labor, and the welfare services.

The dislocations of services and of people have already raised problems of shortages in the basic facilities of local government. Housing needs are not anywhere being met even partially. Many schools are overcrowded. Hospitals and recreational facilities should be expanded to meet a new need. Services to families and children require personnel and funds to meet such problems as are created by transiency, vice, and actual dependency.

There are a great many communities in the United States where some immediate attention must be given to the special protective services for children. This is particularly true in new housing developments which are being constructed, where in many instances mothers have to be away throughout the day for work and children are without supervised play or direction.

The danger in this situation, particularly where children are in a new and strange community, is obvious to anyone who understands the forces which will be directed against them. It is not too much to say that the children of our large defense communities, unless provision is made for

some services in their behalf, may become the criminals and prostitutes of tomorrow.

The soldier, in order to concentrate on his job of training, must have the assurance that his government is providing security and protection for his family. The worker needs assistance to facilitate his movements with his family from one place of employment to another.

Public officials must fight against discrimination either of the Negro or the alien so that the nation will have assurance that there is an equal sharing of the sacrifice and burden attendant to our total effort to defend our way of life.

Democracy, particularly in the local government expression of it, must be vital and real. We can no longer use slogans and speeches to teach the benefits derived from life in a free land. We must make them real by guaranteeing to every individual the freedoms and the security a democratic government has offered to them.

During the next several years local government will be faced with problems involving the loss of personnel through competition with other governmental jurisdictions and with special new agencies. There will also be the difficult problem of continuing many necessary services in face of urgent demands for reduced budgets.

More centralized power and authority will take vital responsibility away from local and state governments and transfer them to the national government.

A post-war period will bring headaches and heartaches to men in public office as troops and workers are demobilized.

Most of these problems can be met in part, or their consequent burdens lightened, as we are able to plan and to organize all community resources—public and private—to meet them.

In such organization and planning, every effort should be made to maintain a real balance of services as they affect people in safety, protection, health, and welfare.

In a real and living democracy, providing security—economic, social, and physical—is of equal importance to preserving our freedom.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Excerpts from address given at the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 18, 1941.

STATE AND LOCAL FINANCIAL RELATIONS IN TEXAS

(Continued from Page 159)

order to simplify the task and to make reported figures more meaningful.

(3) The laws governing budgeting and reporting should be changed so as to provide an orderly flow of financial information of a comparable nature; in securing this objective, the budget which is already required from each unit should be continued and an annual report following the same classification of accounts as the budget should be required. This annual report would reveal all the receipts, disbursements, and outstanding debts of the county or city or school district. The state agency receiving this report should be required to compile an annual report

reflecting the data submitted by each local unit of government. If such a statewide report were required, the two partial reports on taxes and indebtedness and indebtedness and sinking fund assets could be eliminated.

(4) Some means should be found to improve the status of public auditing in order that it may be of fullest possible value to all concerned. This needed improvement in auditing services might be secured by one of several methods—or by a combination of such methods.

In addition, machinery should be developed to facilitate the training of state and local finance officers. At the present time many of these officials are well informed and are doing good jobs in their respective communities. It therefore seems that some sort of clearing house should be established which would be charged with the responsibility of exchanging ideas, methods, and procedures. This should tend to raise the level of performance to that found in the best managed units of government.

Finally it must be kept in mind that the job of improving state and local financial relations requires a combination of forces for its accomplishment. This is true because each unit of government, including the state, has need for improvement in its organization and procedures. A well organized program should provide for improvement on all levels through the use of methods which are mutually sponsored in a spirit of understanding and confidence.

On the Local Front

Federal agencies and local citizens cooperate in providing and staffing recreational centers for men in uniform as well as those in overalls.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

ONE hundred and sixty-four community recreation centers, provided with federal help, now furnish a place where men in uniform and workers in war production can spend their leisure. About 90 others now in the process of completion are also being built with federal funds appropriated under the Community Facilities Act.

Under this act the President designated the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services of the Federal Security Agency as responsible for determining the location of recreation centers and supervising their operation. Through its field staff the Office has also been coöperating with local defense councils and recreation committees in organizing community recreation resources and developing local programs.

The Federal Works Agency, to which the act gave administrative responsibility, has assigned building operations to the Army. When the community needs additional assistance the United Service Organizations operate and staff these recreation centers under an agreement with the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

These buildings, in towns all over the country that have been hardest hit by the impact of defense activities, provide a "home away from home" for our men in military service and for the army of industrial workers, and a community center through which all local recreational activities can be tied together for most effective community organization.

Most of these buildings have been opened with a formal dedication cere-

mony. Dedications are usually presided over by the chairman of the local defense recreation committee, as the buildings are an integral part of the total community recreation program. Participating in the dedication are representatives of the Army, the Federal Works Agency, and the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, each of which has an active interest in the service centers because of the coöperative arrangement under which these recreation facilities are provided. Commanding officers of nearby military establishments, representatives of management and labor from nearby industries, and outstanding local leaders are invited to attend. At the conclusion of the ceremonies entertainment is provided and the center is open to the public.

At this time buildings are turned over to the operating agency. Sometimes this is the community itself. More often it is the United Service Organizations whose member agencies have trained personnel and through whose national campaign people all over the country contributed money to provide wholesome leisure-time activity for men in uniform and men in overalls.

But the role of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services does not end with the opening of the center. The basic task of the recreation section of this Office has been and will continue to be that of helping communities in the organization of all types of native recreational resources for the meeting of defense needs into an integrated pro-

gram, of which the community recreation building is only a part.

This task concerns industrial workers quite as much as soldiers, sailors, and marines. Field recreation representatives have helped organize recreation programs in more than 400 areas. In every instance effort has been made to establish such organizational machinery as would represent all the major social, educational, religious, and service resources of the community. The organization is usually named the Defense Recreation Committee. This organization has been broken down into functional subcommittees to plan and execute various types of leisure-time services.

Some of the typical subcommittees are home and church hospitality, community clubs and centers, dances and social affairs, athletics and sports, information and volunteer services.

In all cases where there is a county or area defense council the Defense Recreation Committee is very closely identified with the more inclusive defense council.

The main emphasis of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services in the promotion of community organization has been to stimulate and promote widespread community initiative and responsibility. Implied in this is the task of assisting communities in the mobilization and utilization of their actual and potential resources for defense recreation.

Some of the steps taken by community defense recreation committees are: the renting, equipping, and staffing of various types of downtown clubs and centers for service men; opening up of churches and their auxiliary buildings for leisure time activities; using American Legion halls and facilities of fraternal groups; using high school and college gymnasiums and athletic fields; using parks and playgrounds for picnics

and social affairs; mobilizing homes for meals, rooms, and hospitality; arranging dances and social affairs by churches, service clubs, and other groups; establishing downtown information centers; mobilizing volunteers to serve as guides; conducting tours and excursions; taking dramatic, musical, and other entertainment talent from the community into camps, bases, and industrial plants.

All these activities and many more indicate that communities throughout the nation are awakening to the recreational needs of the people in wartime.

Federal Recreation Centers*

Connecticut	Virginia
New London	Alexandria
Windsor Locks	Bowling Green
Massachusetts	Fredericksburg
Ayer	Hopewell
Bourne	Petersburg (2)
Falmouth	Hampton (2)
Hyannis	Newport News (2)
Mashpee	Norfolk (2)
Shirley	Phoebe
Rhode Island	Portsmouth (2)
East Greenwich	Virginia Beach
Jamestown	Yorktown
Newport	West Virginia
Vermont	Morgantown
Burlington	Charleston
New Hampshire	South Charleston
Portsmouth	Kentucky
New York	Elizabethtown
Black River	Louisville
Oswego	Radcliff
Watertown	Michigan
Maryland	Augusta
Aberdeen	Battle Creek (2)
Baltimore	Fitzgerald
Edgewood	Mt. Clemens
Glen Burnie	Van Dyke
Indian Head	Village Center
North Carolina	Ohio
Fayetteville (3)	Newton Falls
Jacksonville	Illinois
Morehead City	Belleville
New Bern	Champaign
Southport	Highland Park
Spring Lake (2)	Highwood
Swansboro	Rantoul
Wilmington (2)	Waukegan

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*As of February 23, 1942.

Contributors in Review

ALMOST analogous to man-bites-dog is professor-makes-headlines, but that's exactly what happened to **Hugh A. Bone** (*Maryland's Legislative Council in Action*) when he published his *Smear Politics: An Analysis of 1940 Campaign Literature* last fall. Not only did the *New York Times* carry a long news story and an editorial on the study, but the Associated Press put a story on its wire. Dr. Bone, a frequent contributor to the REVIEW, taught at Northwestern University from 1935 to 1937, and has been at the University of Maryland ever since.

ARARE blend of training in both the practical and the theoretical phases of business, economics, and public service has made a tax expert of **H. C. Bradshaw** (*State and Local Financial Relations in Texas*). On leave at the moment from the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, where he is economist in farm taxation, Mr. Bradshaw holds a fellowship at the Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard. He began with a B.S. in business administration, followed up with an M.A. in economics, progressed to a two-year training for public service course at the University of Cincinnati which involved being clerk for a year to City Manager Dykstra, research assistant for another year at the local Bureau of Governmental Research.

AS CHAIRMAN of the Committee on Community Organization for Health, Welfare and Related Defense Activities, as a consultant to the federal Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, **Fred K. Hoehler** (*Wartime Problems Must Be Faced*) has a box seat for the spectacle provided by the impact of defense populations on normal community life. The director of the American Public Welfare Association serves at present on numerous other committees deeply involved in the human side of the war effort, such as the Committee on Long Range Work and Relief Policies of the National Resources Planning Board, and half a dozen others.

FOR THE past twenty years **O. Garfield Jones** (*Why Not Citizenship Training in College?*) has been professor of political science and head of the department at the University of the City of Toledo, Ohio, with training for citizenship his forte and his fame. Hence he knows whereof he speaks. His writings on citizenship themes have been many; he has also published widely on the Philippines, where he was teacher, supervisor, athletic coach, research clerk, and soldier respectively in the years 1908 to 1919. Dr. Jones was born in Ohio, but his academic degrees emanate from as far west as California and as far east as Cornell.

THE ARTICLE appearing in this month's REVIEW by **Rosalind Tough** and **Ruth G. Weintraub** (*U. S. Housing Agencies Consolidated*) is the second recent collaboration by these two authors. Both had a hand in "Lesser Pleas Considered," appearing in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* for February 1942. A professor of sociology at Hunter College, Dr. Tough has published articles in several magazines, including the *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economy*, and is a contributor to the volume *Planned Society* (1937). Dr. Weintraub is a member of the New York Bar as well as professor of political science at Hunter. She is author of *Government Corporations and State Laws*, published in 1939.

Letters to the Editor

Can Detroit Do No Wrong?

To the Editor of the

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Readers of the REVIEW are entitled to an answer to the question, half seriously asked in the January issue on page 31: "Who elects councilmen in Detroit, and does masculine prejudice on sex lines keep women out of the picture?"

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has not "neglected" to analyze this question in our elections. For twenty years every election in which women have been contestants for Council positions has furnished the answer: woman candidates, like all others, must impress the voters who are women as well as those who are men. The record shows that women are not in our City Council because so many voting women have been voting for men on the ground of masculine qualifications in each individual case.

Seriously, the unprejudiced student of government, if interested, can find in the Detroit election system why our Research Bureau called attention to the strict democracy practiced in our city for the past twenty-five years. Not only national parties but all other groups, regardless of size or influence, evidently face the election problem from the standpoint of the entire community and solely with a view to the individual merits of the candidates. The Bureau analysis proved that Detroit has no local parties, political machines, or factions of the population which can even presume to control elections.

In the REVIEW for January the Toledo report also shows what can be done when the city votes at large without partisanship and "without tickets" (page 57). This is parallel with the system to which Detroit for many years

has been accustomed. Results in these two cities will bear comparison with your reports of November elections held in Cambridge, Schenectady, and Yonkers, N. Y., and in Cincinnati—where the party and group approach continues to affect the local situation. I note especially with interest your postscript on what happened in Yonkers after the election.

W. P. LOVETT

Detroit Citizens League

Our "Economics" Challenged

To the Editor of the

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

The editorials, "Cushioning the Shock of Peace," in your November issue, and "Local Offset for National Debt," in the December issue, practically take it for granted that after peace comes there will be large numbers of men without incomes because the demand for munitions will cease and the armies will disband. There is further assumption that this situation will continue long enough to constitute what we call depression. City officials are advised to reduce their present debts so that when what is described above arrives they can incur new and large debts, the proceeds from which will provide incomes for their citizens otherwise without them. In return citizens will construct improvements deferred during the war.

This view is so common and challenged so little that to find it in the REVIEW is no surprise. But there is another possibility. In fact the recent election of J. M. Keynes, a foremost British economist, to the directorship of "The Compagna of the Bank of England"—to give it its correct name—makes this possibility a probability. Men with views similar to those

of Mr. Keynes now hold strategic positions in agencies which help formulate our fiscal policies and that too increases the probability. The possibility-probability is that the shift from war to peace will occasion as much economic readjustment as we are now undergoing in the shift from peace to war, but no more than that. What we are undergoing does not call for an increase in municipal debt. Then having made the adjustment, there need be no depression nor need we ever experience another.

The more people there are who understand why this alternative is possible, the more there will be who will want to increase its probability. Surely municipal administrators would join such a group if its views were sound; they will follow the admonitions of the editorials mentioned above only if it is necessary, but not with joy.

Upon what does this other possibility rest? Upon the realization that general depressions are caused by a reduction in the quantity of purchasing power? In our last depression about one-fourth of all the money we had was destroyed in about three years. This had the effect of slowing up the circulation of the remainder so that our real income was halved. When banks issue "loans" and "buy" bonds they create purchasing power and, conversely, when they call "loans" and "sell" bonds they destroy it.

Further, it is not morally wrong to go into debt now that most of our money is bank debt, nor morally wrong to stay in debt since the result of paying it off has been hunger, bankruptcy, and suicide. Those who are convinced of the soundness of such views have no great objection to what in the minds of many is a bogey—the annual interest payment on the national debt. The final resting place of large amounts

of bonds until redeemed are the portfolios of universities, hospitals, and other semi-public agencies. In this case the interest is a form of indirect taxation for the support of such agencies. The five largest life insurance companies must invest one million dollars each day and are glad when such bonds are for sale. The interest then goes into payment to policy-holders, most of whom are not rich. The amount which goes direct to banks can be shown not to be wasted in riotous living.

This is not the place to marshal the arguments which support the views presented. But those who are disturbed by their unorthodoxy had better begin laying their own plans to prevent the depression the editorials assume must occur. The men who go to fight had better not be told that there is something inexorable in the economics of the present order which makes depressions unavoidable and that after they are through fighting they will have recurring periods to live through such as we had in the early thirties.

If perchance we permit a sizable amount of our purchasing power to be destroyed by retiring a great part of our present debt to banks, then the issuance of municipal bonds will help re-create some of the money in the ratio of about a teaspoonful to a bucketful. But the irony is that a dollar of such debt may produce only three dollars worth of new income each year within the city that issues it and pays its interest, though it will by circulating add about twenty dollars to the real income of the rest of the country. Hence a shrewd municipal executive will be in favor of all cities contracting debts—except his own.

WALTER J. MILLARD

What Makes Civics Tick?

Because of their general applicability to most communities in which either sustained or sporadic efforts are made toward civic betterment, we reproduce here excerpts from a recent address by J. W. Clise, member of the board of trustees of the Seattle Municipal League.—EDITOR

I WOULD like to point out that the Seattle Municipal League is not a purity league interested in moral reform nor is it a group of starry-eyed idealists hoping for a local millennium. The League is made up of business men and professional men and women earning their livelihood in our community and an increasing number of ten-dollar members in all districts of Seattle and a few areas out in the county. They are responsible individuals who are interested in making this a better city to live in, one in which we can take real pride.

It is our aim, through knowledge of the facts relative to candidates for office, that our naturally conservative majority will vote more intelligently and effectively. It is our aim also to work in cooperation with the elected and appointed officials to secure better budgeting and administrative control and when necessary to study and suggest changes in our laws.

It is our hope to achieve as near one hundred cents value out of every tax dollar as possible. Too frequently in the past our community has received more nearly ten or fifteen cents value out of its tax dollar. However, we know by local experience and through the National Municipal League that the beneficial results derived are never

achieved through sporadic popular movements along the general line of campaigns to "Throw the rascals out."

All too many citizen movements have been of this effervescent nature with an almost immediate subsidence back to the old levels of graft, corruption, monopoly and special privilege—with possibly new faces in the public eye but the same old interests pulling the strings. Anyone who doubts the regularity of this pattern should read some of Lincoln Steffens' observations.

On the other hand it has been demonstrated that, where there is a sustained and organized public interest, bad situations can be made respectable and kept so for a considerable period of years. For example, Cincinnati, which is considerably larger than Seattle, has had a most excellent local government for well over fifteen years and the records in Toledo and in Milwaukee also are encouraging. In each case there is a reason—the more important business interests have a vital concern for their city and they support the better program because of pride and because they find that it pays bigger and safer dividends.

Correction.—The following correction should be made in the tables appearing with "Comparative Tax Rates of 311 Cities, 1941," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1941, pp. 692-709:

In the cities of Buffalo (No. 14), Albany (No. 66), Binghamton (No. 120), Troy (No. 132), New Rochelle (No. 175), and Elmira (No. 221) per cent realty should be 100; per cent personalty should be 0.

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Nation-wide Interest in City Replanning and Land Use

New York City Commission Withdraws Land-Use Maps

WAR activities and resultant shifts of population have affected city planning and zoning in many localities, while recognition of former over-optimism and the operation of past tax delinquencies have forced changes in zoning and other land-use developments in many cities. Opposition of property interests has in some instances caused revision or abandonment of plans assailed as drastic.

Reports by real estate organizations in 230 cities made to the National Association of Real Estate Boards show city planning, zoning, and rezoning activity during the past year, often on a comprehensive scale, in approximately half the number. Defense areas are the ones most frequently reporting planning, replanning, zoning, or rezoning. Six out of every ten of them have been so engaged during the year just passed.

Rezoning to turn back to residential use exclusively areas that once had a hope of commercial or industrial development and that had been so zoned is a striking phase of current action, but zoning changes to open former residential regions to redevelopment as apartment space or business space are also reported. Baltimore, Indianapolis, and Dayton, Ohio, present instances of planning activity going beyond city lines. A county zoning law in the Baltimore area has been put into effect within the last year. Indianapolis, re-studying its zoning provisions, reports

creation of a county planning commission. Dayton is considering county zoning as well as county planning.

The larger the city the more likely it is to feel present need for replanning and rezoning, the Association's reports clearly indicate. Thus during the past year there has been replanning activity in 78 per cent of all cities of over 500,000 population reporting, in 70 per cent of cities in the 200,000-500,000 population class, in 54 per cent of cities in the 100,000-200,000 class, in 49 per cent of the cities in the 25,000-100,000 class, and in only 39 per cent of cities under 25,000.

In New York City land-use maps, prepared by the City Planning Commission over a period of eighteen months prior to public hearings last December, have been the center of much controversy. Objections developed from property owners who feared that the values of their holdings would be endangered by the segregations into sections considered suitable for residential, business, manufacturing, and other uses, as carefully worked out for the city's area.

On February 11 the City Planning Commission, headed by Edwin A. Salmon, following the appointment of Rexford G. Tugwell, former chairman, as governor of Puerto Rico, disapproved the maps. It adopted a statement that "the commission is opposed to the adoption of general plans of land use which suggested to some persons drastic and revolutionary changes in ownership, use, and taxation of private property where no public advantage from such changes can be adequately substantiated." Changes of present zoning restrictions were preferred.

Long-range land-use planning, at least as exemplified in these maps, appears to have been indefinitely deferred by the New York commission. However, various other elements of a

master plan had previously been adopted and are in effect, subject to such alterations as the commission may find desirable in the future. These include plans for express and major highways, districts for clearance and low-rent housing, sewage disposal plants and districts, health center buildings and districts, and (in the initial stage) schools and parks.

An illustration of planning for public use of land reverting to public ownership through tax delinquencies is provided in the state of Michigan. There much reversion has occurred, dating back particularly to November 1939, when, as a result of the operation of state tax laws, some 20,000 parcels of land in 141 cities and villages in the northern counties passed to the state for non-payment of taxes, in addition to 2,217,000 acres of rural land.

Recent legislation provides for classification of possible uses of such lands and permits their transfer to municipal ownership when in or near municipalities desiring them. The Michigan Municipal League, assisted by a special grant from the American Municipal Association and with the participation of the State Department of Vocational Education, has held a series of training conferences to help city and village officials become familiar with available lands and the necessary procedure for acquisition, and to develop programs of land use.

A long-range planning program to expand public services through use of tax-reverted land is providing the city of St. Paul, Minnesota, this year with additional playgrounds and recreation fields, city park additions, and sites for a branch public library and a training ground for firemen, according to the American Society of Planning Officials.

The program was outlined in 1938 by the City Planning Board in cooperation

with other municipal departments, and was put into effect this year under a 1941 state law authorizing cities to acquire tax-forfeited land without compensation on condition it be used exclusively for public purposes.

A Betterment Program for Philadelphia

A study of physical and economic improvement possibilities for Philadelphia constitutes the fifth of a series of twelve such surveys of principal cities being conducted by the Urban Land Institute. The report, issued early in February, looks to the conservation and enhancement of property values in the central business district, the reclamation into pleasing neighborhoods of large close-in blighted districts, the improvement of transportation facilities, and relief of traffic congestion.

A program of betterments recommended includes rezoning, provision for attractive parking areas on the edge of the central business area, construction elsewhere of apartments, duplex houses, and one-family dwellings, with ample surrounding lawns, parks, and playgrounds. Use of the right of eminent domain by the city to assemble land for development by private capital is proposed.

A concerted campaign by public-spirited citizens for better local government is urged, with a non-political city planning commission to draft a long-range schedule of municipal improvements in collaboration with a fiscal budget committee and a zoning commission.

Council-Manager Plan News

The International City Managers' Association has made a further revision of its official directory of municipalities with approved council-manager plans. Upon investigation the following three cities, which have had city

managers since the dates shown, have been added to this list: **Monte Vista, Colorado, 1927, Tarpon Springs, Florida, 1941, and Douglas, Georgia, 1941.** In **Hazel Park, Michigan,** an approved plan goes into effect on or about May 1, 1942; and in **Lower Merion Township (Ardmore P. O.), Pennsylvania,** a manager took office this year under an approved plan.

The following six cities were removed from the official ICMA list: East Detroit and North Muskegon, Michigan, Middletown, Ohio, Devol, Oklahoma, San Benito, Texas, and Niagara Falls, Ontario.

The total on the list at January 27, 1942, is reported as 543 municipalities and counties, including Hazel Park, Michigan, and Clifton Forge, Virginia (where a council-manager plan becomes effective in September).

In **Concord, New Hampshire,** the volunteer charter committee held the first public discussion of its year-long activities on February 6 and disclosed its recommendation of a full-fledged city manager charter for Concord. A council of nine, elected at large, was suggested. An administrative code to be drafted by the city manager and a merit system were indicated as other features of a charter to be proposed. The charter is to be submitted to various expert agencies before being made public.

The Board of Selectmen of the town of **Brattleboro, Vermont,** on January 26 voted unanimously in favor of returning to the town manager form of government, which had a brief trial there fourteen years ago, and to place the matter before the annual town meeting in March. On February 3, at the annual meeting of the Brattleboro Taxpayers Association, Leslie Giddings, manager of both the town and village of Springfield, Vermont, explained the manager plan, and much approval of

the plan was expressed at the meeting.

In **Brookline, Massachusetts,** on January 30, there was held the first public meeting of the survey report committee, which is studying the advisability of establishing a town manager form of government and other reforms. —

The **Ludington, Michigan, News** is advocating the council-manager plan and on January 28 started a discussion of the plan in its columns.

The **Dearborn, Michigan, City Charter Commission** has had the manager plan described and recommended to it by Professor Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan's political science department.

The *Wisconsin State Journal* has called upon Mayor James Law of **Madison** "to make his main objective in the next two years the establishment of a city manager plan of government."

Groups of civic-minded citizens of **Manitowoc, Wisconsin,** and of **Texas City, Texas,** have become interested in the council-manager plan of government for their cities.

Intermunicipal Fire Protection Planned by Cities

Mutual aid fire protection plans of the type common in Great Britain since the start of the war are being added to the more prevalent scheme of service by one governmental unit to nearby cities and villages, where any intermunicipal arrangements exist, according to a survey of 30 cities in 21 states by the International City Managers' Association.

Under the mutual aid plan, legal in only five of the 21 states covered by the survey, cities participating agree to help one another in time of disaster with fire fighting equipment and manpower.

Only five of the 30 cities are members of mutual aid plans, outstanding of which are those of Boston and the

New York City area. Under the Boston plan nearly 30 cities are interconnected by fire alarm systems, affording protection for 1,750,000 persons. The New York plan, which includes New York City, Westchester and Nassau Counties, New York, and Hudson County, New Jersey, makes facilities of 154 professional and volunteer fire departments mutually available in times of emergency.

The Association pointed out a recent trend in state legislation to allow local fire departments to operate apparatus anywhere within the state or even across state borders when aid is arranged for.

Fifteen of the 30 cities render outside service of an emergency nature only, with no prearranged understanding. Four of them—Buffalo, Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.—have formally provided by fire department regulations, ordinances, or city charter that apparatus may be sent outside, but no actual working arrangements have been made with surrounding municipalities. Only eleven of the 30 cities render outside aid on a formal basis with a clear understanding of the obligations of each party.

Michigan State Troopers Make Defense Survey

The state of Michigan, through its state police, has just completed a survey of its man power and equipment in case either explosive or incendiary bombs drop on its soil. This survey, published in a confidential book for law-enforcement, defense, and fire department heads, lists not only fire-fighting apparatus but all kinds of auxiliary equipment that might be needed in case war comes to the state or in event of other disaster.

The proper authority, by flipping the pages, can find in a matter of seconds the location and capacity of each fire engine, ladder truck, portable pump,

and rescue truck in the state. The data is all there, with telephone numbers, number of paid men and volunteers available in each locality, and how many of these men have been trained in handling explosives, how many are skilled in rescue work and in first aid.

Also listed are large tow trucks, public and private ambulances, acetylene cutting sets, gas and oxygen masks, portable lighting units, heavy jacks, small boats that can be called into service at a moment's notice, many outboard motors, and numerous minor items.

All hospitals and their locations and telephone numbers are set down, town by town and county by county.

This survey was made by state troopers, each post covering its own district while on regular patrols. Except for printing and postage, the cost to the taxpayer was nil.

KARL DETZER

Honolulu Adopts Rent Control

An ordinance to regulate rents was adopted by the Board of Supervisors of the city and county of Honolulu, T.H., and was approved by Mayor Petrie on December 13. Rents as of May 27, 1941, were made the ceiling for landlords' charges, subject to adjustment by a rent control commission of five, appointed by the mayor with the approval of the supervisors. Service standards of the same date were made the minimum.

Emergency Activities of Civil Service Agencies

Under stress of the war situation public personnel agencies both east and west are giving aid in new fields of responsibility.

Such agencies in several eastern cities and states, as a wartime policy, are making their rosters of eligibles avail-

able to civilian defense agencies, to the federal government, and to private employers dealing with defense contracts, as a survey by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada shows.

In New York City not only are the eligible lists used for filling emergency jobs for the city, for private employers having difficulty recruiting trained personnel on short notice for defense contract work, and for federal defense agencies when needed, but the Municipal Civil Service Commission has been conducting nation-wide examinations of candidates for the British Civilian Technical Corps.

In Massachusetts registers of the State Department of Civil Service are supplying men and women for defense positions paid from town and city funds, and in Connecticut the eligible lists of clerical workers set up by the State Personnel Department are being used to staff the State Defense Council. Maryland's Department of State Employment and Registration has likewise filled state defense council positions from its lists, and has referred eligibles in excess of the state's estimated needs to the federal government for its use.

Municipal public personnel commissions on the Pacific coast are acting as clearing houses for placing war emergency personnel, and in some cases their staffs are directly performing defense duties.

In Seattle employees of the civil service department have been acting as special police, and many additions to the regular police and fire forces have been made from civil service eligible lists there and in various other cities.

In San Francisco the personnel director of the civil service commission is serving on the Civilian Defense Council, through which all purchases and personnel requirements for civilian activities are being cleared.

Civil service boards and commissions assist the municipal civilian defense agencies in classifying volunteer applications for emergency services and in setting up rosters of the workers as they are assigned to defense duties, and are active in filling many kinds of defense positions from existing eligible lists and in conducting additional examinations.

Direct Legislation in 1941

Constitutional and charter amendments predominated among state and local measures voted on directly by the people in 1941, according to surveys by the United States Bureau of the Census. Eighty out of a total of 82 constitutional amendments proposed in seven states were adopted. Charter amendments numbering 138 were reported to the Bureau, of which 68 were approved.

Seventy of the 82 constitutional amendments were voted upon in Georgia on June 3—an exceptionally long list for one state. All but one were adopted, the exception being a proposal for annual instead of biennial legislative sessions. Most—63—of the 70 Georgia amendments were concerned with governmental subdivisions of the state; 57 were to permit specific localities to incur, fund, or refund debt. The vote on the various amendments ranged from 25 per cent to 9 per cent of the state's vote for president in 1940.

In Michigan and Wisconsin the vote on amendments reached 33 per cent of the 1940 presidential vote.

No state bond issue proposals were voted on. The only issue other than amendments was Maine's referendum on increasing the state gasoline tax.

Besides charter amendments, 50 bond-issue proposals were included in the 284 local measures reported to the Bureau, sixteen related to tax levies, and 80 dealt with miscellaneous subjects. Voters approved 39 bond issues, three tax levies, and 44 miscellaneous.

Los Angeles led in the number of proposals—32 straight charter amendments, three tax levies involving amendments, and one bond issue. Of all the 138 charter amendments proposed, 99 were in California cities.

Red Cross and Public Welfare Agencies Define Their Fields

As a result of a conference of representatives of the American Red Cross, the American Public Welfare Association, and the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, a joint statement of policy was issued on January 10 setting forth the respective lines of activity of the first two organizations. It declares, in general summary:

1. The American Red Cross recognizes the basic responsibility of government for the relief of persons in need of basic maintenance.

2. Governmental agencies recognize that the American Red Cross has been designated by the army and navy as the official agency to render service to the men in the armed forces and their families.

3. It is recognized that governmental agencies and the American Red Cross have a mutual need for working agreements on state and local bases that will guide community planning and efficient operation of services to the armed forces.

Large Attendance at New York Regional Institutes

Twelve regional institutes for elective officials and heads of departments of cities and villages, conducted by the Municipal Training Institute of New York State, attracted a total attendance of 462 from 126 municipalities—an increase over previous institutes that shows growing appreciation of their value.

A training school for assessors was held in Albany on February 18-20.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Chicago Civic Groups Organize Joint Office

Savings in Funds and Energy Made Possible under New Consolidation Plan

A CONCERTED effort is now being made in Chicago to correct the well known civic difficulty of too many organizations, too much division of energy.

In 1938, when the Citizens' Association selected a new executive secretary, it gave him authority to develop as much coöperation among civic agencies as seemed wise. As a result a joint office was organized into which the organizations moved.

The **Citizens' Association of Chicago**, organized in 1874, has a continuous and active history from that date. In April 1939 this Association took over the function of the **Municipal Voters League**, which it had helped organize in 1898. The latter's function had been to observe the activities of the City Council of Chicago, and to recommend candidates therefor on the basis of their qualifications. This objective was linked with those of the Citizens' Association.

Almost simultaneously the **Legislative Voters League of Illinois**, maintaining its own board of directors and employing its own executive secretary, came into the new office. Its function was similar to that of the Municipal Voters League, except that it dealt solely with the personnel of the state legislature.

Shortly thereafter the **Civil Service Association of Chicago** asked that it be permitted to join in this new office setup. With its own board of directors, and using the executive secretary

of the Citizens' Association as its managing director, it entered upon a program of reorganization. This has resulted in the organization of committees on public personnel administration throughout the state, and development of an active program not only to extend the merit system but to work in a consultant capacity with civil service jurisdictions to perfect techniques of public personnel administration. It is now just as active, if not more so, than it has been at any time since its founding in 1882. Its name has been changed to reflect its status as a statewide organization, to **Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois.**

Activities of the Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois during 1941 indicate a marked change in emphasis from civil service extension and mere legislative reform to valuable co-operation offered to and welcomed by officials of the state's major civil service jurisdictions.

Of greatest interest has been the work done in coöperation with the State Civil Service Commission, which has resulted in:

Greater efficiency of the Commission's staff as a result of the adoption of certain recommendations made by Public Administration Service which had been retained to make a survey of office procedure;

Acceptance and use of electrically scored short answer examinations, which have expedited the holding of examinations, as has the use of volunteer monitors for large state examinations at each of the examination centers throughout the state. These volunteers have been recruited by the Citizens' Civil Service Association, League of Women Voters, Junior Association of Commerce of Chicago, Illinois State Federation of Women's Clubs, etc.

Moreover, an adequate appropriation was obtained for the State Civil Ser-

vice Commission for the first time in many years.

In order to obtain broader intelligent interest in public personnel administration, the Civil Service Association has laid emphasis on explanation of administrative techniques in its free-lecture program available to other civic groups and clubs. The Association purchased from the New York City Civil Service Commission a copy of its sound motion picture entitled "The Merit System Advancing." We have shown this motion picture to many groups throughout the state, asking each to assist in defraying the cost of the film so that the Association may acquire additional films through purchase or preparation.

Expense Sharing Saves Money

Substantial economy for the several organizations has been made possible by the sharing of office expenses. In addition we have found that mutual collaboration on problems of interest has been helpful, and that we have been able to effect a closer coöperation with other civic agencies which still maintain independent offices and staffs.

The Citizens' Association has been laying particular stress on administration. It has recently concluded the first phase of its work on municipal waste collection and disposal, which has resulted in the saving of over \$1,000,000 a year according to the Commissioner of Streets and Electricity.

We hope that in the future more integration among civic agencies of this type can be effected and feel confident that it can be done. In the past year we have become the permanent headquarters, between elections, of the **Joint Civic Committee on Elections** which is composed of many of the prominent civic groups in Chicago working together instead of independently on a problem of mutual interest

—that of protecting our democratic form of government by making Chicago elections more honest.

KENDALL LINGLE,
Executive Secretary

Citizens' Association of Chicago

Port Huron Organizes to Back New Charter

A new commission-manager charter was adopted in April 1941 for Port Huron, Michigan, after a whirlwind campaign in which the Port Huron League of Women Voters took a large share.

Seeking to insure the success of the new charter, League members and others who were active in the successful charter campaign organized a **Citizens League**, now nearly a year old.

Few cities, we believe, may boast of shorter time in obtaining the manager form of government. It was less than nineteen months from the time the movement got under way in Port Huron until the new charter was adopted by the people.

Some seventeen years previously a commission-manager charter had been rejected by Port Huron voters by a three-to-one majority. Yet believers in good government continued to favor a modern charter for our city. Local interest was focussed late in 1939 by Karl Detzer's famous article, "Meet Mr. Cookingham," in the *Reader's Digest*. Soon after, the first official step was taken by the Mayor, who called a meeting of fifty-one citizens in September 1939. This led to a decision that the charter should be revised although only three days remained for filing petitions to submit charter revision at the next election. This was the start of the whirlwind campaign.

Members of the six-months-old League of Women Voters had made surveys of the city, a study of the old charter, and of the manager plan.

They held meetings for discussion and enlisted the interest of other women in the city for a house-to-house canvass urging a revision of the charter. In the November 1939 election the people voted two to one to revise the city charter, and a commission of nine members was elected to do the job.

The charter commissioners made every effort to enlist public interest in charter revision. Great credit goes to them for their conscientious work in endeavoring to find the latest and best, visiting other cities, and securing the advice of experts in the drafting of the charter.

Members of the League of Women Voters attended all meetings of the Charter Revision Commission and they were the only organized group to request that a civil service provision be included. The League of Women Voters obtained valuable help throughout from the National Municipal League, including the services of Mr. Walter J. Millard.

Charter Campaign

Through the advice of the National Municipal League and the Michigan League of Women Voters a second Citizens Committee was organized to inform the public on the merits of the manager plan charter that was finally drafted by the Charter Revision Commission. Some three hundred men and women, calling themselves the **Citizens Charter Revision Committee**, organized in February 1941. They held public meetings and supplied speakers for other local groups and for talks on the local radio station. A precinct card index file was made for the guidance of the house-to-house canvassers who comprised 135 women in the field as well as a corps of others to staff headquarters. A full coverage of the voters was made.

Opponents of the manager plan

worked with a vengeance to defeat it, using every political strategy they could summon. When the returns came in the charter had carried with a slim majority of 110 votes, in contrast to the two-to-one acceptance of revision.

Then in three weeks came the election of commissioners as provided by the charter. The Citizens Charter Revision Committee urged the election of the men who had written the charter, and five were induced to be candidates for the seven-man commission, four being elected. And so another victory was gained.

Realizing that the battle for good government was only half won, the Citizens Charter Revision Committee sponsored a testimonial dinner for the commissioners who had written the charter. This function was used as a springboard from which to establish a permanent Citizens League to maintain and further stimulate interest in city government on the part of the general public.

Distribution of application cards for membership resulted in 336 potential memberships and a permanent organization. The Citizens League of Port Huron was officially launched on June 3, 1941.

New Organization's Aims

The Citizens League of Port Huron has decided that until it has gained experience, confidence in itself, and full confidence of the public, it will be non-pressure and strictly fact-finding so as to firmly establish itself as a source of complete and dependable information on all civic affairs. Committees on civic affairs, education, taxation, community health and welfare, county affairs, education for citizenship, and candidates and elections have been formed and are actively at work. Each has developed data regarding local

taxes, operation of the school board, and county affairs, all of which has been, or will be, published from month to month in the League's publication called *The Citizen*.

The League contemplates the formation of precinct forums. One has already been established and is actively studying child delinquency which is of special concern in that particular precinct.

In the light of the progress made in less than a year League members now clearly realize the value of such efforts.

MARGARET M. ELLIOTT,

Executive Secretary

Citizens League of Port Huron

War Stimulates Local Government Study

During the spring and summer of 1941 a group of California women representing Republicans and Democrats, Jews, Protestants, and Catholics, junior leagues, chambers of commerce, American Legion auxiliary, women's university clubs, leagues of women voters, P.T.A. groups, and other women's organizations, held a series of meetings to set up and plan a program for an organization they decided to call **The Woman's Tax Study Group**.

Active women's organizations throughout the Los Angeles area were invited to participate in the study program which these women outlined. Each organization was asked to send a representative to the meetings of the Study Group, her duty being to report back to her organization on the material presented.

Today, more than one hundred different organizations are active in the Group, with new members being added at each meeting. Entry of the United States into the war has added to the organization's zeal in its study of government for, as the chairman of the Group, Mrs. Curtis S. Albro of Los

Angeles, president of the Los Angeles Y. W. C. A., has pointed out, "Although war activities are taking up much of every woman's time today, luckily for our country almost every woman knows that the war has definitely intensified the need for knowledge of government and its problems so that a sane course may be followed."

Meetings are held regularly on the second Tuesday morning of each month at the Los Angeles Y. W. C. A. Following the presentation of the program written questions may be submitted to the speakers, thus stimulating a lively discussion. Mimeographed summaries of each program are available in advance so that those present can be prepared with questions.

Study program being followed by the group, with speakers who have appeared thus far, is as follows:

October: "Essentials of Government and What's Ahead for Taxpayers." Dr. Gordon S. Watkins, Dean of College of Arts and Sciences, University of California at Los Angeles; N. Bradford Trenham, Executive Secretary, California Taxpayers' Association.

November: "Sources and Uses of the Taxes We Pay." Dr. Frank M. Stewart, Director of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles; L. D. Gifford, Director of Research, California Taxpayers' Association.

December: "Economy as a Means of Preserving our Form of Government." Everett W. Mattoon, Assistant Attorney General, State of California; James L. Beebe, Attorney, Los Angeles.

January: "How Tax Economies Can Be Accomplished." Dr. Gilbert G. Lentz, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Occidental College; Walter C. Thiel, Assistant to the Director, Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, City of Los Angeles.

February: "Scope and Cost of Our Public School System." Beach Vasey, Deputy County Counsel, in charge of legal problems of public

schools, Los Angeles County; Willis W. Clark, Director, Division of Research and Guidance, Office of Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools; Dr. Vierling Kersey, Superintendent of Los Angeles City Schools; N. Bradford Trenham, Executive Secretary, California Taxpayers Association.

March: "Cost of Charities and Relief in California."

April: "Functions and Cost of California's State Government."

May: "How the County Budget Gets its Shape."

The organization outline of the group specifically provides that it shall be nonpartisan and nonpolitical, in these words:

"The Woman's Tax Study Group shall be exclusively a fact-finding group, nonpartisan and nonpolitical, composed of representatives of women's organizations of Los Angeles County and Southern California, for the purpose of securing and disseminating factual information regarding governmental expenditures and taxation.

"The Woman's Tax Study Group shall make use of the fact-finding services and facilities of California Taxpayers' Association, chambers of commerce, the colleges and universities, and other available research agencies as its Advisory Committee may determine, but shall retain complete independence in all matters of policy."

The Woman's Tax Study Group passes no resolutions, takes no action, makes no recommendation. Speakers so far have resolutely resisted that temptation to "pull the punch" which often presents itself to the speaker at a woman's meeting. On a diet that would challenge the graduate student in government these women come back for more facts.

JESSIE K. GRANT, *Editor*
The Tax Digest
 California Taxpayers' Association

Roundup—

We hear enough these days about the sacred duty of every citizen to exercise his franchise and the reasons why people fail to vote, so that everyone should be convinced of the general importance of voting. But how many people really understand what they are doing when they go to the polls and how their vote works? For those who feel they could well know more about this vital subject, the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** has issued a valuable little 20-page pamphlet entitled *A Guide Book for Voters—How Your Vote Works*. Printed in red ink on light blue paper, the leaflet begins with a series of questions, addressed to the reader, designed to show him how meager his information is and then goes on to present in a clear, understandable style the necessary facts about local political organization, registration, time and manner of voting, and election crimes. Even those who consider themselves well informed on elections will undoubtedly pick up some useful pieces of information from this booklet.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** has performed another useful public service with the issuing of its 1942 edition of *Taxes*. This 36-page tax dictionary includes, among other things, a list of all the state and federal taxes to which a Wisconsin resident is subject. In addition it describes some of the most misunderstood of our tax levies—income taxes, payroll taxes, motor vehicle taxes, and others.

The **Yonkers Committee of 100** has under consideration a plan which sounds like a good idea for any citizen group in a fairly large community. It has been suggested that future meetings of the Board of Directors, to which all members of the organization are welcome, should be held in different districts of the city to make it easier for members to attend. R.M.W.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Virginia Legislature Considers County Bills

Housing, School Boards, Blackouts, Fireworks, Among Matters Covered

IN THE past several weeks the two houses of the Virginia legislature have received a number of reports and bills affecting county government.

Perhaps most important to counties is a report of the Advisory Legislative Council which recommended that "inasmuch as the country has become involved in a serious war which demands the complete and united effort of every state in the union, and which is paramount in the interests and thought of all persons charged with governing the state and nation, no legislative program involving a question of such a controversial nature as that of annexation in Virginia should be proposed at the 1942 session of the General Assembly."¹

Among the more significant bills may be listed the following:

House Bill 206 authorizes county governing bodies to prohibit sale, purchase, and use of fireworks;

Senate Bill 108 authorizes local governing bodies to adopt airport zoning ordinances to effectuate approach plans formulated by the State Corporation Commission;

House Bill 217 permits counties to contract with adjoining or nearby cities for fire-fighting purposes;

Senate Bill 150 authorizes the crea-

¹For a discussion of this problem see "City-County Separation in Virginia," by Raymond B. Pinchbeck, *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, July 1940, pp. 467-472.

tion and establishment of regional housing authorities by two or more counties, defines their rights, powers, and immunities, expressly authorizes county and regional authorities to undertake projects for farmers of low income, authorizes coöperation with one another, and authorizes their operation within municipalities but contingent upon the latter's consent;

House Bill 243 provides for enlargement and merger of sanitary districts;

House Bill 267 provides state aid to counties and cities for transportation of school children;

House Bill 281 modifies the procedure of selecting local school boards;

Defense Measures

House Bill 309 authorizes political subdivisions to order blackouts, makes them immune from liability for damages due to air raid precautions, and provides for the appointment of air raid wardens, fire watchers, and auxiliary firemen and policemen;

House Bill 378 provides that officers, agents, and employees of local units may in emergencies go or be sent with equipment beyond local territorial limits with no diminution of their privileges and immunities;

House Bill 380 provides no person shall be disqualified from holding local office by reason of having served in any selective service or rationing system; and

House Bill 348 creates a Regional Planning Commission for Richmond City and adjoining counties.

North Carolina County Welfare Offices under Merit System

The North Carolina Merit System Council recently completed its task of bringing all clerical workers in county welfare offices within the merit system,

and the task of covering the professional workers is now entering its final phase. The clerical incumbents were given only a qualifying written examination, while the aspirants to clerical positions took competitive written examinations.

On the professional level, aspirants and incumbents take both a written and an oral examination. Again incumbents need secure only a passing grade while aspirants will be placed on an eligible register on a competitive basis. The oral tests of the several hundred examinees have just begun, but the Council hopes to complete this task in the near future.

State Completes Westchester County, N. Y., Relief Survey

The New York State Department of Social Welfare has released a 11,000-word summary report of welfare activity in Westchester County, thus bringing to a conclusion a study instituted a year ago when it was charged that "chiselers and floaters" were defrauding the taxpayers. The report admitted that many of the criticisms made by a special supervisors committee had "some basis of validity," but in most respects it exonerated the Westchester relief agencies of the charges made against them.

The report praised the "progressive program" of Westchester's \$3,500,000 annual budget for relief purposes, holding that this was comparable to the load borne by other counties. It opposed removing from the rolls those individuals who had only brief residence in the county by asserting such action would be socially undesirable, ineffective, illegal and a cause for reprisals against Westchester indigents in other areas. The report also made minor recommendations regarding bookkeeping, filing, and auditing.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

**Tax Exemption
Problem Unsettled*****Morgenthau Renews Drive to
Tax State and Local Bonds***

IT IS ironic, to say the least, that as the war ends its third month and the nation faces the most critical period in its history, one of the most important problems facing local government is tax exemption. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau has renewed the drive to tax income from state and local bonds—future issues as well as those presently outstanding—a move which has plunged the municipal bond market into confusion and raised questions which reach to the very heart of local self-government.

The effort to remove the present exemption from income taxation enjoyed by the interest on government bonds began with the proposal that all government bonds—state, local, and federal—be made subject to “reciprocal taxation.”

Spokesmen for local government were quick to point out that reciprocity in this instance was an illusion, since the taxation of income is not as yet a part of the local tax structure. Further, reciprocity for the states would be incomplete, since for the majority the income received from the taxation of federal bonds would be inconsequential in comparison with the federal tax exacted on the states’ own obligations.

It was argued, too, that removal of the tax exemption feature would result in a fractional increase in the cost of borrowing for all units concerned, since a large number of the purchasers of government bonds find it worth

while to pay a premium for the exemption feature.

The campaign to establish reciprocity failed, but the Treasury Department did away with the exemption feature on new federal obligations, beginning about a year ago. The result was a fractional rise in the cost of federal borrowing, not as large as some had forecast, but perceptible. The campaign continued with respect to state and local bonds, although there were repeated avowals by treasury spokesmen that only the taxation of interest on future issues was contemplated.

In a speech at Cleveland late in January the Secretary of the Treasury again brought the subject to the fore, stating that: “It is high time, in my opinion, to tax the income of state and municipal securities—not only the income from future issues, but also the income from those issues now outstanding.” The result was an immediate decline in the municipal bond market—which was just beginning to rally from the depressing effects of Pearl Harbor—and a conspicuous advance in the cost of new borrowing by those municipalities which had scheduled bond sales in the following weeks. There was also a renewal of opposition to the proposal, made especially bitter by the Secretary’s shift to a position including outstanding issues among the bonds to be taxed.

In the new campaign for inclusive taxation the Treasury Department is stressing the additional income to be received—an alleged \$200,000,000 annually—rather than that removal of inequalities would follow the move. Opponents are vigorously protesting the move as an invasion of “states’ rights.”

Indubitably, the tax exemption feature of government bonds does offer a haven of refuge for income taxpayers in the higher brackets, a haven whose

existence is incompatible with the principle of taxation according to ability to pay. Against this, "states' rights" has a hollow sound unless it is amplified with a concrete demonstration that the rights involved are more than the dead hand of tradition. The whole question is one of policy; whatever decision is ultimately made, either "states' rights" or equity must be sacrificed in some degree.

The right of tax exemption of itself is not an essential one for local government. Normal and abnormal movements of the money market operate on the whole as a more serious factor in influencing local borrowing costs than does tax exemption. Far more important to local government is the freedom from extra-legal fiscal control which is implicit in the tax exemption feature. That the taxing power may be so exercised as to destroy—or control—is just as evident today as it was when Justice Marshall handed down his *dicta* in *McCulloch v. Maryland*.

Obviously, immediate and violent opposition would arise to any act of Congress designed to give the federal government that control over local government which is now vested in the states, and which in the form of home rule has been responsible for the greatest advances in the techniques and practices of self-government. The removal of tax exemption would, however, open the door to just such control. Is the danger to local government inherent in such a move of greater or less importance than the securing of a few millions of federal revenue and the rectifying of one of numerous present inequalities in the federal tax system? That is the question posed by Mr. Morgenthau's latest move.

States and Local Units Invest in Defense Bonds

First reports from a nation-wide survey by the Municipal Finance Officers

Association indicate that all but a few states are investing in defense savings bonds, many up to the limit allowed by the Treasury Department—\$50,000 a year for each governmental department.

State funds invested usually represent reserve funds held in trust for various purposes, including pension and school funds. In Colorado, for example, the following departments invested in defense savings bonds during 1941: Employees' Retirement Association, State School Fund, Workmen's Compensation Department, University of Colorado, and the State Agricultural School.

All but one of the first twenty states reporting said state funds were invested in defense bonds, with some reporting they would increase investments if the \$50,000 limit per department were lifted. Some of the states and amounts invested include: California and Idaho, \$500,000 each; Wyoming, \$485,000; Oregon, \$420,000; Washington, \$325,000; Nebraska, \$200,000; Maine, \$169,000; and Massachusetts, \$125,000. While not reporting amounts invested, other states subscribing "up to the limit" include North Dakota, Colorado, Kentucky, Minnesota, and Indiana. Iowa and New Mexico also said they were investing in defense bonds.

Counties investing in defense bonds include Duval, Orange, and Lake Counties, Florida, \$50,000, \$25,000 and \$50,000 respectively; Barnwell and Clarendon Counties, South Carolina; and Moffat County, Colorado. Barnwell County officials invested \$35,000 proceeds from sale of improvement bonds for its courthouse renovation program, deciding this was not the time to make improvements. Interest from the defense bonds will meet interest on the improvement bonds and leave a slight surplus.

Cities investing funds in defense sav-

ings bonds include Belleville, New Jersey, \$50,000; West Hartford, Connecticut, \$50,000 for its sinking fund; Fresno, California; Alachua, Florida; and Haverhill, Massachusetts, which voted to buy bonds with \$48,000 of municipal hospital funds. Haverhill's treasurer said the money would bring 2½ per cent interest if invested in defense bonds compared with 2 per cent if left in savings banks.

Tupelo, Mississippi, has taken a unique action. It decided to distribute in the form of defense savings bonds and stamps a \$31,000 rebate to customers of its electric distribution system. Ordinarily the surplus earnings would be passed on to customers as rate reductions. This year, however, it was felt that to encourage increased use of power by a rate reduction would not be advisable in view of heavy demands defense industries are making on power resources of the southeast.

Large Cities Increase Reliance on Shared Taxes

The nation's large cities are placing increasing reliance upon shared taxes and grants-in-aid as sources of revenue. While the general property tax, the base of municipal taxation, continues to supply about two-thirds of all local receipts, shared taxes and grants provide about 20 per cent of the cities' revenues as compared with 5 per cent in 1929. These conclusions are based on United States Bureau of Census statistics covering municipal revenues of the 94 cities of 100,000 or more population for the ten-year period of 1929-1939, as analyzed by the Federation of Tax Administrators.

The decade showed a marked falling off in receipts from miscellaneous revenues and earnings, consisting largely of public utility earnings, interest, rent, pension assessments, and poll and occupational taxes. This source provided

almost a quarter of the revenues of the 94 cities in 1929, but in ten years it had dropped to 11 per cent. Revenues obtained by special assessments fell off from 7 to only 1 per cent during the same time.

Total revenues of the 94 cities varied but little during the ten-year period. Lowest totals were \$2,400,000,000 in 1932 and 1934; the highest, \$2,900,000,000 in 1935. Receipts in 1939, last fiscal year for which census data are available, amounted to \$2,800,000,000.

Per capita revenue for 1939 averaged \$74, but there was great variation among cities. The largest, whose populations were more than 500,000, received \$87 per person in revenue, while cities between 100,000 and 300,000 population collected \$49 per capita. The 94 cities, containing 29 per cent of the nation's population, received half as much in local revenues as the federal government collected in 1939.

The press section of the United States Housing Authority reports that Birmingham, Alabama, received last year \$9,220 paid in lieu of taxes by the Central City low-rent housing project, whereas in the preceding year the city received only \$7,608 from property on the identical site.

The Municipal Finance Officers Association has prepared a four-page folder entitled *Wartime Policies for Municipal Finance*. Under the headings Policy Matters, Matters for Administrators and Legislators, and Matters Primarily for Local Finance Officers, the Association's executive board has approved a series of statements calculated to enhance the contribution of local government to the war effort. The Council of State Governments has also published a statement of policy serving the same purpose for state administrators and legislators.

Proportional Representation

(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

Attack on P. R.

Averted

New York Repealer Dies in Board of Estimate

COUNCILMAN Louis Cohen's bill to abolish the use of proportional representation in New York City, referred to in this department for December, passed the City Council on December 9 but was still in committee in the Board of Estimate on December 31, when the terms of the old Council and Board of Estimate expired. At this writing it has not been introduced in the new Council.

The vote in the old Council followed a spectacular hearing on December 4, at which Mr. Cohen, presiding, hurled a gavel at David Benjamin, chairman of the law committee of the Kings County (Brooklyn) Republican organization, while the latter was speaking against the bill. Park Commissioner Robert Moses, who has consistently opposed P. R. since before its adoption, was the principal speaker for the repealer. There were few others.

Representatives of most of the important civic groups and of important labor groups, including the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, appeared against the bill. It was evident that no appreciable breach had been made in the forces which had secured the original adoption of P. R. and defended it successfully against two attacks at the polls.

The repealer came to a vote in the council the afternoon of the first air raid alarm and the incongruity of such an attack on democratic principles at

such a time was made the subject of some comment. The Democratic organization councilmen looked at the matter differently and all of them who were present voted for the repeal. Dr. Harry W. Laidler, American Labor party councilman who had just been defeated for re-election, made an able defense of P. R. and voted against the repeal along with Minority Leader Genevieve B. Earle¹ and Robert K. Straus, independents, John M. Christensen, Republican, and Salvatore Ninfo, American Labor. None of the minority members voted for the repeal, though Lester Baum, Republican, did not vote. The vote was twelve to five.

Being a charter amendment the bill required the concurrence of the Board of Estimate, which it did not get. It would also have needed the Mayor's approval or a two-thirds vote of the council to override his veto, and popular approval at a general election.

It is not expected that the new Board of Estimate would be any more kindly disposed to the repealer than the old one. Furthermore, as a result of the last P. R. election, the Democratic majority in the Council has lost its power to override a veto by the Mayor without Fusion aid. The organization could if it wished, however, put the question on the ballot by petition as it did in 1940.

Whether this will be done is at present problematical. The Cohen bill of 1941 was introduced before the war and under the impression, now seen to be unwarranted, that the election had caused serious defections in the P. R. ranks. Possibly under war conditions the reopening of the controversy will be avoided.

¹Mrs. Earle has been redesignated as minority leader in the new council with the voters of all nine of the minority members.

If the controversy is reopened, the repeal will be fought vigorously by the same civic forces that defeated it overwhelmingly in 1940. "With democracy fighting for its life," said the Citizens Union in its recent annual report, "this is no time to restore a near-monopoly of representation in our largest city to a single political machine and to take representation away from nearly half a million minority voters."

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 135)

cipal responsibility for saying "No" to requests for materials for non-essential projects, warned recently:

"It is the patriotic duty of all of us to conserve critical materials. 'Repair and rehabilitate' should, therefore, become the watchwords of every local official and of every citizen of the nation. We must use our ingenuity, our ability to get things done without replacing old equipment which can possibly be repaired. . . .

"The coöperation of public officials of state and local government in conserving some material which can go to the front is the kind of support which will turn the tide."

Public officials at all levels of government — local, county, state, and national—will find in the very near future that they will be able to point with pride to things they have gone without. The new emphasis will be on well-thought-out plans for projects which will be needed after the war has been won, especially if funds have been laid aside to finance them.

ON THE LOCAL FRONT

(Continued from Page 164)

Alabama	DeRidder
Childersburg	Leesville
Jacksonville	Shreveport
Phenix City	
Sylacauga	Texas
Talladega	Abilene (3)
	Brownwood (2)
Florida	Corpus Christi
DeSota City	Galveston (2)
Jacksonville (2)	Mineral Wells
Jacksonville Beach	Orange
Miami	Palacios
Key West	San Antonio (2)
Orlando	Texarkana
Starke	Wharton
Tampa (2)	Wichita Falls (2)
Georgia	Arizona
Albany	Frye
Macon	
Moultrie	California
Valdosta	Bakersfield
Mississippi	Burbank
Biloxi	Chula Vista
Hattiesburg (2)	Fresno
	Inglewood
South Carolina	King City
Beaufort	Lancaster
Charleston	Lemoore
Myrtle Beach	Monterey
Spartanburg (2)	National City
	Paso Robles
Tennessee	Richmond
Tullahoma (3)	Salinas
	San Diego
Arkansas	San Luis Obispo
Little Rock	San Miguel
Kansas	San Rafael
Junction City	Sausalito
Manhattan (2)	Taft
	Vallejo
Missouri	Victorville
Lebanon	Nevada
Rolla (2)	Hawthorne
Waynesville Junction	Las Vegas
Waynesville	
Oklahoma	Oregon
Lawton (2)	Hermiston (2)
Oklahoma City	
Louisiana	Washington
Alexandria (3)	Port Townsend
	Tacoma
	South Tacoma
Alaska	British Guiana
Anchorage	Georgetown
Fairbanks	
Ketchikan	Jamaica
Seward	Kingston
Antigua	
Long Island	Newfoundland
	St. Johns
Bermuda	
Hamilton (2)	Trinidad
St. George's	Port of Spain

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Tax Yields: 1940. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1941. x, 149 pp. \$2.50.

This is the fifth annual compilation of tax yields since its first modest mimeographed brochure was issued in 1937 by the Tax Policy League. It is the second issued in regular book format, and the first since Dr. Mabel L. Walker's organization journeyed to Philadelphia to become the Tax Institute of the University of Pennsylvania. It will be, if anything, an even more useful volume than its highly useful predecessors.

The task of compiling and classifying the tax yields of the forty-eight states—with which the series is chiefly concerned—is by no means a simple task, all apart from the mechanical difficulties of securing the data. Arbitrary classifications are frequently necessary because of the lack of uniformity in tax systems from state to state, and further difficulties are presented by the numerous vagaries of state financial reporting. Notwithstanding, Dr. Walker has been steadily ironing out the wrinkles inherent in this type of compilation, and this fifth edition settles on twenty-one general classifications which serve all practical purposes.

The study, like its immediate predecessor, includes a tabulation of federal tax yields, but omits the data for local governments which were included last year. The federal data are carried back to 1911, while the state data have been revised and extended back to 1931, thus covering a full decade to indicate the striking changes brought about by the economic depression. Tax yields in the territories are included as they were last year. Summary tables are used profusely, and the volume is further enlivened by twelve maps and charts.

W.S.S.

The Little Red School House. By Agnes de Lima and the Staff of the Little Red School House. New York City, The Macmillan Company, 1942. xiv, 355 pp. \$3.50.

A chief concern of readers of this REVIEW who are small taxpayers, citizens, and members and officers of civic organizations is the relatively small amount of sustained interest in citizenship displayed by their fellows. When war comes there is a burst of emotion but even this would be better if changed to a habit of quiet unwavering resolution.

How to get the steady drive going is the problem. Some civic leaders finally give up, convinced that human nature is perverse. Others have a feeling that the reason is not "pure cussedness," that the fault lies in the methods of education to which they were exposed. To such this book is a revelation and a heartening message of the highest order. It is the story and explanation of the way children between four and thirteen have been educated in a certain public school in New York City for the past twenty years. The phrase "have been educated" is not exact enough. It is better to say, "have been sympathetically guided in their efforts to achieve the normal objective of every child, which is to be secure in a group which respects him because he contributes to it." That group is at first simply the other children of the class but by the time high school begins the child becomes a citizen in the vital sense not only of that community but of the great "Society."

Citizenship is not "another subject" taught between certain ringings of a bell. It is the core of all these children do. The label "citizenship" is seldom used; the children are not made

to memorize dates or phrases but to be skillful in the process of getting along with others as an equal among equals. A child who stands lonely and quiet on the edge of the playground or never speaks up in the "talking things over" sessions which follow strenuous activity is of greater concern to the teacher than one who does not spell correctly. A boy of six who could swim made a teacher quite happy, yet the fact that he could not write "cat" bothered her not at all.

As we go through the chapters with the children we need no convincing that they become educated "socially and emotionally no less than intellectually." Because the first two characteristics have been slighted heretofore our civic organizations are as weak as they are.

A chapter of special interest to readers of the REVIEW is "How We Finance Our School." It proves that this type of education costs no more than does the usual variety where "knowing" counts for much and "doing" for so little.

As we leave the book and go back to the task of making over adults whose social natures are stunted and emotional drives turned almost wholly toward themselves, we do so encouraged by the thought that a change has set in. Without leaving our task of adult civic education we must nevertheless help it along. We can and must support, each in his own bailiwick, the local schoolmen who would gladly use the methods described in this book if the troglodytes in the school board would let them.

W. J. M.

State Supervision of Local Finance.

By Wylie Kilpatrick. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. vii, 65 pp., paperbound. \$1.25.

This modest sized brochure contains

a wealth of information which should be a part of the working tools of everyone with more than a passing interest in local finance. Its eight short chapters encompass a description of the manner in which state governments presently exercise supervision—or fail to exercise it—over the financial activities of their local units. The final thirteen pages are devoted to tables summarizing the type and scope of the supervision exercised by the individual states.

W.S.S.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Assessments

Papers Presented at the Eighth National Conference on Assessment Administration. October 20-23, 1941. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1941. v, 78 pp. \$1.

Consumer

More for Your Money. By Carol Wilis Moffett. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1942. 31 pp. 10 cents.

Corrupt Practices

Corrupt Practices Legislation in the 48 States. By S. Sydney Minault. Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1942. 39 pp. mimeo. 50 cents.

Courts

The Supreme Court and Judicial Review. By Robert K. Carr. New York City, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942. xiv, 304 pp. \$2; \$1.50 to schools.

Housing

Urban Redevelopment and Housing. A Program for Post-War. By Guy Greer and Alvin H. Hansen. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1941. 24 pp. 25 cents.

Wartime Housing in the New York Metropolitan Area. What the Federal and State Agencies Are Doing and What They Ask Local Public Bodies and Civic Organizations to Do. New York City, Citizens Housing Council of New York, Inc., 1942. 25 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Inflation

How to Check Inflation. By John M. Clark. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1942. 31 pp. 10 cents.

Land Use

A Study of Tax Reverted Lands in Michigan. Including Analyses of the 1938 Tax Sale and the 1940 Land Salvage Sale and a Review of Tax and Salvage Sale Procedures. Lansing, Michigan Planning Commission, 1941. 72 pp.

Urban Land-Use Programming in Northern Michigan. By Mark W. Alger. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1941. 39 pp. maps, charts. \$1.

Municipal Government

City Problems of 1942. The Annual Proceedings of the United States Conference of Mayors, January 12-14, 1942. Edited by Paul V. Betters. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1942. iii, 175 pp. \$3.

Postwar Planning

After the War—Full Employment. By Alvin H. Hansen. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1942. 19 pp.

Public Libraries

The Southern Negro and the Public Library. By Eliza Atkins Gleason. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1941. xvi, 218 pp. \$2.50.

Public Welfare

Better Nursing for America. By Beulah Amidon. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1941. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Partial Unemployment. Administrative Studies of Unemployment Insurance and of the Inter-relation of Partial and Total Unemployment Benefits. Albany, New York, Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, Department of Labor, State of New York, 1941. xiv, 311 pp. \$1.75.

Taxation and Finance

Financial and Administrative Survey of Hamtramck, Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1942. 138 pp.

The Personal Income Tax in Kentucky. A Statistical Analysis of Returns for 1937. By Department of Revenue, Commonwealth of Kentucky. Frankfort, 1941. 25 pp. mimeo.

Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Municipal and Local Finance Officers of Pennsylvania. State College, Institute of Local Government, 1941. 81 pp. mimeo.

Proposals and Prophecies in War Finance. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1942. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Taxes. Questions and Answers on State and Federal Taxes Levied in Wisconsin. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1942. 35 pp. 25 cents.

War

Social and Economic Problems Arising Out of World War II: A Bibliography. Compiled by Dorothy Campbell Tompkins. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. vii, 114 pp. \$1.50.

War Came to the Iowa Community. Ames, Iowa, Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 1942. 64 pp.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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April 1942

Vol. XXXI, No

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 4

Total Number 310

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Danger! "Democracy" at Work

WHEN things appear to be going fairly well in a community—and even when they don't—it is extremely difficult to persuade people to take a serious interest in public affairs, particularly financial.

Good officials worry about this; venal officials are glad of it.

Many thoughtful civic leaders have decided it is possible only on rare occasions to arouse any considerable proportion of the population to a point of genuine interest and that, even when it can be done, interest can be sustained only briefly. Therefore average conditions become bad, bad conditions become worse, and finally there is a brief revolt to "throw the rascals out."

Citizen groups and officials frequently unite in urging attendance by voters at budget hearings; but the result is almost always disappointing. Either no one comes or the only questions are those raised by representatives of anti-spending organizations or by "gimme" groups.

But, stay! The picture may not be as gloomy as it seems. No less a bulwark of democracy than Jersey City provided an outstanding demonstration recently of an embattled citizenry on the march to do something about that budget. And no wonder, for the Jersey City tax rate even under the old budget was \$52.18.

It was a grim and determined crowd which came early and overflowed the

large, expensively impressive room. Finally the five members of the commission filed in and took their seats. They were headed by "Boss" Hague himself who had come up from Florida for the occasion to do his duty as mayor. He smiled easily, quite confident "his" people would ask no questions about the budget which he would be unable to answer to his own satisfaction.

One man, a young lawyer, arose and asked a question. "Boss" Hague barked at him. The young man barked back. The crowd applauded—Hague. It booed and hissed the young man. Like a college cheering section, the crowd set up the chant, "Pass the budget! Pass the budget!"

So the "hearing" groaned, hissed, booed and shouted on to an uninformative conclusion, and no one knew any more about the mysteries of Jersey City budgets than before. And no one, except the troublesome young lawyer, seemed to want to know.

Could these embattled citizens, who stormed City Hall with fire in their eyes and a determined set of their chins be regimented public employees and their relatives?

The temptation to suspect "Boss" Hague of aping Hitler's methods should be resisted. After all, Hitler has been on the scene for only about ten years. Hague ran Jersey City while Hitler was still painting houses.

The Man Behind the Man Behind the Gun

THERE is much talk nowadays about the necessity of raising a fully equipped, trained army at least seven million strong to wage war abroad. We can certainly draft that number of men for military service. But we can't turn them into an efficient modern army unless "the men behind the men behind the guns" are trained and efficient. And that means that we must now make the civil service what it must be—the basis of military efficiency.

Before the army rates a man as an officer or technical expert, he has to prove that he is qualified for and capable of performing the duties involved. The morale of Private Jones would be shot to bits if he knew his welfare and his life were in the control of a top sergeant who had been given his rank and authority not because of fitness but because he had done campaign work for some political boss.

Private Jones may not realize that some man behind a government desk may be a more decisive factor in his life—or death—than his own top sergeant. This man behind the desk is "the man behind the man behind the gun." He *should* be at that particular task because he has qualified for the responsibilities of that particular position—not because he knew somebody who knew somebody who knew a politician.

To fight this war successfully gov-

ernment as well as labor and industry must go all out for efficiency. That means application of the merit system throughout the army of public employees—federal, state, and local—on which the welfare of our fighting forces depends.

Public appointments based on merit system tests are not merely desirable—they are a *military necessity*.

America's war expenditures will probably reach \$100,000,000 a day before the end of 1942, and the army of public employees—federal, state and local—an all time high of 5,000,000.

To win the war the American people will gladly shoulder the burden of heavy taxes and personal sacrifices. The only stipulation they make—and they have a right to make it—is that their sacrifices shall not be made in vain. They are willing to pay for equipping an army. They are willing to give up personal and business "life as usual" for that purpose—but they want this purpose to be accomplished without hampering red tape, incompetence, patronage waste, and political corruption.

In time of peace, government efficiency is *desirable* because it is economical. In time of war it is *vital* because waste, incompetence, and delay mean not only lost dollars and lost prestige, but lost battles and needlessly sacrificed lives.

Leadership in a Democracy

Nothing matters more, at a time when democracy is facing a crisis, than the type of people who, as leaders, exert influence upon our community life.

By H. A. OVERSTREET

Trustee and Lecturer, Town Hall, New York City

THERE is no greater privilege than to be a leader in a democracy. But there is no type of leadership that requires more of the leader, for the essence of democratic leadership is that it enlists the voluntary and cordial coöperation of the led. It cannot merely command; it must win consent. The democratic leader knows how to make his followers actually feel power themselves, not merely acknowledge his power.

Democratic leadership, in short, releases leadership. This means that the democratic leader has not only to be an understander of people; he has to care enough about them to try to release the powers that are in them.

Today democracy is being put to the severest, most brutal test it has ever suffered. We are told that only one kind of leader is effective—the leader who, divinely inspired, knows it all and tells it all to his obedient people. We are told that our democratic belief in leadership of and by and for the people is nonsense.

Stupid as we may seem to be to the dictators, however, we Americans will go on believing that in every area of life—business, medicine, teaching, government, the home—there can be leadership of the democratic sort, and that out of this millionfold leadership there can be

built a society fit for decent people to live in.

Leadership is a human relation. No matter what the field in which the leader operates, he is no leader unless he actually *leads*. If no one follows he marches along in stately—or unstately—loneliness. In order to get others to follow, he must be the kind of person who awakens positive, coöperative response in others.

There are individuals who awaken only negative responses. For example, the self-pitying individual. He loudly and continuously tells how unjustly he is treated; how others are preferred before him; how much more brains he has than others; how little regard is given to his superior ability.

Another is the self-excusing type. Things do not turn out according to expectations, and he is ready to place the blame anywhere save upon himself.

A third is the self-appropriative type. In my own field of work I know of men who have lost standing with their colleagues because the word has got about that when good work is done by their subordinates, they take the glory to themselves. We like the person who gives most of the credit to others. We like this not only because of its modesty and generosity, but because we are

then able to believe that the man is genuinely more interested in what he is able to achieve than in the fame that comes with the achievement.

Too much self-regard destroys the confidence of others. There is, however, another attitude that is equally destructive of leadership: too little regard for others.

There is, for example, the executive who bawls you out. Every individual who bawls you out should realize that when he does so he diminishes your ego-feeling.

Discipline by Consent

There is a good deal of confusion about this matter of keeping up a disciplinary front. Psychologically, there can be no genuine discipline unless it is self-imposed—unless it is discipline by consent. Discipline wholly from the outside—by insulting commands, scoldings, vituperations—may make scared robots; it never makes self-respecting followers of respected leaders.

It may be said of all such individuals that they have failed to realize the very first principle of democratic leadership, namely, that it is a human relation which, when it is successful, raises the ego-feeling both of leader and led. As Baden-Powell once said: "A leader is someone who makes you feel two inches taller."

When leadership is genuinely democratic, it is always a mutual affair. Leader and led must be equally the object of concern.

A leader, to be great, must *carry the destiny* of those he leads. A father is a genuine leader in his family if he carries the destiny of his wife and children as his own.

The essence of great personality is the power imaginatively to project oneself into others. Obviously, the antithesis of the great leader is the person who is wrapped up wholly within his own skin. Being so circumscribed, he is unable to sense the feelings of others. As likely as not he will go counter to what they feel and desire. *Per contra*, the individual best equipped for leadership is he who is sensitive to what is going on in others. Every leader must be something of the poet; something of the novelist. Poets and novelists have the power in high degree to live into life outside themselves. This gives them their wide range of insight, their wisdom about life external to their own skins.

Psychologists call this the power of empathy. This is more than sympathy which means "a suffering with." It is an actual living into the other; an experiencing as he experiences. It is the power to put oneself in the other's place and feel as he does.

A great, democratic leader must have this empathetic power. Whether individuals are born with it, or whether, if they are not born with it, they can develop it, we do not yet know. It would seem that some are endowed with this power even from childhood, while in others it does not show itself until later in life—often after the stress of difficult experiences. In any event, the person who is without this sensitiveness to the feelings of others has an emotional blind spot in his makeup which will prevent his effective leadership of his fellows.

A leader must have the kind of mind which is ill at ease in the *status quo*, the kind which is imaginatively aware of a still-better. To lead means to go somewhere; the genuine leader goes toward something that is more satisfying than the place where average folk are content to stand.

Seeing Beyond the Seen

In any field, therefore—business, science, government, teaching, and the rest—a leader is never a stand-patter; never a reactionary; never a worshipper of things as they are. The great leader inevitably has the forward-looking, forward-moving mind. In business or industry he is the man who sees ways of doing things that average men in business or industry do not see; in science or medicine or education or statesmanship he is out on the firing line, far beyond his more timid and stationary-minded fellows. With all real leadership there goes a seeing beyond the seen, a loyalty to what the ordinary, plodding, average man regards as nonsense. The Socrates, Galileos, Lincolns, Fultons, Wrights have all had this quality of seeming to the populace to be a bit touched in the head.

Thus the essential word to all who would be leaders in a democracy is: "Be courageous about something that the lagging world does not yet believe. Be willing to break conventional habits of thought and behavior for the sake of forming new habits more adequate to the human adventure."

Finally, the leader is one who

must turn idea into accomplishment, or he remains only an almost-leader.

This power to translate idea and imagination into deed requires a certain courage. It is a kind of "crossing the Rubicon." We are safe as long as we live within the subjectivity of our own ideas. Once we cross the fateful river and translate our ideas into outer form, however, we enter the public world, place ourselves at the mercy of our fellows, and must now stand or fall by their decision.

Lincoln contemplating the Emancipation Act might have remained forever a contemplator. To be the great leader he was, he had to turn his contemplation into decision. He had to translate the subjectivity of idea into outer enactment.

And so we may say that a leader in any field must have creative courage. He must not only have ideas that go beyond the average and beyond what is accepted—he must be willing and able to put them to the test.

The leader is never a yes-man. It requires no courage to be a yes-man. To do in Rome as the Romans do has never been the mark of a great personality. To do in Rome what the average Romans have not thought of doing—this is to be a leader among men.

It is not given to everyone to have either the mentality or the courage to move ahead of his fellows and have them follow him. Most people seem to be condemned to a certain averagism. It is the privilege of the leader—one which carries with it a high obligation—to see a bit more

clearly and to move a bit more surely.

Nothing matters more, at a time when democracy is facing a crisis, than the type of people who, as leaders, exert influence upon our community life. It is necessary that they should be wise in the meanings of a free society and in the methods by which these meanings can be realized.

Leadership Training

High on our agenda today, then, must be measures for the training of democratic leaders. The schools and colleges have here a heavy responsibility; for democratic leadership is not something that one takes on today and puts off tomorrow. It is something that must have its slow maturing through the years.

Once we rid ourselves of the notion that democratic leadership is an invidious affair—a way of being more conspicuous and more powerful than one's neighbors—teachers can explore the ways in which young people are best helped to develop the qualities essential to leadership in a democracy.

The responsibility, however, lies also upon the community and the nation. Men and women are now actually doing the work of leading—in the home, the professions, business, in voluntary groups like the luncheon clubs, Y.M.C.A., League of Women Voters, non-partisan leagues, community forums, etc. These men and women could be greatly helped by the chance to take stock of themselves, to pool their ideas and methods, to build for themselves a clear conception of the qualities needed by leaders in a democracy.

Last spring the Town Hall of New York inaugurated a Leadership School which attempted to provide just such an opportunity. Men and women from widely varying groups came together for three weeks to study problems of program planning, the management of voluntary organizations, and to practice methods of clarifying and communicating ideas through lectures, discussions, panels, etc. This summer in Albany the Association of Colleges and Universities in the State of New York is conducting a workshop on discussion techniques and group thinking. Other organizations have undertaken similar ventures, notably adult education councils.

Now that we are in the midst of an intense effort to bring our democratic energies to bear upon winning both the war and the peace, it is particularly imperative that we organize leadership conferences throughout the country. They can be brief—for a few days, or a week or more. Even in so short a time men and women already on the job can learn much that is valuable for increasing the effectiveness of their work.

Happily, in our society we already have a large body of men and women—those whom we call adult educators—who have been, ever since the last war, consciously tackling the problems of group and community organization. These people are already prepared, therefore, to suggest what might be called a "curriculum for leadership." They know from their own experience what problems repeatedly crop up to harass the or-

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Los Angeles County Streamlined

Most examples given involve reduction of costs. But it should not be implied that sole emphasis has been placed on economy. No savings have been made at the expense of desirable public service.

By WAYNE ALLEN

Chief Administrative Officer, Los Angeles County, California

WHAT are the accomplishments—and the problems—of Los Angeles County under its “chief administrative officer,” an office created in September 1939 by ordinance of the County Board of Supervisors.

If the present setup is regarded as the manager plan Los Angeles County, with its three million people, is the largest manager county in the country. However, the plan does not strictly follow the manager formula. The most fundamental distinction is the fact that this office is primarily the administrative agency of the Board of Supervisors, designed to carry out the will of the board majority, rather than a distinct separate office established by the voters with a rigidly prescribed mandate as to its powers and duties.

How well has the idea of a chief administrative officer worked out? In order to answer such a question we must apply what yardsticks we have, and the most commonly accepted yardstick is the tax rate.

This office was created because of public indignation when, in 1938, the tax rate jumped from \$1.41 to \$1.51 despite an increase in assessed valuations. Since that time the rate has successively declined. In 1939 it dropped to \$1.4973; in 1940 it went down to \$1.4749 and last year it dropped to \$1.4627. The reduction

for the three years totals a fraction under five cents.

The tax rate, however, is only a rough yardstick. It is a reliable index only if certain factors, including the services rendered by the governmental agency, remain constant, and this has not been the case in Los Angeles County.

The same items which had been forcing the tax rate upward before a chief administrative officer was appointed are still operating. These consist mainly of certain inescapable costs made mandatory by state law.

Our legislature, in viewing the public relief problems some years ago, decided to make California the most generous state in the union and voted old-age security grants of \$40 a month, blind-aid grants of \$50, and children's aid grants averaging \$22. Counties must contribute to these grants, and the effect on county finance has been almost disastrous.

For example, in 1938-39, when the tax rate touched its high point, Los Angeles County's net contribution to these mandatory grants totalled \$4,319,716. Since then its forced contribution has reached \$9,504,796, an increase of \$5,185,080. This in terms of the tax rate means an increase of 21 cents.

Thus, while cutting the tax rate almost five cents, it was necessary

to absorb through economical administration an increase for these inescapable items totalling 21 cents.

All indices of public opinion indicate that the taxpayers would never submit to a return to the old system. There have been two elections since the office of chief administrative officer was created and no supervisor has been defeated. Because it has no charter basis, the office can be abolished by a vote of three members of the Board at any time, but the Chief Administrative Officer still enjoys the support of the supervisors.

Centralized Control

The main advantage of the office is in the centralized controls it provides over the fifty-odd departments of the county: budget controls which restrict spending, personnel controls under which authority is required for the filling of all positions, and other administrative controls which attach to an office of this kind.

Its value, too, lies in the facility which it provides for planning, for coördinating departmental efforts, and in the transfer of administrative details to a single head, thereby allowing the Board of Supervisors more time for matters of policy.

The county has made substantial savings in such factors as insurance, indemnity bonds, and rent; it has effected economies by a general reduction in overhead costs by simplification of procedures and by elimination of unnecessary functions. It has eliminated two departments entirely, reorganized others, and a short time ago completed arrangements with the City of Los Angeles Health

Department for joint, instead of duplicated, milk inspections.

By modernizing and mechanizing office procedures operating costs have been reduced. Equipment installed in the office of the County Clerk for making photo-copies of records has resulted in a saving of more than \$3,000 a year.

The county is now mechanizing procedures concerned with the printing of the assessment roll, extension of taxes, automatic printing of tax bills, and accounting and apportioning of collections which, it is anticipated, will result in a saving of \$40,000 a year in the Assessor's office alone. An equal saving may be anticipated by an extension of mechanization to the offices of the Auditor and Tax Collector.

Budget procedures have been improved. Until 1940 the annual budget was always adopted two months after the start of the fiscal year; now the budget is adopted prior to the start of the new year. The quarterly allotment plan has been established, permitting the impounding of savings at the close of each quarter. The Chief Administrative Officer submits a budget message along with his budget recommendations which explains all increases or decreases, by departments, shows the increases or decreases in personnel, and provides other pertinent data to assist the Board of Supervisors and the public in properly evaluating his recommendations.

Los Angeles County is unique among counties inasmuch as it contains densely populated metropolitan areas which have never become in-

corporated and which accordingly have looked to the county to supply the services which ordinarily would be rendered by a municipality. The county was not receiving adequate fees for the health, fire, and other types of inspection services it was rendering in these districts. As a result of a survey and adjustment of fees the total license fee revenue for 1941 was \$620,000 as against \$439,000 for 1940.

The Purchasing and Stores Divisions have been combined and moved from the Civic Center to a point several miles distant. This enabled the department to reduce its budget for the third consecutive year—despite the fact that it absorbed the cost of operating the welfare store of the Department of Public Assistance with an additional saving of approximately \$6,600. Other savings were realized through the release by the department of 6,000 square feet of floor space in the Civic Center valued at \$8,400 a year.

We have effected a reduction of more than \$100,000 a year in the rent bill by a greater utilization of present floor space and by acquisition of a loft type building which is being converted into a modern office building. In order to further reduce this bill, provision has been made in this year's budget for preparing the site for a \$3,000,000 courts building to be erected after the war.

Los Angeles County operates strictly on a pay-as-you-go basis. It has issued no bonds for eighteen years, its bonded indebtedness is below \$3,000,000, and unless some extraordinary situation develops, no long-

term financing will ever again be undertaken.

Due to the vast development of national defense industries Los Angeles County's population has increased by more than 150,000 since the 1940 census. Also there has been a shifting of population among old residents to newly developing areas from which has come a lively demand for new services.

The county has tried to supply some of these new services without entailing a proportionate outlay. The Sheriff, for example, is experimenting with the use of one-man patrol cars equipped with two-way radio on certain shifts, thereby releasing deputies for more intensive patrol work in the rapidly growing unincorporated districts of the county. Because of this, it was possible to withhold plans for fifty additional deputies for patrol duty.

Rehabilitation of Prisoners

To meet overcrowded conditions in the county jail, which is larger than 80 per cent of the state penitentiaries in the United States (2,500 prisoners) the county purchased a large tract of farm land, erected barracks, moved in five hundred prisoners and put them to work raising produce and livestock which is used not only in their own dining room but in other county institutions.

More important than solving our crowded jail problems has been the influence in rehabilitating these men. Incidentally, the farm produce credits accruing from these operations are estimated in the 1941-42 budget at \$20,000.

It has been realized from the outset that the quality of public service rendered by the county must depend in a large degree on the spirit of loyalty and service of each of its 16,000 employees, and consequently emphasis has been placed on morale building factors in personnel policy. Every position in the county was included in a civil service reclassification survey. With the acceptance of this reclassification the county adopted a new compensation schedule incorporating a five-step advancement plan. Eleven thousand employees benefited by salary increases under this new arrangement; none suffered a salary cut.

Los Angeles County, a pioneer supporter of the merit system, has continued to extend civil service in the last few years until it now has brought its privileges to all but a few employees who are specifically exempt by the charter.

Tax Delinquency

A serious problem which has persisted as an aftermath of the depression is that of tax delinquencies. To a large extent this has been caused by the county's earlier methods of financing public improvements by special assessment — a system that worked out satisfactorily during boom days—but when the depression came and realty prices dropped, many of these assessment districts soured. In some taxes became as much as 90 per cent delinquent.

We are still grappling with the problem which this presented. Two separate modes of attack have been adopted: one was to give financial aid

to the distressed districts to encourage refinancing; the other was to set up procedures for getting tax-deeded land into the hands of solvent taxpayers.

To aid the distressed assessment districts equitably, the Board of Supervisors established a Special Assessment Relief Committee consisting of key department heads. Only those districts are being assisted which were formed for improvements deemed to be of general county interest.

This procedure, however, will not alone solve the problem presented by more than 100,000 parcels of tax-delinquent properties involving delinquent tax payments of more than \$22,000,000. Our problem is to return this property to a taxpaying basis at selling prices which will not subject the county to criticism. We have several avenues of procedure for accomplishing this purpose.

First, we agree to offer any parcel of land at public auction when an applicant agrees to pay the full amount of taxes for the assessed years, minus penalties and interest. It is believed that under ordinary circumstances, if a tax deed is not worth this, it is not worth returning to the assessment rolls.

California laws permit counties to file court actions to quiet title to tax-deeded lands and by virtue of this authority the county is now acquiring title to all properties having an assessed value of \$5,000 or more. When good marketable titles are obtained to these higher priced parcels they will be sold and the proceeds divided among the taxing agents.

Another procedure for disposing of these tax-deeded lands is by sales to cities. Under state law the county can sell to any of its forty-five cities. If no special assessments are involved, the selling price is the full amount of taxes for the assessed years, minus penalties and interest. If the properties are burdened by special assessment levies, the selling price is computed on the basis of a special formula.

To understand Los Angeles County's fiscal problem one must understand its public relief problem. More than 60 per cent of the county's gross budget goes for various forms of relief, and the rate is still increasing.

Relief Problem

Several years ago, after the state legislature had continually liberalized aged-aid grants, the attendant publicity created the general belief that these grants constituted out-and-out pensions to which every citizens over 65 years of age had an inherent right. Lines formed in front of our public assistance offices, and responsible relatives refused to support aged dependents. Even well-to-do persons seemed to feel that under the new scheme of things this was their right as taxpayers.

To correct this situation and to bring pressure on responsible relatives to make at least partial contributions, the County Auditor reviewed each aged-aid case. Responsible relatives were called in for interviews and told of contributions which would be expected. Cases in which responsible relatives refused to cooperate were referred to the County Counsel

for court action. As a result an additional \$750,000 a year was pledged as relatives' contributions.

Another relief problem which has caused us some concern has been that of the confirmed alcoholic on the charity rolls. An intensive social welfare study was made of 349 such cases which produced interesting findings. These cases had gravitated to the cheap rooming-house district of the metropolitan area where liquor is cheap and panhandling is not too much frowned on.

These 349 cases, because of repeated arrests and visits to hospitals, had had their cases opened and closed and re-opened 1,288 times. At an estimated cost of \$16 this alone had cost taxpayers \$20,000.

Sixty-two per cent of these cases had been arrested for drunkenness one or more times and among this 62 per cent the average number of arrests was seven per case. It is estimated that every arrest and arraignment cost taxpayers \$40. The fifteen hundred drunk arrests charged against this group had cost \$60,000 in court costs. In addition, 731 arrests for offenses other than drunkenness cost an additional \$30,000. Despite these costs, nothing was being done to help these unfortunates.

To get these men away from their sordid surroundings and to reduce the costs of their upkeep we established a camp in the mountain area where they are given neat cabins, medical attention, and provided with some occupational therapy. All confined alcoholics were given the option of moving to this camp or losing relief

privileges. Many refused, were dropped from the charity rolls, and have not been heard from again. Most of those who have gone to camp have stayed there, and the reports received on their physical and mental rehabilitation are encouraging.

Later this program was broadened to include all single men on relief. The results have been astounding. Only those in absolute need have accepted camp aid; the others, preferring life in the big city, have found means of living other than as public charges. As a result, the 2,000 single men on our relief rolls a year ago have dwindled to 550 now.

On July 1, 1940, Los Angeles County was faced by a crisis when the State Relief Administration, which had been caring for the able-bodied unemployed since the depression, closed down through lack of an appropriation and left 13,500 cases, or 40,000 persons, destitute in Los Angeles County. Although the county had already adopted its annual budget, it was faced with the problem of caring for these people.

We determined that there would be no cash dole. Cash relief for the sick and others unable to work is one thing; but cash relief for able-bodied persons is another. It tends to demoralize those who receive it; it fosters laziness, indifference, and dishonesty.

Accordingly, we offered relief for all in distress but only on condition that seven hours work be done each day. Men were put to work building roads, clearing flood control channels, etc. Women were given work as crossing guards or placed on

sewing projects or given other work.

The results of this program were interesting. Persons who had been living lazily on cash doles for years once again learned the pleasure of hard work. They dropped from the relief rolls in large numbers. When the county obtained jobs for them in private industry and they refused to accept, it cut them off.

Two months after this program was undertaken the case load of 13,500 had dropped to 6,500. Today not a single able-bodied man is in need; there are only about 500 women who cannot find employment because of age, lack of training, or home conditions.

We believe that by this and other methods, we have reduced our relief rolls to a point where only those are being aided who are in urgent need. Any success we have had in this endeavor is due to our determination to give a cash check only where no other type of relief is feasible.

These are some of the things done in Los Angeles County to streamline government. Most of the examples given involve reduction of costs, but it should not be implied that sole emphasis has been placed on economy. The county is growing rapidly and services must be extended accordingly. In particular it is expanding its network of parks and playgrounds, enlarging facilities for combating juvenile delinquency, increasing the number of beds to care for tuberculars, and otherwise meeting the needs of a growing community. No savings have been made at the expense of desirable public service. This we shall never do.

British Utilities Weather the Blitz

The man in the London street has the consolation of knowing that his utility services learned even as they patched up their wreckage. From the bombing came experiments, from the experiments improvements.

By CONNERY CHAPPELL
News Editor, London Sunday Dispatch

THE greatest compliment a citizen can pay the public utilities which serve him is to be totally unaware of them. Your New York salesman, travelling over to Manhattan on the ferry, taking the subway downtown, shooting up to his office in a high-powered elevator, making a series of long distance calls as part of his normal routine, rightly never thinks of the enormous organization built up to supply him with the simplicities of his life.

But if suddenly he found the water mains burst through aerial bombardment, if the telephone service had been dislocated by shoals of incendiaries, if blasts had shattered his gas supply and huge explosions had smashed his railway system, he would be acutely conscious of how much his life owed to the silent services around him.

The Britisher in general, and the Londoner in particular, has had that experience. There were days when vital utilities were knocked clean out of service in restricted areas, weeks when supplies were rationed and curtailed drastically. In that time the Londoner learned what a debt he owed to the men on the water, the electric current, the gas, the telephone, and the mail services.

That period of improvisation now belongs to the past. The same blitz may come again; it may be intensi-

fied. But the man in the London street at least has the consolation of knowing that his utility services learned even as they patched up their wreckage, and the improvisations of 1940 have become part of the general improvements to services made in 1941. From the bombings came experiments, from the experiments, improvements, many of them permanent.

Britain's utilities in 1940-41 were subjected to a test which only those who lived through it could realize.

First, it must be realized that no amount of intelligent anticipation can thoroughly prepare against intense air raids.

Many schemes were put into practice for the protection of the population before the hour of attack came. Water supplies were duplicated; emergency reservoirs were built; food was stored; railroads experimented with shadow services; vital telephone switchboards were duplicated; electric current supply was bolstered by an elaborate feeding system so that it would be possible, at short notice, for the current at Bristol, say, to be supplied from generators in the far north.

All these things were done. But no amount of elaborate planning in the world can determine in advance where the bomb will burst the water

main, or where the long distance phone junctions will be burned out.

Patching and Safeguarding

So it was that London went to work on the memorable Monday morning of September 9, 1940, with its water supply on short ration in many of the poor East End districts which had suffered so severely from the opening attacks over the week-end; with gas restricted or cut off completely in many areas, with some railways dislocated, the mail late, and telephones interrupted.

For some weeks after that the attack continued with varying degrees of intensity, sometimes skipping London altogether and switching to the provinces, sometimes returning to London with devastating abruptness—as in the case of the incendiary raid on the city at the close of the year, when many buildings, including the historic Guildhall, were gutted.

Through all this time the utility services worked with two ends in view—the patching up of the immediate trouble and the production of a system of safeguards which would prevent a repetition of similar dislocation in similar circumstances.

After the first week-end of severe raiding it was found that the gas mains suffered most. People whose business it was to go about the streets during raids became familiar with the sight of gas company repair men busy on burning mains long before the morning “raiders past” signal had sounded. In all, twenty-three of these men were killed at work, repairing while the raids were going on, and more than eighty badly injured.

So low was the gas pressure because of broken mains that in some districts a whole house would get only enough gas to run one small burner, and cooking was impossible.

But within six weeks of the first big raid the London gas companies were able to announce that they had introduced a system of placing special valves at regular intervals across the main piping, so that a bomb hit could immediately be sealed off, and only a relatively small service area affected.

Two months after the blitz started the companies announced that 99.75 per cent of London's gas users had their full supply, and that over 14,000 miles of mains were carrying gas from fifty-two works to 3,250,000 meters throughout the city. Rather more than 9,000,000 consumers were affected by the announcement.

Furthermore, the fifteen various gas companies had perfected a mains system whereby, if one unit was knocked out, gas could be fed through its pipes from any of the rival units available.

Spotters and the Post Office

The Post Office, which in Britain controls the country's telephone and telegraph system, had to face its own problems. Mails started to arrive late, and as a result the Post Office was among the first public organizations to adopt the private roof spotter system—whereby workers stay at their jobs during an alert, and duck for cover only after a warning from their own mates, spotting for them on their actual roof. This system, soon adopted all over the country,

saved thousands of working hours, and only in the very worst attacks was there any dislocation after the initial raids.

The telephone service, controlled by Post Office engineers, suffered severely, and there was a time, when the raids were at their height, that long distance calls were hours late.

This was not due to failure to anticipate the trouble and duplicate trunk switchboards, but to the fact that early in the blitz there was a direct hit on that part of the Central Post Office which housed the main incoming and outgoing trunk lines, so that the channels available were cut down drastically.

The linesmen worked with determination, and at times with heroism. Telephone cable joints, the linking up of which was always regarded as a seventy-two-hour job in peace time owing to the thousands of intricate connections, became forty-eight hours of work—and that standard has been kept ever since.

Repairing under Difficulties

When the giant time bomb fell outside St. Paul's Cathedral early in the raids—the bomb which weighed a ton and which was dug out by a gang of army volunteers whose knowledge of bomb disposal was still in the experimental stage—a vital cable carrying 10,000 pairs of wires was smashed. Post Office engineers set to work that night, while the blitz was still on, and 20,000 connections had been made by morning.

In another case London engineers were working in a ruined building on a sunken, smashed cable. One of them discovered that a hard object

on which he kept treading was the top of a submerged unexploded bomb. But the volunteer squad stayed on, fortified by large doses of milk as a protection against poisoning from leaking gas mains.

After the great fire raid on the city at the end of the year many hundreds of London firms, stockbrokers in one district, wholesale clothiers in another, found themselves without offices.

Immediately, an emergency central telephone system was introduced, so that the worried manager at least had a place where he could use the telephone, and an operator who would take his important messages. The system worked well, twelve girls controlling fifty telephones with coin attachments. Before long it was copied in the provinces as an essential emergency utility after a big raid.

Then, some months later, the system was abandoned so far as London was concerned. It had served its purpose; rebuilding had taken its place. Its obituary notice consisted of two lines in the London dailies: "The emergency telephone bureaux which had been opened in the city to help business firms which had lost their telephone service in the air raids, have now been closed." Just that.

All the while the big raids were going on electricity experts were working on the problem of sustaining current. Large parts of Britain are served by a national current system known as the "Grid," and the problem was thus easier than it otherwise might have been. As it was, current from the far provinces was frequent-

ly used where a local station in the Home Counties had been knocked out, not necessarily by a hit on the plant but by a severance of the feed cables.

Food, of course, becomes a vital problem after a big air raid, and some of the measures improvised in the emergency have now been adapted for less strenuous purposes.

After a big raid, with gas fuel probably nearly non-existent, the business of cooking the family meal became exceedingly difficult, and a food flying squad was organized promptly by the Ministry of Food to deal with the affected areas.

Another special department was also set up to study the problems of stored food which had been damaged by water—caused by fire hoses playing on big warehouses hit by incendiaries.

"Queens Messengers" Arrive

Less than three weeks after the first announcement of the food convoys it was stated that eighteen of these "Queen's Messenger Convoys" had been established at key points throughout the country, each costing \$20,000. They consisted of eight vehicles—many of them gifts from the United States—a 350-gallon water tanker, two lorries each containing 6,000 meals, two kitchen-equipment lorries, and three mobile canteens. Insulated containers kept the hot meals hot, and the convoys moved on instructions to the badly hit districts.

After a big raid last April—the last raid but one of any consequence on London—the London County Council announced that it had 168

feeding centers at work immediately after the raid. Thousands of meals were served—including meals the food for which was brought by housewives whose gas had been cut off.

Those mobile canteens are now part and parcel of the great food system which daily brings meals to factory and demolition workers in isolated places. Improvised to meet the blitz, they have stayed on to serve a useful purpose in the life of wartime Britain.

Canteen Feeding Success Proved

The enormous canteen system now providing food for workers owed part, though not all, of its beginnings to the emergency measures taken during the first big raids.

There are now thousands of canteens—at the workshop, at the pit head, on the road, on the distant building site. Had there been no blitz it is almost certain that they would not now be functioning so smoothly.

Transport, of course, is a self-contained problem when it comes to improvisation. If a track is bombed, it stays out of use until it is mended, and no amount of mental gymnastics can put it right without the volunteer ganger squads who worked throughout the big raids. So, although there was serious dislocation of the London transport facilities at first—the District, a key London subway, was knocked out of action for days—the railroad companies themselves had to solve their problems in their own fashion.

London is served by one enormous transport system called the London

Passenger Transport Board. This concern, with the four big railroad lines serving the more distant commuters, had to bear the full weight of the attack, and it overcame most of its problems by switching its services. Where a subway line had been bombed, extra omnibuses were put on to take the passenger load. Where roads had been knocked out, so that trams and other surface transport could not run over their scheduled routes, the problem was solved by improvising alternative road accommodation and by putting on extra trains in adjacent subway systems. Similarly, when one of the main north-south subways going under the Thames was closed in its central area in order to allow some important water bulkheads to be built in the under-water section, a big shuttle service of buses was put on to connect up with the main terminals.

Such arrangements in the main worked well, and the queues, which unfortunately could not be avoided, accepted their lot cheerfully.

Bus and Train Cooperation

Coöperation between London Transport and the four main lines was always efficient. If it happened that the track leading into some important terminal had been knocked out in the night, main line trains would stop at some suburban station,

and a special bus service, organized between the "raiders past" signal and dawn, would meet the trains and bring their passengers into the terminal by road.

Emergency work of this sort, covering not only the movements of some daily millions of subway and main line travellers, but also the nightly distribution of vital foods like milk, meat, and vegetables, had no permanent value, quite naturally. The moment things returned to normal the transport facilities reverted to their time-tables.

But there was a time when the streets of London were gaudy with the omnibuses lent by Manchester, Hull, Glasgow, Birmingham, and a number of other provincial cities. London's bright red buses, so familiar to its visitors, were needed desperately, and enough transport simply could not be found to take the place of a damaged subway. So the other cities rolled out their buses, which came trundling into the capital in convoys down the Great North Road. For some weeks the Londoner learned the colors of the newcomers—that Hull was brown, Salford blue, and so on.

Then, as the emergency was overcome, they too disappeared. London returned to its normal life, grey skies, and red omnibuses. The flashy-looking intruders had served their purpose.

Oglebay—The People's Park

Wheeling citizens "have made a long step forward in defining the boundaries of the community's social responsibility for parks and recreation."

By PAUL K. MORRIS
Pennsylvania Economy League

WHEN a determined group of Wheeling, West Virginia, citizens culminated an aggressive campaign in 1935 by giving their city a new charter with a manager and proportional representation, it was not their first excursion into the business of making their government really work. For fourteen years the people of that bustling, industrial city along the Ohio River have enjoyed one of the most distinctively successful park programs found anywhere in the United States. This success can be credited largely to positive citizenry participation in developing and administering an enlightened program.

Fifteen years ago Earl W. Oglebay, a Wheeling industrialist, gave to the city his 750-acre estate which is beautifully situated among the rolling hills of the West Virginia panhandle just five miles from downtown Wheeling. In response to this generous and imaginative gift the people initiated, and have continued with increasing effectiveness, a park program designed to enjoy maximum productivity of the land's abundant natural resources.

Oglebay Park is unique in that within the structure of the formal park administration, and an integrated part of it, is Oglebay Institute. When Oglebay Park was created a committee known as the Oglebay Activities Committee was set up to work with the park commission. A few years afterward this committee in-

corporated under the name of Oglebay Institute. This organization and its activities are responsible to the commission. Since it represents a much greater cross section of the community than does the park commission and since its activities are carefully planned only rarely is objection raised to any of its program.

The Institute is a privately endowed organization whose responsibility it is to promote and operate a cultural and educational program in the fields of arts and crafts, music, drama, social recreation, camping, nature study—in all, a synchronization of the best of man's contribution to society with the rich natural resources of the park area. This private institution does not detract from the able performance of the official park administration. In fact, it is much to the credit of the public officials that they have so capably coordinated the Institute with their efforts it appears to be just one well run organization.

Wheeling's park system is administered by a commission. Years ago the first park of any size was made possible by a group of civic leaders who formed an organization for the purpose of buying land for a city park. These men stressed the point that their support should not be limited to financial contributions but personal service should also be given.

The park commission has faithfully

reflected the desires of the original civic group. It is composed of five business and civic leaders who serve without compensation. At the time Mr. Oglebay offered his estate to the community the park commission made a comprehensive study as to the type of park the people desired when the location lay beyond the boundaries of the city. The desires made known during the course of that survey established the program now followed at Oglebay.

Objectives of the Park

Any favorable observation made to an Oglebay Park official generally invokes the response, "We planned it that way." "Planned it" is correct. A mature and well balanced, long-range plan was prepared at the outset. Since then every new change or addition has fitted itself into its proper niche without any awkward waiting period. There were no futile leaf-raking projects at Oglebay during the early days of CWA and WPA. Federal aid simply speeded up the plan already prepared.

The objectives of the park administration are, of course, primarily to provide a reasonably accessible rural area where urban people may enjoy nature. Something more than passive recreation was intended; but, at the same time, judicious care was necessary to avoid the regimented characteristics of a typical supervised recreational area within a city's limits. Consequently, every activity—and there are many—stems from the rich natural resources of the park area. Even such activities as drama, music, and religious programs are attuned to the rural theme.

All the features normally expected of a park service such as picnicking, swimming, camping, golfing, archery, riding, tennis, and hiking are well provided. Over and above these are activities which really register the pulse of community life.

Types of Activities

On a typical week-end, in addition to the normal use of the park, the following have been observed:

Practice at the swimming pool for a local water show to be presented the following week;

Presentation, in the old barn which had been made over into an individualistic summer theater, of a three-act play by the local little theater group;

Campfire meeting at dusk with songs and a short talk, followed by an open forum on a subject of genuine interest to young people;

Treasure hunt with which a young married couple entertained their guests at "our park";

The weekly Saturday night park dance held in the pine-panelled room of the stone, Dutch colonial lodge;

Dinner party given by a local merchant for his employees at the park restaurant;

Bus loads of youngsters going home after a full day in the Day Camp, where they had been robustly occupied with crafts, swimming, music, athletics, good food, and an abundance of sunlight and fresh air;

The Saturday night astronomical preoccupation of an intent group with the park's telescope;

Committee meeting planning the production of one of the summer's two light operas;

The Sunday morning nature trail with 150 to 200 people attending;

The nature leaders' training school with credit granted by the state university to teachers;

Exhibit in the museum conducted by the local camera club;

A Sunday afternoon performance by the little symphony in the amphitheater, cleverly and beautifully built into the contours of a wooded hillside;

Sunday vesper services in the same amphitheater, one of nine during the summer months led by nationally known ministers brought in from other cities, with twelve hundred attending that evening.

Far-Reaching Effects

Two outstanding characteristics of the park—a variety of offerings and astute administration—have guaranteed a program which reaches a very substantial portion of the community, stimulates its enthusiasm, and guarantees a maximum of community pride.

Eloquent testimony to the adequacy of the park program is the complete absence of honky-tonks and their concomitant entertainments adjacent to the park boundaries.

Effective citizenry participation does not reach its optimum simply by realizing a satisfactory performance and enjoyment of a park or any other governmental service. Oglebay's community imprint is far-reaching and deep-rooted. Two citations will suffice to demonstrate this.

Like hundreds of other golf courses, the golf program at Oglebay had caddy trouble. Boys were hitchhiking the five miles out from the city in

the morning and back at night. They were eating irregular and unbalanced meals at the stand. Long waiting periods between rounds provided idle time for crap shooting, enervating loafing, destructive mental conceptions, and a general unwholesome atmosphere.

Both golfers and non-golfers interested in their park—and through it their community—conceived the Caddy Camp plan. As a result, an average of 45 city boys, mostly from poor families, spend the summer at a camp in the park. They all participate in a program of crafts, swimming, camp fires, athletics, vocational guidance, and positive instruction in the business of caddying. Nutritious meals are served. The boys are given uniforms and are used for weeding the greens and in general care of the course. Definite duties about the camp are assigned. The money they earn caddying is turned over to the caddy master and banked. If a boy wishes to withdraw any of his earnings he does so in a systematic banking fashion. The boys' room and lodging are paid out of their caddy earnings. At the end of the summer the money saved by each boy is his to take home.

Everyone gains from this procedure. It is both a health and a character program. The boys' attitude toward the park becomes positive rather than negative. Both golfers and boys cultivate a broad community spirit which will not fail to pay dividends.

A second example of community spirit engendered by the park program also concerns young people. Six boys and three girls, later to be-

come founders of the 63 Club, talking together one night, began to wonder how they could do something for their park. They recalled that the Lodge where the weekly series of two or three park dances are held, had no heating plant other than a large open fireplace, thus necessitating the foregoing of the popular dances during three or four winter months. The result, in brief, was that these nine young people, on their own initiative, promoted a program of dances and, with the profits, presented the park with a heating plant for the Pine Room.

The encouraging part of this is the fact that these young citizens are early assuming community responsibility. Something more than a mere 750 acres of land was necessary to stimulate this outlook.

Financing the Park

This ambitious program might well be so costly that it would be beyond the reasonable ability of the taxpayers to finance, were it not for three major factors: (1) a frugal and efficient administration, (2) free services given by citizens, and (3) reasonable charges to make special services self-supporting.

The exercise of early and wise planning has borne fruit not only in the capital development of the park but in operation as well. Under the supervision of a trained and professional park superintendent, the operation and maintenance of the physical plant are conducted efficiently and economically. The personnel, appointed on merit, is care-

fully assigned so that needless and duplicating work is avoided. Employees are classified according to the nature of their duties with equal pay for equal work. The physical improvements are of a simple, sturdy, and attractive design which makes for economical operation. Expenditures for services not strictly within the scope of the park program are punctiliously avoided. Consequently, the taxpayers enjoy the happy state of every dollar invested returning no less than a dollar's worth of services.

In addition to the benefits resulting from citizen participation already cited, the monetary value of such services is of unestimated worth. Moreover, over and above Oglebay's annual operating budget of approximately \$65,000, there is expended another \$30,000-\$35,000 by the Oglebay Institute for the promotion and carrying on of park activities.

The revenue side of the financial picture also attests to Oglebay's stern conformance to "the greatest good for the greatest number." The social responsibility for providing fundamental park and recreational facilities is recognized by the city administration. No one group, however, is given special service at the expense of all the taxpayers. Those services which reach only a few are self-supporting. Receipts paid into the park fund for swimming, golfing, tennis, horseback riding, use of cabins and lodges for camping and parties, more than equal operating costs. In some cases, particularly the swimming pool, revenues are amortizing the original construction costs as well. Picnic groves

are free to all but if the extra service of firewood and a reservation is desired a small fee covers the extra cost. All in all, of the \$65,000 total operating expenditures, \$35,000 is covered by revenues received from charges made.

Contribution to Good Government

Oglebay is not Wheeling's only park. An orthodox city park system is creditably conducted within the city limits and a plan for the establishment of small neighborhood recreational areas is being developed. It is at Oglebay, however, that the people of Wheeling are making a

singular contribution to democratic local government.

Their high caliber of business administration is a positive boost to the rapidly maturing profession of public administration. They have made a long step forward in defining the boundaries of the community's social responsibility for parks and recreation.

Underlying these praiseworthy contributions is a comprehensive one which is more essential now than ever before. The people of Wheeling play at Oglebay, generously give their personal services, and, above all, think of it only in terms of "our" park.

LEADERSHIP IN DEMOCRACY

(Continued from Page 195)

ganizer or the director of adult activities. They can say quite definitely that a curriculum for leadership must be such as to acquaint potential leaders with the financial problems of enterprises depending upon voluntary support, with the problems of program-building, of arousing and holding attention, of coöperative effort on boards and committees, of matching for mutual clarification conflicting points of view, and finally, with the total structure of the average modern community.

These adult educators are a resource we should use to the fullest advantage. Every community already

has them in the library, recreation association, evening school, church, agricultural extension office, Y.M.C.A., etc. Never yet have our American communities made the most of these leaders in their midst. Now is the time to do so. Now is the time to call upon the leaders we already have to lend us their insight and experience in order that we may train more and more leaders.

Here is a morale job for community councils, colleges, churches, women's clubs, teachers' institutes, business and professional groups. Our American morale will be just as high as the democratic participation of our people. For the widening and deepening of that participation trained leaders are essential.

Kansas City's Municipal Show

"Many a citizen for the first time saw his city government whole and discovered he had a public trust to vote conscientiously and to follow municipal affairs with close scrutiny."

By JOE L. GAMBRELL and HAROLD A. LEVIN

DURING three afternoons and five evenings, between December 12 and 16, forty thousand people flocked through the doors of Kansas City's beautiful Municipal Auditorium to witness a "Know Your City Show" where each municipal department vividly contributed to a complete story of how the citizen's tax money is spent. And Messrs. Taxpayer—though sometimes cynical, sometimes apathetic—were coming in large numbers, almost always leaving the hall less cynical, less apathetic than they had entered it, and often enthusiastic. Those Missourians who came with a "show me" attitude seemed to be "shown."

Exhibition Hall's main floor of about 61,000 square feet of space was almost entirely occupied by 155 exhibit booths. City employees, chosen by a merit system which is at last much more than a "paper" setup, were present to exhibit their work. The American Legion Band, WPA orchestra, high school bands, other professional and amateur talent—much of the latter recruited from among versatile city employees—periodically mounted a platform to aid in maintaining the interest of the roving attendance. And that interest seemed remarkably well maintained.

The show was a greater success than even the persons in charge of it dared hope in view of America's actual entry into the war but a few days before. Careful publicity, effective despite the competition of the war news, though less effective than it would have been had the declarations of war not come when they did, explained the attendance.

Line and staff departments, the City Council, the Municipal Court, lay commissions—all had their exhibits. Even extra-governmental defense organizations—the newly created Council of Civilian Defense and the Kansas City Women Volunteers—were represented.

Perhaps the most spectacular of the exhibits were those of the line departments, those which have direct contact with the public and immediate responsibility for provision of public services.

The Park Department illustrated all the realities of a park scene, showed what goes on in its repair shop and its nursery.

The Public Works Department depicted the work of its nine divisions—building maintenance, traffic engineering, street cleaning, street repair, engineering, inspection, municipal airport, garbage inspection, and City Hall maintenance. As an illustration of how interest in functions which might otherwise have been uninteresting was stimulated, the garbage inspection division's popular raffle of the three best type garbage cans may be cited.

The Water Department's exhibit featured moving pictures: one dramatized the necessity for treatment of water, the second showed Kansas City's water system in action, a third portrayed the progress in construction of Kansas City's soon-to-be completed water softening plant. To explain the whole process of purification and filtration the Department exhibited a working miniature of its purification plant, and a running lecture unveiled the plant's mechanical and chemical mysteries.

Although the Police Department which has jurisdiction over Kansas City is controlled by a board appointed by the governor, it was nevertheless made an important exhibitor since it is operated with Kansas City revenues and performs an essential governmental service for the city. Its exhibit was high-lighted by three movies which propagandized for traffic caution, by examples of apparatus used in scientific criminology, by strikingly illustrated lectures on how fires are started by incendiary bombs, by exhibits of fire-arms, gas equipment, and the fingerprinting process.

Fire Exhibits

The Fire Department turned out fully equipped, contrasted a modern fire truck and pumper with a steam engine bought by the city in 1908, displayed trophies and statistical charts on fire prevention activities and results.

The Welfare Department's four divisions—social service, legal aid, markets, and recreation—exhibited articles, pictures, and statistics to explain activities, results, progress. The recreation division held a square dance to the whine of fiddles and the caller's monotone.

The Health Department spared no one's tender sensibilities, its exhibits including illuminated photographs of cancers and chancres, movies on the cause and cure of illness. Other Health Department exhibits ranged from card file information and advice on common ailments to an ambulance and an iron lung.

A greatly magnified arrest notification failed to keep people from the exhibits of the Municipal Court and the Traffic Violation Bureau. The public was invited to test its knowledge of traffic regulations by taking a short objective-answer test which employees of the Traffic Violation Bureau graded while the examinee waited.

The Manager's Booth

The staff functions of administration were portrayed extremely interestingly. A chart in the Manager's booth listed, under the heading "Tools of Management," Luther Gulick's seven words the first letters of which form the imaginary word POSDCORB: planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting.¹ Another large chart concisely listed the principal duties of the Manager—to plan and supervise the administrative affairs of the city, appoint and remove department heads, prepare and submit the annual budget to the City Council, report to the Council on activities and finances, and enforce municipal ordinances unless some other means of enforcement is provided by law.

A big sign stated that "The personnel program provides a merit system for the employment of the best qualified citizens to serve the city." Underneath this the citizen read that the Manager appoints the Director of Personnel, approves the rules for personnel examinations and procedures, approves the job classification plan, and reviews employee dismissals.

To show the Manager's place in the budgeting process the whole budget procedure was briefly and pointedly described in a flow-of-work chart, illustrating that the procedure begins with departmental estimates of budgetary needs, that these estimates are reviewed by the City Manager, who reports his suggested budget to the Council for its consideration and final action.

The City Manager—brought to Kansas City by a reform administration to straighten out a tangled city government—was himself on hand to greet

¹See "Notes on the Theory of Organization," by Luther Gulick. *Papers on the Science of Administration*, edited by Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, New York, 1937, page 13.

the public and discuss their problems with them.

The Personnel Department popularized its exhibit by inviting the spectator to take a "Know Your City Examination"—twenty-five true-false questions of a general nature concerning Kansas City's government. Approximately three hundred persons took the examination. City employees averaged approximately 84 per cent, lay citizens 60 per cent, on papers scored before the examinee on the Department's electrical scoring machine. Seven persons—among them the Mayor and City Manager—made a perfect score. The examination attracted the interest of many more persons than were willing to take the test.

The Finance Department operated bookkeeping machines and explained their intricacies, discussed financial books, records, and procedures, presented charts and tables. An addressograph machine operator made out name plates upon request. Each division of the Department—accounts, treasury, licenses (although under state control), purchasing, and food stamp—had its booth.

The City Plan Commission showed the best circumstances under which streets can be widened and lengthened, illustrated the ideal location of stores relative to residences, produced maps on the flow of traffic, a topographic map of the city, a map revealing the area in which the housing problem is acute, and another of proposed housing projects.

The Election Commissioners registered persons who had just become twenty-one, and pictorially compared present permanent registration procedure with the cumbersome processes of previous years.

To keep politics out of the show as much as possible, the City Council exhibit was tactfully simple and unspectacular, containing the photographs and

names of the Mayor and Council, summaries of typical ordinances, air-view sketches of Kansas City. The City Clerk presented copies of old ordinances and original records of all kinds—council proceedings, charts and the first official records, dated 1839 to 1864, of Kansas City's ancestor, the town of Kansas.

Costs Low

The cost of the "Know Your City Show" was negligible in view of the exposition's value. The City Council appropriated \$500 which was used mainly for promotional purposes. The cost of each department's exhibit was charged against its regular budget. The greatest portion of the total cost of the show was represented by the time and effort of employees who arranged and attended the exhibits. All entertainment was furnished free of charge. The WPA contributed many services.

That the taxpayer got more than his money's worth is not to be doubted. The show was an investment in a vital kind of public education. Many a citizen for the first time saw his city government whole, and in many cases must have been for the first time discovering that he had a public trust to vote conscientiously and to follow municipal affairs with close scrutiny and constant thought of his community's general welfare.

That Kansas City's administration can be proud enough of its caliber to risk close public scrutiny is a fact deserving of note when the administration of but two years ago is remembered. Moreover, that the administration is seeking to educate the public is of healthy portent for the future of Kansas City government. When conscientious public interest based on knowledge has replaced pure politics there will need to be little apprehension about the future of good municipal government—in Kansas City or anywhere.

On the Local Front

*Nutrition plays major part in nation's war efforts;
schools of the nation open their doors to service
men and defense workers for recreation activities.*

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

IN ORDER to make America "nutrition-conscious," an official food guide explaining what foods to eat for health and victory is being distributed by the Federal Security Agency. The official food guide, together with a symbolized slogan "U.S. NEEDS US STRONG—EAT NUTRITIONAL FOOD," is part of the wartime national nutrition program of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

Red, white, and blue posters, carrying the slogan and the food guide, have been produced for widespread use.

The nutrition campaign has the co-operation of the food industry, state and local nutrition committees, federal agencies, and related groups.

This effort to get full health returns from the nation's food resources is essential to victory. From the very beginning of the national defense program nutrition was recognized as one of its essential sectors. State nutrition committees, fifty-one of them now including those in the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, are allied with State Defense Councils and are an integral part of the defense set-up.

A majority of the states also have local set-ups carrying out county nutrition programs. The variety of their activities parallels the range of regional and sectional characteristics from coast to coast.

Three points about the national nutrition program need to be emphasized:

First it translates the scientific find-

ings of modern nutrition research into simple easy-to-follow guidance which everyone can and should apply.

Second it makes its front line attack in the local communities where people live—where they buy and eat three meals a day.

Third, it utilizes all available channels of public information to combat the ignorance which is a large and unnecessary cause of malnutrition.

The symbolized slogan, together with the official food guide, will be given wide distribution not only directly through government channels but also through reproduction by industries interested in making this contribution to the nation's wartime program.

Industries as well as individuals have been asking, "What can we do to help?" Because of the many such inquiries received the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services has set up a policy which will enable interested industries to help in making the nutrition story known. These nutrition posters may be reproduced by obtaining permission from this office. This kind of coöperation should help to spread the facts about nutrition throughout the country.

Nutrition came to the fore as a national problem when the National Nutrition Advisory Committee was appointed at the start of the national defense program. In addition to the twenty-odd federal agencies represented on this Committee, the National Re-

search Council, through its Committee on Food and Nutrition and its Food Habits Committee, participates in shaping the program.

Nutrition Conference

Nutritional needs were high-lighted at the National Nutrition Conference held last May; it was brought out that only about a fourth of the American people are really well fed, and that approximately a third of all men rejected by selective service for reasons of physical disability had defects related to malnutrition.

The nationwide nutrition information program is the outgrowth of the Conference recommendation that "technical material be translated in terms of everyday food and appetizing meals so that the new knowledge of nutrition can be applied simply and practically in every home and in accordance with the food preference of the family.

The national nutrition "food guide" follows:

Milk and Milk Products....at least a pint for everyone—more for children—or cheese or evaporated or dried milk

Oranges, Tomatoes, Grapefruit.... or raw cabbage or salad greens—at least one of these

Green or Yellow Vegetables.... one big helping or more—some raw, some cooked

Other Vegetables, Fruit....potatoes, other vegetables or fruits in season

Bread and Cereal....whole grain products or enriched white bread and flour

Meat, Poultry, or Fish....dried beans, peas, or nuts occasionally

Eggs....at least three or four a week, cooked any way you choose—or in "made" dishes

Butter and Other Spreads....vitamin-rich fats, peanut butter, and similar spreads

Then Eat Other Foods You Also Like.

Schools in a Wartime Recreation Program

In industrial communities the major recreational problem is to encourage the increasing numbers of newcomers to participate in the normal life of the community. In meeting this problem the use of the school, which is a natural focal point of community interest, is invaluable. What can be done by schools has been amply illustrated in a number of "defense" areas. What is being done under the pressure of the emergency could well have been done earlier and more extensively.

A few examples of the ways schools are used in the defense program may serve to point the way to more effective community use of school facilities by thousands of towns and villages which are not in the so-called "defense" areas.

In Hartford, Connecticut, the division of recreation of the Park Department is using school buildings to house their program, which includes ten evening community center activities and fourteen gymnasium programs conducted four nights each week.

The Sidney, New York, Defense Recreation Committee and the volunteer workers at the industrial plant have developed a basketball league in which eight teams participate using the high school gym, rent free, for activities.

The Defense Recreation Committee at Schenectady, New York, has taken over the unused Mount Pleasant School as a full-time recreation center for adults and children.

In Wichita, Kansas, the Park Department with the aid of the WPA recreational staff is now operating eight community centers in school buildings on a four-night-a-week basis. Craft projects using the school facilities are filled up as fast as they are organized by the recreation directors at industrial plants. There is a tentative proposal from the school system to release thirty rooms

in school buildings located in different parts of the city for the use of defense workers.

In Fairfield, Ohio, a large get-acquainted party was held in the auditorium-gymnasium of the high school. Of the seven hundred people attending, 60 per cent were enlisted men, defense workers, and their families. The Junior Defense Committee, including a large number of high school seniors, assisted in the meeting.

One of the largest industrial centers in the country is at Ogden, Utah. There the County Superintendent of Schools has made all the schools in the county available for community recreation use. The leadership in these programs is furnished by the schools.

In Warren Township, Michigan, eight summer playgrounds were established for children by the Defense Recreation Committee. During the first month of the operation of the project 29,793 used the playgrounds. This figure gives only a crude indication of the need in the township. The programs were entirely new in all but two of the eight playgrounds.

Through the efforts of the Defense Recreation Committee in Richmond, California, a shipbuilding center, a new children's playground area was established in Nicholl Park. Circulars were sent to all new families in Richmond, pointing out the play areas in their community. In this project the Richmond Defense Recreation Committee has the coöperation both of the City Superintendent of Recreation and of the Superintendent of Schools.

Use of Schools by Service Men

The problem of the communities adjacent to military camps involves the provision of a recreation program for a purely transient group who may be there for an indefinite period, although constantly changing in actual personnel. In this situation the use of existing

facilities to their fullest capacity is essential.

Take for example the communities surrounding a large military center like Camp Edwards on Cape Cod. Communities in this neighborhood have offered and are making use of their school facilities for service men. For the most part facilities which are now in use in these towns are combined gyms and auditoriums. In each instance arrangements for the use of these facilities have been made through local Defense Recreation Committees and the Federal Security Agency's field recreation representative. In some cases no charge is made for the use of the facilities. In other instances a maximum fee of two dollars per evening is charged for janitorial service.

Not only have the school facilities been used for physical activities but social programs and dances have also been held in them. The local Defense Recreation Committees hold many of their parties and social affairs in these school buildings. Public opinion generally supports the action of the school boards in making these facilities available for the use of service men.

This type of program exists in areas near military centers all across the continent. In addition to the use of school facilities, the schools admit the soldiers to their athletic events either free of charge or at reduced rates. For example, in Vancouver, Washington, soldiers in uniform are admitted to all night softball games without charge.

Hoffman, North Carolina, is hardly more than a crossroads, yet this Negro community, with WPA leadership, operates an active community center program at the school. The principal of the high school is chairman of the Negro Defense Recreation Council. He and his staff of teachers spend four nights a week playing table games with

(Continued on Page 240)

The Researcher's Digest: April

Comparing governmental achievements among cities, handbook for economy, war and research, Alabama's balancing budget, New Orleans voting machines and art, Indians in North Dakota.

ALL the sound and fury of discussion about municipal government invariably breaks against a single rock which automatically cuts the force of an argument on any side of whatever question happens to be raging. That rock is the as yet undiscovered method of comparing accurately governmental performance in any one city with governmental performance in another. If you can't compare, how can you judge "goodness" or "badness"?

Now Morris Lambie has made another step in the direction of removing that boulder from the path of governmental research. *Experiments in Municipal Analysis*, published in December by the **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration**, essays, with a precautionary grain of salt, to study the 351 towns and cities in the commonwealth of Massachusetts with two aims in view: First, to discover the state-wide trends in a number of different governmental fields; second, to draw profiles of the governmental experience of each of the municipalities as, at best, a suggestion of how each stands with reference to the rest of the cities and towns.

Hundreds of tables, charts, and maps have been plotted on population, assessed valuation, local tax rate, uncollected taxes, local direct tax levy, local welfare and relief experience, local school costs and demands, debt, total charges against revenue, and excess of deficiency of local revenue against charges or expenditures.

The method of comparison was, in each case, rank order, and Professor Lambie admits the crudeness of the

technique. But taken cumulatively, he says, "profiles are good testing devices—of litmus quality. Certainly they provide clues for type characteristics; they record experience; they indicate relative status, show shifts, and give hints as to whether a municipality is in or out of line with trends. Most significant, they excite curiosity, and this is a valuable purpose in itself."

Professor Lambie's preface is something of a curiosity in itself, for it begins with an abject apology. This project, it is related, was begun in 1937; now that the results are ready, the war has intervened, making the work at first blush seem irrelevant and unimportant. (Then, of course, the author points out that, war or no war, there are lasting values to be derived from this type of research.) We have come on a sad day indeed when honest governmental research based on the long view needs to be apologized for! It is to be hoped that the war will never deflect researchers, nor anyone else, from the realization that a war is being fought precisely for the privilege of continuing with unwarlike democratic research.

Savings

No less than 177 separate proposals for saving the taxpayers' money in New York State are presented in an *Economy Manual for Legislation on State and Local Government* which the **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.** has recently brought forth. The war is the reason for presenting methods of contracting public expenditure which had already been many times suggested by the bureau before the time of Pearl Harbor. Brave indeed are many of

the neatly numbered, crisply annotated money-saving suggestions, for many of them embody notions around which bloody verbal wars have waged for years—i.e., "Require self-sustaining fare on municipally-owned transit."

Credo

An optimistic inspirational credo for governmental research in wartime by Dr. William H. Allen, Director of the **New York Institute for Public Service**, has been mailed to members of the **Governmental Research Association**. Titled *How War and Governmental Research Do—Will—Can Affect One Another*, Dr. Allen's thesis is that ingenuity, ability, and the will to do can get bureaus over the hump caused by the decline of the moneyed contributor to citizen research. He also sees in the war new opportunities for putting across economy programs and new opportunities for clear research-minded thinking on government topics.

Half a Budget

An examination and critique of ten years' operation of Alabama's mandatorily balanced budget is the purpose of *Alabama's Balancing Budget*, by Paul E. Alyea, published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama**. The author's conclusions are based upon a detailed consideration of Alabama's financial condition in 1931-32, before the so-called "Fletcher Act" called the state to fiscal terms, and on a study of the act's effects upon budgetary procedures. He says: "... economy implies the making of correct decisions not only on the amount but also on the timing of expenditures. A budget which limits the amount available for spending in terms of the amount of current receipts is not a satisfactory budget. Reliance on such a budget simply reflects an unwillingness to face the many complicated prob-

lems inherent in a modern, complex interdependent, and dynamic economy. All that is here suggested is that Alabama has developed but one-half of a budget policy. In addition to prohibiting or controlling current indebtedness, there should be a program of controlling the growth of state activities."

Voting Machines

"Clever" is the word for the illustrations with which the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research** has adorned its slyly titled "What Every Voter Should Know About Voting Machines" (*City Problems*, No. 78). The front page drawing has two faces: the first shows a group of tidy citizens getting their tidy, rapid vote count from a voting machine at the end of the day; the second is an extravagant depiction of rowdy, exhausted politicians sitting around a ballot-littered, smoke-clouded table in the wee hours of post-election morning. Within the bulletin are further proofs that researchers are not necessarily devoid of a sense of humor. There is a picture of legs showing below a curtain labeled "No Peeking"—the caption is "The Secret Ballot". There are several other drawings as well that neatly extract the crux of the voting machine argument. See them for yourself. This bulletin is, in effect, a treatise on research reporting, as well as a lively, to-the-point discussion of voting machines.

Indians

The government of the Indians may be a constitutionally bestowed federal problem, but the states and localities have to live with the Indians, and vice-versa. Harry R. Stephens, of the **Governmental Research Bureau of the University of South Dakota**, has made a scholarly study of this question in *The Government of the Indians of South*

Dakota (Report No. 8). He outlines the history of Indian government in the state, traces the decline and rise of good relations with the whites, and holds out much hope for future strides in Indian self-government.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Budgets

Alabama's Balancing Budget. By Paul E. Alyea. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, 1942. ix, 141 pp.

Comparative Government

Experiments in Methods of Municipal Analysis. By Morris B. Lambie. Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, Cambridge, Mass., December 1941. 306 pp. processed.

Economy

Economy Manual for Legislation on State and Local Government. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., Albany, N. Y., 1942. 63 pp.

Governmental Research

How War and Governmental Research—Do—Will—Can Affect One Another. By William H. Allen. Govern-

mental Research Association, Detroit, January 1942. 3 pp. processed.

Indians

The Government of the Indians of South Dakota. By Harry R. Stephens. Governmental Research Bureau, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, January 10, 1942. 58 pp. mimeo.

Sewage Disposal

Financing Sewage Disposal Plants with Special Reference to Sewer Service Charges. *Bulletin*, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, coöperating with the League of Oregon Cities, Eugene, February 1942. 14 pp. mimeo.

Urbanism

Urban Blight. By Fred H. Allen, Russell Van Nest Black, and Mabel L. Walker. Governmental Research Association, Detroit, February 1942. 16 pp. processed.

Voting Machines

New Orleans Votes by Machines. *City Problems*, Bureau of Governmental Research, New Orleans, January 22, 1942. 4 pp. processed.

What Every Voter Should Know About Voting Machines. *City Problems*, Bureau of Governmental Research, New Orleans, January 24, 1942. 5 pp. processed.

May 17 is Citizenship Day

In accordance with President Roosevelt's proclamation of a year ago, making the third Sunday in May of each year "I Am an American Day," numerous cities are laying plans for a citizenship celebration on May 17. Special recognition will be given two important groups: those citizens born in this country who have recently reached their twenty-first birthday and those who have recently become citizens through naturalization. Last year hundreds of communities observed the day with appropriate programs; despite preoccupation with the war many 1942 celebrations are planned.

Contributors in Review

FAR from purely honorary is the "Colonel" which is tacked on to the name of

Los Angeles County's first and only chief administrative officer, **Wayne Allen** (*Los Angeles County Streamlined*). A graduate of the Army's infantry and general staff schools, Colonel Allen was one of California's best known National Guard officers. He served overseas with the A. E. F. during the last war, organized the Guard's first post-war infantry unit, and became colonel in 1929. In private life he was a member of the East Bay (San Francisco area) Rapid Transit Company's Board of Directors. In 1937 Colonel Allen became purchasing agent for Los Angeles County, and in December 1938 he assumed his present job upon its creation by the county's legislative body.

AFTER the flat where he was living got thirteen hits during London's blitzes, **Connelly Chappell** (*British Utilities Weather the Blitz*) finally took the hint and moved to a safer area. Mr. Chappell is a well known Fleet Street newspaperman. He is news editor of the *London Sunday Dispatch* and was formerly a noted film critic and scenario writer for Warner Brothers at Teddington. Author of *The Swinging Apple* and *Express to Hollywood*, Mr. Chappell also once toured the United States.

FROM September 1940 to March 1942 **Joe L. Gambrell** and **Harold A. Levin** (*Kansas City's Municipal Show*) were Alfred P. Sloan Foundation Fellows in Government Management at the University of Denver. The university promptly sent them to study the municipal government of Kansas City, Missouri, where they spent three and a half months. Both Mr. Gambrell and Mr. Levin were present when the "Know Your City Show" was held. Mr. Gambrell is an Alabaman and is now with a firm of governmental accountants. His co-author hails from Long Island and is a member of the staff of the Personnel Office of the Federal Office for Emergency Management.

ADMINISTRATION of local government in the Pittsburgh metropolitan area has been the concern of **Paul K. Morris** (*Oglebay—The People's Park*) ever since he allied himself, in 1936, with the research staff of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League. Before that he taught in a high school. Mr. Morris majored in local government in college and received the M.A. in political science from the University of Michigan in 1932.

HOW to live is what **Harry A. Overstreet** (*Leadership in a Democracy*) taught his students at the College of the City of New York and it is what he has taught the general public in numerous books with such famous titles as *Influencing Human Behavior*, *About Ourselves*, *A Guide to Civilized Leisure*—and many others. Now professor emeritus at New York's City College, Dr. Overstreet was Professor of Philosophy and head of the department there for twenty-eight years. He originated in San Francisco, was educated at the University of California, and first taught at that institution. He is now lecturing at the New School for Social Research and New York's Town Hall.

News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Vermont Towns Adopt Manager Plan *Massachusetts Cities Discuss Plan E; Newark Files Manager Petition*

TWO Vermont towns, **Bennington** and **Brattleboro**, adopted the manager plan at their annual town meetings on March 3. Four others, **Barre**, **Hartford**, **Northfield**, and **Manchester**, voted to continue their existing manager plans. The town of **Chester** turned a manager proposal down by a narrow margin.

Bennington town approved the plan by a vote of 861 to 653, and the trustees of Bennington village and of North Bennington were petitioned to call a vote on amalgamating the villages with the town and joining with the town in hiring a manager.

In Brattleboro, although the total vote was light partly because of bad weather, the manager plan carried overwhelmingly, 583 to 127. The plan had been in effect for a few years more than a decade ago. The Board of Selectmen announced that a manager would be appointed as soon as additional applications for the post had been received and considered. The board determines the salary of the manager who, under Vermont law, has the duties of road commissioner, has charge of the police and fire departments, and is empowered to perform the functions of overseer of the poor. If requested by the school directors he becomes purchasing agent for the school district and may also supervise school buildings and repairs.

In **Springfield, Massachusetts**, Chairman James S. Bulkley of the local Plan

E committee, stated on March 6 that Plan E (council-manager with proportional representation) will go on the ballot in the fall election, enough signatures having been obtained on petitions.

In **Lowell, Massachusetts**, a trend to Plan E has been noted, particularly since the indictment of the mayor and the purchasing agent by the grand jury on March 6.

The Citizens' Union of **Newark, New Jersey**, on March 25, filed petitions bearing 15,230 names requesting an election on the manager plan. The corporation counsel has announced there will be as little delay as possible in checking the validity of the signatures. Under the referendum law the election would be fixed for April 21.

The present requirement of 15 per cent of the voters as signers of a referendum petition would be changed to 35 per cent by legislation proposed in the New Jersey assembly as a "war time economy measure." This bill fits the ideas of opponents of the Newark council-manager referendum. Another bill, supported by manager advocates, would make the manager subject to removal at any time by a majority of council and clarify provisions regarding a hearing on such removal.

The manager plan was advocated for **Berkley, Michigan**, by Mayor Andrew Cadger of Clawson, Michigan, at a meeting of the Citizens Protective League of Berkley on February 12.

In **Santa Paula, California**, the Chamber of Commerce is showing interest in the manager plan.

Planning Project Crosses State and Local Boundaries

Three communities lying in two states and three counties, although within twenty-five miles of one another, are benefiting from the Tri-Cities Planning

Project started last year by the Land Planning Division of the Federal Housing Administration. The cities embraced are Kingsport and Johnson City, Tennessee, as well as Bristol, which comprises two adjacent cities, one in Tennessee and one in Virginia.

Such handicaps as city, county, and state boundary lines have been overcome through the close coöperation of the city, county, and state authorities and the federal agencies—especially the Tennessee State Planning Commission and the Tennessee Valley Authority—according to Earle S. Draper, assistant commissioner of FHA. He states that the project was initiated to help point the way for small cities to obtain the general benefits and protective aspects of long-range guide plans for sound community development.

"Since December 7," Mr. Draper says, "the technical staff's work in the Tri-Cities area has taken a strong turn toward the war program. Maps and research data on physical conditions and needs of the cities; inquiries into welfare and health services provided locally from the outside; and recently completed analyses of business, industrial, and agricultural activity trends have been applied to current problems precipitated or intensified by the impact of war. Meanwhile, using as a basis these same maps and studies, preparation of guide plans to direct present and future changes in the area is proceeding."

New York Mayor Subject to Council Subpoena

In a precedent-setting decision the New York State Court of Appeals on March 19 ruled that the New York City Council has the right to subpoena papers held by Mayor La Guardia, and that the traditional separation of powers between the executive and legislative

branches is not implicit in municipal government.

The question arose from the effort of a council committee investigating Paul J. Kern, then chairman of the Municipal Civil Service Commission, to obtain a report made to the Mayor by one of his assistants regarding certain city employees. The court said: "We have treated the committee's power of inquiry, with process to enforce it, as an essential auxiliary to its legislative function. We cannot say, as does the Mayor, that implicit in those provisions of the charter which prescribe the functions of the Mayor and of the Council is an 'intention to keep the two in a state of isolated independence.'"

Chief Judge Irving Lehman and one other member of the court dissented, saying that the men who drafted the charter were working along the traditional pattern of American government and their product should be so construed; and that unless a limitation on the Council is implied, the mayor's own commissioner of investigation (without express limitation) could subpoena the Council while the Council was subpoenaing the Mayor.

On March 23 Senator Desmond, chairman of the cities committee of the State Senate, introduced a bill providing specifically that municipal governments shall be divided into three distinct branches—legislative, executive, and judicial.

Virginia Adopts Reorganization and Personnel Measures

The Virginia legislature, which adjourned on March 14, enacted many laws affecting the state government and its finances, working in close coöperation with Governor Darden.

The State Highway Commission was increased from five to nine members, effective in July, with one member from each construction district and a chair-

man from the state as a whole. The Division of Motor Vehicles was abolished as such, licensing and police activities being placed under separate heads appointed by the governor. The three-member Unemployment Compensation Commission was also abolished, a single administrator being substituted.

The Game Commission was enlarged from seven to nine members, with a salaried executive director. The terms of members of the Conservation and Fisheries Commissions are to terminate in July, the chairman and two members of each body then to be appointed by the governor for terms coincident with his own.

Penal reform legislation will establish state-wide probation and parole, place direction of penal matters generally in the hands of a new Department of Corrections, and abolish the fee system of compensating sheriffs and city sergeants, placing them on salaries regulated by the State Compensation Board.

A state personnel administration and merit rating system was adopted, applying to promotions within the state service and to employment of new personnel.

Another act will permit the retirement of both state employees and teachers under an actuarially sound plan, at the age of sixty-five, with compulsory retirement at seventy, under a system of joint contributions by members of the system and the state. Maximum pensions will be \$1,000 a year.

State Policies on Federalized Employment Service

A survey by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada of the policies and practices of various states concerning state employment service personnel, which was transferred to federal service by executive order

around the beginning of this year, shows a wide variety of attitudes. For example, according to the Assembly:

In California the employees who were transferred were laid off effective December 31, 1941, and their names were therefore placed on departmental and general re-employment lists. The affected employees may either request a refund of their retirement accumulation or leave it in the retirement fund, where it draws interest. The state has paid transferred employees for accumulated vacation time.

In Minnesota the transferred employees have been granted a leave of absence for one year. Membership in the state employees' retirement association, which is mandatory after six months of state employment, is maintained during an accrued leave of absence without pay.

The opinion of the Ohio Attorney General is that the Ohio state employment service ceased to exist when it was transferred to the federal government. However, the former incumbents of the positions are entitled to all the rights afforded by law to civil service employees who have been separated from the classified service without delinquency or misconduct on their part; such employees are placed on appropriate eligible lists, and for a period not to exceed one year are to be certified to an appointing officer as in the case of original appointments.

In Maryland the transferred employees are considered as having resigned to accept federal employment, and thus to have lost the benefit of regulations governing re-employment and credit for prior service. They lose membership in the state retirement system, but have the privilege of renewing their membership, provided they return to the state service within two years and meanwhile leave their previous contributions in the state retirement fund.

The Wisconsin Bureau of Personnel gave each transferee a "military leave", which will preserve for the duration of the war his state civil service status so far as seniority, sick leave, and vacation are concerned.

In Michigan all transfers were placed on a "suspended" re-employment register as of January 1, 1942. This register will not be used for appointments, but will preserve the status of employees who may wish to return to state employment.

States Enlarge Retirement Systems

An increased number of state and local government employees come under retirement plans adopted recently by state legislatures, information from the Municipal Finance Officers Association discloses.

With enactment of a law by the 1942 Maine legislature, eight states now provide for coverage of local as well as state employees by their state retirement systems—the other seven being New York, New Jersey, Ohio, California, North Carolina, Illinois, and Minnesota. The Maine law enables counties, cities, and towns to place some or all of their employees under the state system. Credit for prior service will be given local employees if the local district will pay an accrued liability contribution into the fund.

Three states—Vermont, Tennessee, and New Mexico—last year enacted statutes regarding retirement systems for state employees only, systems found now in approximately half the states. Vermont authorized a state emergency board to adopt a retirement system with compulsory coverage. Employee contributions are limited to two per cent of salary, the state contributing at least equal amounts. Tennessee's legislature authorized creation of a retirement system to be put into effect

by executive order, providing for establishment of a trust fund and salary deductions not to exceed a rate of one-half of one per cent. The New Mexico system does not require employee contributions.

The North Carolina retirement system for teachers and state employees went into effect January 1. Other state retirement systems recently effective include the Kansas state teachers' system providing for elective participation by employees in service as of September 1, 1941, a jointly financed system for state employees of Maryland, effective October 1, 1941, and Virginia's newly adopted plan for teachers and state employees.

State Reapportionments Undertaken

A congressional reapportionment act in Pennsylvania is the first completed action by a state this year to redistrict representation in Congress, the Council of State Governments reports.

Pennsylvania had to eliminate one congressional district following the 1940 census; otherwise its thirty-three Congressmen would have had to be elected at large.

Sixteen states had to make changes adding or subtracting one or more seats in the United States House of Representatives following the population shifts revealed by the last census. The method of allocating the 435 House seats to the states by "equal proportions," which was voted by Congress November 15, 1941, gave three more seats to California and one more seat each to six states—Arizona, Florida, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oregon, and Tennessee. One seat each was lost by Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania.

The states which took necessary legal action on redistricting in 1941 were Cali-

fornia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Oregon, and Tennessee. Proposals in Ohio, Oklahoma, and Illinois, in addition to those in Pennsylvania, failed in 1941 legislative sessions and have not been reconsidered.

If a state which gains a representative fails to redistrict before the next congressional election, it may elect the extra member at large. A state losing a congressional seat may eliminate a representative at large if it has any.

Virginia has redistricted for the first time in twenty years. In New York reapportionment proposals for state and federal representation were placed before the legislature in the latter part of March.

Training Schools in New York State

Municipalities in New York State having electric utility departments are given the benefit of a three-day course for employees of such departments, conducted in Syracuse April 15, 16, and 17, and taking up office, accounting, construction and other technical problems, and defense matters.

On April 22, 23, and 24 a training school for municipal finance officials will be held in Albany in the State Office Building under the auspices of the Municipal Training Institute and the State Department of Audit and Control.

In-Service Training for Kentucky Finance Workers

Over a period of several years the University of Kentucky has had an embryonic in-service training program for state and local finance administration personnel. The first systematic effort was made in 1936-37 when a group of state employees asked for a course in general Kentucky state taxation. A series of weekly meetings was attended by twenty-five or thirty pub-

lic employees—primarily Department of Revenue workers.

After the writer resigned as Commissioner of Revenue and returned to regular work in the University in 1939, employees of the Department of Revenue proposed informal meetings on the University campus once a week to which other interested state and local employees might be invited. It was understood that graduate students in public finance would also participate in the weekly "seminar." These meetings, beginning in the autumn or early winter of 1939-40, were originally attended by about a dozen persons, of whom about half were graduate students. The number grew irregularly until the last meeting in the spring of 1941 when sixty-five or seventy public employees and officials attended.

The national defense program has made demands on the staff which led to the abandonment of the informal "seminar" during the current academic year. It has been in a measure replaced for twelve or fifteen members of the group by an organized graduate course in financial administration. Other organized courses will be presented initially—so far as a regular program is concerned—during the summer of 1942, when four full-time courses planned definitely for finance administration personnel will be offered, each to last about two and a half weeks.

It is contemplated that each course will be presented by a University staff member who has had tax experience or other relevant public administration work in collaboration with a present executive of a state department. The Department of Revenue, for example, will provide the collaborating staff man (or men) for each of at least three courses and will thus assume joint leadership with the University in developing the work.

The four courses are as follows:

Public Administration Principles, beginning June 15, will be offered by a member of the University of Kentucky political science staff who has had experience in the Kentucky Legislative Council research staff, Department of Revenue, and personnel division of the Department of Finance. The work should appeal to administrative assistants and staff personnel as well as to those having to do with budgeting, purchasing, accounting, and other overall finance functions.

Tax Auditing, also beginning June 15, will be planned specifically for workers in tax auditing and for executive personnel to whom they report. The course will be in charge of the widely experienced head of the accounting work of the University in collaboration with the accountant who supervises all income, inheritance, and corporation tax audits of Kentucky. Tax audits involving other sorts of taxes will not be neglected.

Property Assessments, beginning July 2, will be for assessors on the job and for State Department of Taxation field personnel concerned with inheritance tax appraisals and property tax assessments. Primary emphasis will be laid on appraisal methods. The two men in charge of this course have each had extensive assessment and other appraisal experience, one of them being Kentucky's Commissioner of Revenue.

State and Local Taxation, beginning July 23, is a general, broadening course. The employees of a state or local tax department represent state taxation work to the public; they can do a better job if they know what is done elsewhere and what authorities propose. This work will be handled by a former tax official with the close collaboration of the present executive assistant to the Kentucky Commissioner of Revenue.

Although designed for Kentucky fiscal administration personnel, these courses will be open to individuals employed in the federal service as well as the service of other states or their local governments. Individuals who desire the courses but who lack college background will be admitted as special students if they apparently can do the work. Although eligible persons who wish to do so may take any of the courses for University credit, a background of appropriate experience will contribute more toward profit from the work than will academic training.

JAMES W. MARTIN

Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

New Municipal Law Review

The American Bar Association's Section of Municipal Law, headed by Barnet Hodes, corporation counsel of Chicago, is publishing a new quarterly, the *American Municipal Law Review*, which will deal with problems that confront lawyers engaged in municipal law work. The first issue is scheduled for April. The new journal is part of the program of expanded activity of the Municipal Law Section, and will supersede its former publication, *Legal Notes on Local Government*.

The Legal Research Bureau of New York University will edit both the *Review* and a companion loose-leaf service to be called the *American Municipal Law Survey*. The latter will consist of a comprehensive compilation and review of case law, legal periodicals and books, and notes and comments on court decisions, legislative activity, and administrative rulings. It will pay special attention during the war to material on the impact of war on local government. A loan service for case materials is a part of the new service.

Citizen Action*Edited by Elwood N. Thompson*

**Seattle League Active
in Bitter Election*****Reported to Voters on
Candidates, Fostered
Discussion of Issues***

IN THE largest and one of the most bitterly contested municipal elections in Seattle's history, March 10, 1942, incumbent Mayor Earl Millikin was defeated by Municipal Judge William F. Devin. Although Millikin had the active support of the powerful A. F. of L. Teamsters' Union headed by Dave Beck, he lost by over 20,000 votes, receiving 43,541 to Devin's 63,892. Millikin's running mate in the city council, incumbent Paul Revelle, Director of the Joint Council of Teamsters Promotional League, was also defeated by a substantial margin.

The **Seattle Municipal League** through its Candidates Investigating Committee made a thorough factual study of the background and qualifications of candidates and commented on their records in public office and community life. The committee obtained information through public records, questionnaires sent to all candidates, personal interviews, credit reports and hearings. Each candidate was given an opportunity to be heard before the whole committee. The committee's report, after approval by the Board of Trustees, was published prior to the primary and general election. This year 12,000 copies were distributed. The whole of the report was published in the daily papers.

The League, however, neither sponsored a slate nor officially endorsed any of the candidates.

Of Mayor Millikin the League reported: Personal data—fifty-one years old, twenty-three years in Seattle, married, home owner, university graduate. Experience in business and public office—Mayor of Seattle since March 1941; previously statistician in Department of Labor and Industries, history teacher, athletic director at Queen High School; County Auditor 1934-1941. Comments—eleven months' record as mayor indicates lack of considered judgment or independent action.

League Commends Winners

Of Judge Devin the League reported: Personal data—forty-three years old, twenty-seven years in Seattle, married, home owner, university and law school graduate. Experience in business and public office—police judge since 1938, previously attorney for eighteen years, candidate for mayor 1941. Comments—constructive record as police judge, intelligent, reliable, well informed.

Eight positions, including mayor, comptroller, treasurer, three on the city council, and two on the school board, were filled by men who had been commented upon favorably by the League. One other councilman was elected.

The Council of Churches reported that the present administration had failed to clean up vice conditions, but did not sponsor a slate.

Although the *Seattle Times* and *Post Intelligencer* remained nonpartisan, the recently reorganized *Seattle Star* came out in active support of Mayor Millikin.

Under announcements that wages and hours of work were to be discussed, warehousemen, retail store clerks, and teamsters were summoned to union meetings where Dave Beck appeared as guest speaker, with the coming election as his subject. Beck also gave two fifteen-minute radio talks for Millikin in which Judge Devin was denounced as an opponent of organized

labor. These efforts by Beck were made in an attempt to get all of labor behind Millikin. Three days before the election, however, many labor leaders announced that their unions were taking no stand. Election returns indicated that the labor vote was split.

The League's Town Criers,¹ organized to lead objective discussion of public questions, addressed a great many service and community clubs on the five propositions that appeared on the ballot. Arguments pro and con were presented on each issue. The League favored passage of the 3-mill school levy, but took no stand on the others. The school levy and the proposed pay increase to firemen and policemen passed.

ROBERT B. DUNN

Seattle Municipal League

Holyoke, Mass., Surveys Sick City Departments

How to provide an acceptable standard of municipal service and at the same time reduce excessive costs has been the continuing problem of advocates of good government in Holyoke, Massachusetts, for many years.

On several occasions in recent years the Holyoke Aldermanic Board has refused emphatically to call in men skilled in municipal administration to survey ailing city departments. Twice over a decade ago such studies had been made only to have the reports find comfortable resting places in department pigeonholes.

Two years ago the **Holyoke Taxpayers Association** decided on a program to find and bring the facts about sick city departments to the people.

To keep the surveys free from local prejudice against outside authority, and independent of city funds, the Associ-

ation determined to make the surveys with its own staff.

Two survey reports are now complete and in the hands of public officials. The findings have been made available for community distribution on the widest possible basis.

Public Works was the first department surveyed. It was found to be incredibly ill-equipped and badly organized for its many service activities. The collection of refuse alone was so inadequate as to allow medieval conditions of filth to exist in alleys and cellars. Fire hazards were unbearable under a collection schedule that covered the city only every three to four weeks. The antiquated equipment in use was productive of hernias and other disabilities among the collection crews. The high cost of equipment operation warranted its abandonment and the purchase of new refuse collection equipment with enclosed self-loading bodies.

New equipment has been purchased as an aftermath of the survey and is already in successful operation. Many other recommendations were made, including the adoption of the sanitary fill method of refuse disposal, the installation of a cost system, and thorough overhauling of the general organization of the Department of Public Works.

Following the Public Works survey the Association turned to a study of police activities in Holyoke. The Holyoke public had been critical of the police for many years. Charges that the police have failed in their regular duties, charges of improper conduct, charges of police in politics had been freely made and not always disproved.

The first duty of this survey was to make an inventory of resources, both men and equipment. Immediately it was evident that Holyoke possessed

¹See "Washington Civic Groups Cooperate to Educate," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1940, p. 692.

more police officers per capita than any comparable industrial city in its population class in Massachusetts. Yet for years police officials in Holyoke had been declaring that they could not cope with their work without more man power. What was the answer? Why was it that one of the best manned police forces in the country could not meet its daily problems?

The survey quickly disclosed one answer to the question when an inventory of equipment and methods of patrol showed that only two cruiser cars were on patrol of the city on a twenty-four-hour basis. Nearly one-half the man power of the department was still employed on foot patrol.

In view of the fact that the advent of the two-way radio and the cruiser car had provided police forces with a cheaper and more intensive method of patrol, Holyoke continued to employ men on foot where cruisers would do a better job and would release men for added service on other assignments.

As this report was written plans were being made by police officials to appoint additional men to an already overgrown police force. In an age when men and machines working together can do vastly more than men ever could do alone, the addition of more men to an already overmanned, but under-equipped, police force simply could not be the right answer.

The survey not only disclosed poor distribution of man power and inadequate equipment but demonstrated that for twenty-five years the basic concern of police administration, recruitment, management of personnel, structural organization, and records had been utterly neglected.

Overshadowing all the lack of achievement was the fact that the major concerns of police administration had been subjected to the petty considerations of politics and the whole department

to the destructive interference of politicians.

The survey of both departments clearly showed that the day-to-day political domination of the activities of these departments was due largely to unwise charter arrangements.

So both surveys, aside from their corrective influence on current operations, well document the need of charter revision, long overdue in Holyoke. They provide the necessary ammunition for any citizen group that has the will to struggle for a thorough-going municipal reform.

GORDON HUGGINS, *Executive Secretary*
Holyoke, Mass., Taxpayers'
Association

New Civics Text for Cincinnati Schools

Once more we have evidence of the kind of practical citizenship which is practiced by the **League of Women Voters**. This particular example, a volume entitled *Know Your City*, was prepared by the Education Committee of the Cincinnati League for use in the civics classes of the public schools of that city.

People concerned about government reform and improvement in citizenship standards constantly bemoan the lack of teaching materials which will challenge the interest of young people in these fields. Here is a guide, a textbook if you will, which should serve as a real inspiration to other groups to go out and "do likewise" in their own communities.

Know Your City makes excellent reading. Mimeographed now, but to be printed after a year's experimental use has shown up any bugs, it contains pictures, maps, and charts and—what is more important—a stimulating text on the municipal government of our "best governed" city.

R. M. W.

Roundup—

More and more evidence indicates that civic organizations are overhauling their programs in the light of war-time conditions—a distinctly healthy sign. Not that we think any organization should turn its attention from the local field, but we do feel that there should be as close a tie-up as possible with the war effort. . . . One excellent example is the February issue of *The Citizen*, a bulletin published by the **Citizens League of Port Huron, Michigan**, which contains an analysis of the civilian defense set-up beginning with the OCD and coming right down to the local defense committee. This is information which the citizen has difficulty in getting for himself and probably would be welcomed by members of other organizations. . . .

February *Civic Affairs*, published by the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy**, announces a series of weekly radio programs conducted by that organization under the title "Wartime Round Table." These programs are designed to give the public the facts behind the need for conservation of materials vital to the conduct of the war. Such information is certainly the requisite of all well informed citizens, and a civic agency is definitely increasing its usefulness to its members (and, in this case, to the general public) when it seeks to provide it. . . .

Organizations with speakers' bureaus and even those whose members are only infrequently called on for speeches in the community will not want to miss the new mimeographed outline prepared by the Public Relations Department of **Kiwanis International** entitled *The Nation's War Program—Information Material for Kiwanis Speakers*. It's full of all sorts of useful bits of information and should be of help to

most anyone speaking on any aspect of the war situation.

An item we intended to mention last month but which somehow slipped by is the January 29 issue of *Greater Cleveland*, published by the **Cleveland Citizens League**, dealing with the subject of home rule. Although the emphasis in this discussion is on Ohio, it is so thorough and complete it will interest all who are concerned with home rule, no matter what their state.

While we're on the subject of *Greater Cleveland* take a look also at the recent issue commemorating the Citizens League's forty-four years of service. You'll find in the text a clear convincing statement of most of the basic ideas on which the work of local agencies for better government are built. You'll also find a clever typographical device by which the main story is told in large readable type, while in the wide spaces between these lines in small type are quotations from national and local thinkers in the field as well as brief sentences summarizing specific goals and accomplishments of the League.

Another useful guide book for citizens who want to analyze their local budgets¹ has recently appeared. It's called *Your Municipal Budget* and is published by the **Pennsylvania Economy League**. In addition to a list of specific questions to be asked about any budget, it contains a very helpful calendar—the latter valid only in Pennsylvania, of course.

We have just seen some excerpts from an exhaustive survey of purchasing in New Hampshire cities, counties, and towns made recently by the **New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers As-**

¹See also "New Booklet Tells 'How to Study a Budget,'" NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1941, p. 229.

sociations. The survey, which was published in serial form in the *Manchester Union* over a three-week period, received state-wide acclaim.

Apparently the committees of the **Portland City Club** are hard at work this year, as in the past. In the March 6 *Bulletin* there appears a report of the Committee on Education and Recreation on "Teachers Retirement in Portland" which analyzes the subject in some detail and concludes with a series of recommendations.

R. M. W.

Minneapolis Fund Drive Reaches Goal

The **Minneapolis Civic Council's** annual campaign for funds yielded \$239,124 this year against a goal of \$238,085—to put the campaign over the top with a margin to spare.

A budget of \$9,200 to cover "civilian defense" costs was included this year for the first time, writes Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice-president of the Civic Council.

This editorial from the *Minneapolis Star Journal* shows what the city thinks of the job the Council is doing:

For five years now, the civic organizations coördinated in the Civic Council have sought funds for their maintenance in a single annual campaign. The 1942 civic fund campaign, which closed yesterday, is the first of these to reach the goal set: the \$238,000 objective will have been slightly exceeded when the few remaining odds and ends have been cleaned up.

It looked like a difficult job, in this war year, to raise needed funds which were hard enough to muster in normal times. The success of the campaign is a measure of the increasing cohesion of our civic efforts, and the kind of job the

Manager Plan and Defense Is Subject of Illinois Essay Contest

The **Illinois Council-Manager Conference**, which is campaigning for the right of Illinois cities to adopt the manager plan, recently announced an essay contest on the subject "The City Manager Plan and National Defense."

The contestants will be Illinois high school students who must submit their essays on or before May 15, 1942, reports Edward M. Martin, secretary of the Conference. Judges will make their decisions without knowing the names of entrants.

Announcements of the contest are being widely circulated over the state. National Municipal League members in Illinois and other residents of the state who attended the League's St. Louis conference last November are on the mailing list.

Essays should deal with the following phases of the subject: What is the city manager plan and how does it compare with other forms of municipal government; what significance, if any, does the plan have for national defense; how widely is the plan in use in the United States; is the plan allowed in Illinois; is it democratic for cities to be denied the right to adopt the plan? A list of references is carried on the announcement.

Two prizes will be awarded—a first of \$75 and a second of \$25, both payable in United States Defense Savings Bonds. There will also be ten honorable mentions of \$5 each in United States Defense Savings Stamps.

The essays will be judged by a committee composed of representatives from twenty-one civic organizations, women's groups, colleges and universities in Illinois.

R. D.

Minneapolis business community can do against odds.

In addition to providing for the normal needs of the organizations represented, the campaign has provided funds for the combat and protective work of civilian defense in Minneapolis without going to the general public. . . .

County and Township *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

New York Counties Plan Merit Systems

***Must Act by July of This
Year on Method under
Which They Will Operate***

IN CONFORMITY with the Fite law enacted by the New York legislature last year,¹ making application of the merit principle mandatory on all local units of government, New York counties must decide by July 1 how their merit systems will be administered. At the expiration of another year all such plans must be in operation.

Counties are given the choice of direct administration by the State Department of Civil Service, appointment of a personnel officer by the county with examinations and eligible lists prepared by the state department, or establishment of a county civil service commission. For the first plan there is no cost to the county, for the second the estimated cost will range from three to five dollars per employee per year, and for the third from five to ten dollars. Persons employed on July 1, 1942, will be exempt from the examinations.

The legislation specifically provides that the State Department of Civil Service retain supervision over the five counties within New York City; it also

specifies that Westchester and Nassau Counties retain the systems adopted by the voters of those counties under their respective home rule charters. Westchester has the personnel officer form of administration with functions handled by the state department; Nassau has a civil service commission.

Of the remaining fifty-five counties, twenty-five have now selected the county commission plan, three have chosen direct state supervision, seven have held hearings but made no decision, and twenty have thus far taken no action. Onondaga County, with the county commission plan, will have the civil service commission of the city of Syracuse merged with it; the same is true for the city and county of Schenectady.

Iowa Taxpayers Study County Government

How to get more efficient government for Iowa counties is a question which the Iowa Taxpayers Association has recently taken under advisement. The Association will consider legislation to improve the present county structure for introduction at the Iowa legislative session which convenes in January 1943.

Rensselaer County, N. Y., Studies Manager Plan

Rensselaer County, New York, which embraces the city of Troy, has begun to study means of improving its governmental structure. A special committee of the Board of Supervisors has been appointed, which is investigating the various forms that provide an executive head of government. The League of Women Voters is undertaking a similar investigation and recently conducted a public forum in order to secure popular expression on this issue.

Reduction of the Board of Supervisors from its present size of thirty-four members also is under consideration.

¹See "New York State Extends Merit System," by Morton Yarmon. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, pp. 253-257, 274.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

"Phony" Balance Sheets

Meaningless Jumbles of Figures Serve Only to Confuse the Taxpayers

EVERY so often the complaint is made that governmental finance is so complicated the layman can't hope to understand it. Obviously, the answer is that it need not be—but the answer loses much of its force when some of the stuff dished out to the local citizenry as statistics on their city's finances is examined.

A clipping is at hand from one of the larger cities of the country, which shall charitably remain nameless in this report, as will the newspaper. It headlined an article on the city auditor's 1941 report as follows:

"—City Assets Are \$40,422,066, Liabilities \$8,453,641; Net Surplus \$31,968,425; Gain Over \$1,000,000 in Year."

The article then went on to present balance sheet figures which for the sake of compactness may be arranged in conventional form as follows:

Assets	
Cash	\$ 1,682,670
Investments	357,410
Property and plant	27,342,032
Furniture and equipment	9,108,253
Accounts receivable	1,656,734
Operating supplies	274,964
Total Assets	\$40,422,063
Liabilities	
Bonds	\$ 3,913,953
Warrants	255,253
Accounts payable	1,191,351
Depreciation reserve	3,093,082
Total	\$ 8,453,639

Surplus

31,968,425

Total liabilities and surplus \$40,422,064

More serious than the fact that the asset and liability items don't add up into the total promised in the headline, is the fact that the balance sheet as shown is a "phony." If it were a typical corporate balance sheet—say for a manufacturing concern—it would be more than passably informative. As a municipal balance sheet it attempts the forbidden schoolboy trick of adding apples and elephants—plus a few more dissimilar articles as will be seen later.

On its face the statement attempts what is for a municipality the impossible—the merging of current and capital accounts. Furniture and equipment, property and plant, are terms borrowed from corporate finance and their inclusion in a municipal balance sheet springs from the erroneous idea that business in government means copying business forms. Actually, such fixed assets are not assets for balance sheet purposes for a municipality; little if anything could be realized from the sale of fire stations, jails, city halls, city yards, etc., and even if a market existed the city is in no event at liberty to dispose of its fixed assets in the manner in which a private corporation is at liberty to liquidate its assets.

Furthermore, the bonds have no place in the statement—they are not repayable from the fixed assets, but from taxes and other revenues to be received in the future, except of course to the extent that the cash and investments include funds reserved for bond payments. If the reader thinks that these are distinctions which make no real difference, let him try to figure out from the balance sheet just how much of the \$31,000,000 surplus is available in cash and quick current assets.

More serious difficulties are inherent in the statement than appear on its face, however. Fortunately, the city involved is one which prepares tolerably satisfactory fund balance sheets, and whose finances are in a general way familiar to this columnist. Thus it is possible to add that the balance sheet reported is a *consolidated* balance sheet, not only merging current and capital accounts but also throwing together the accounts of general government and the city's public service enterprises. The depreciation reserve is noted in the newspaper article to be for "city-owned plants," but that provides the only clue to local newspaper readers.

Tearing down the individual items, further weaknesses of the statement are disclosed. In the state where this city is located governmental activity is by law financed through a multitude of separate funds, while the city is also subject to an over-all tax rate limit. The showing of \$1,682,670 cash against warrants of \$255,253 and accounts payable of \$1,191,351, indicates on its face a liquid current position, with the \$1,656,734 accounts receivable (which must include back taxes, since taxes are not elsewhere shown) furnish a nice additional strength.

As shown, however, all these figures include an undisclosed amount of cash, warrants, and accounts of the public service enterprises, while in addition there is no way of getting at the internal position of the several governmental funds. Perhaps all the cash is for utility funds, and all the warrants and accounts payable are against the limited tax general fund. Or perhaps the cash and investments are all in the sinking funds where they must meet a term bond maturity later in 1942. The balance sheet doesn't say, and the \$31,000,000 "surplus" doesn't mean anything one way or the other.

Enough has been said to indicate

that the reader of the press article in question would either be confused by what he found, or burdened with a jumble of useless and misleading information. This is especially unfortunate, since the reports of the auditor of the city in question have, in the past at least, been reasonably informative. The newspaper was quite clearly led astray by the inclusion in the audit of just the statement shown, however, and for that the city itself must assume responsibility. The mess could have been easily avoided if:

1. So-called fixed assets had been listed in a separate section of the report, and pointedly excluded from the balance sheets except for the utility enterprises, where they have a legitimate place;

2. Bonds had been listed separately, and only those charges already accrued for bonds and interest had been included in the sinking fund balance sheet;

3. Balance sheets for each separate governmental account had been shown, with the warning plainly evident that state law made meaningless any attempt to consolidate the various funds into one grand total.

No, governmental finance is not inherently complex, but if the lay reader tries to untangle many meaningless jumbles like that quoted, he soon gives up in disgust.

San Diego Protects Its Assessment Records

San Diego County, California, is busily condensing its property assessment records by photographing them to a size small enough for storage in a bank vault as protection against enemy action. The cost is about \$2,000.

The records, which provide the basis for assessment of all property in the county—lot books, field maps, and plat maps—are made on negatives which can

be enlarged to original dimensions when needed. They will be filed in steel cabinets in a bank vault some distance from the coast.

The completed record will include some 17,000 pages of lot books, 8,100 sheets of plat maps, and 8,100 sheets of field book maps. Film five by seven inches is used since it is large enough to insure clear-cut enlargement and is of convenient size for taking four pages to an exposure. Panchromatic film is used to bring out the various colored rulings on the books.

The work is being done by a commercial photographer with two assistants, aided by personnel from the assessing department, according to the National Association of Assessing Officers.

Canadian Government Collects All Income, Corporate Taxes

The Dominion government, under arrangements tentatively approved, will give \$81,000,000 a year to Canadian provinces for the duration of the war as reimbursement for their vacating the personal income and corporate tax field.

In addition the government, in taking over these two taxes, will pay fiscal need subsidies totaling \$3,200,000 to five provinces and will make up to all

the provinces any decrease, using 1940 collections as a basis, in the year's gasoline tax collections. This year for the first time the Dominion government is imposing a three-cent gasoline tax.

Two reimbursement plans were offered the provinces under the arrangements both of which will require formal legislative approval.

One plan gives provinces compensation from the Dominion treasury equal to the revenue they and their municipalities had collected from personal income and corporation taxes in the fiscal year ending nearest December 31, 1940. This plan was adopted by Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec.

The alternative proposal was for the Dominion to pay an amount equal to the net debt service of the province during the year ending nearest December 31, 1940, less the revenue obtained from inheritance taxes in that fiscal period. This plan was adopted by New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan.

Annual payments calculated for the current year for the nine provinces are reported by the Federation of Tax Administrators in the table below.

The 1940 gasoline tax revenues of the provinces, totalling nearly \$57,000,000, ranged from \$307,901 in Prince Edward Island to \$26,608,290 in Ontario.

<i>Provinces</i>	<i>Compensation for Vacating Tax Field</i>	<i>Fiscal Need Subsidies</i>	<i>Total Annual Payment</i>
Prince Edward Island	\$ 264,769.94	\$ 437,174.02	\$ 701,943.96
Nova Scotia	2,585,308.72	324,122.10	2,909,340.82
New Brunswick	3,278,574.15	371,493.30	3,650,067.45
Quebec	29,704,737.49		29,704,737.49
Ontario	28,961,488.80		28,961,488.80
Manitoba	5,034,740.92	600,000.00	5,634,740.92
Saskatchewan	4,330,471.29	1,500,000.00	5,830,471.29
Alberta	4,080,218.67		4,080,218.67
British Columbia	12,048,367.51		12,048,367.51
Totals	\$81,288,677.49	\$3,232,789.42	\$84,521,466.91

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. in Cripps Proposal to India

*Winston Churchill on P. R.
Annual Election in Norris*

THE proposal for self-government which Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India from the British government included the use of proportional representation for the election of a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution for the new dominion at the close of the war.

The electorate, according to an Associated Press dispatch of March 29 from New Delhi, would be the entire membership of the lower houses of the legislatures of the British Indian provinces, which would be elected by the people of the provinces as soon as hostilities close. The popular elections would presumably be carried out under the present constitution, which puts certain minorities into separate categories for purposes of representation.

The members of the legislatures voting in the P. R. election would choose about one member of the constituent assembly for every ten members voting. The states under the Indian princes would be invited to appoint additional members in proportion to their populations.

The proposal to use P. R. was based on actual Indian experience as well as the obvious desirability of giving just representation to the widely differing elements of India's population if the constitution is to have a chance of finding general acceptance. P. R. has already been used extensively for important federal and provincial legislative committees and been prescribed

on the basis of that use, though not yet applied, for the election of over three-quarters of the members of the Federal Assembly by members of the provincial assemblies. Bengal, Bihar, and Burma have used it in certain indirect elections. Also, the All-India Congress, organized by the people of India themselves, is elected by P. R. by the Congress provincial committees.

The form of P. R. in all these cases is the Hare system or single transferable vote—the same, except for minor details, as that used in New York, Cincinnati, and other American P. R. cities and in all elections of Eire and its predecessor, the Irish Free State.

Sir Stafford Cripps is a most appropriate ambassador to discuss this new P. R. proposal with the leaders of Indian opinion. His father, the late Lord Parmoor, was for many years chairman of the executive council of the British P. R. Society and an honorary vice-president of the American Proportional Representation League.

Winston Churchill on P. R.

Thoughtful men and women in England, intent as they are on the problems of winning the war, are yet giving much thought to the organization of a successful peace after the victory is won.

John H. Humphreys, secretary of the British P. R. Society, wrote in February:

"I am impressed with the thousands of elections that there will be in a post-war democratic world—city councils, state parliaments, national parliaments, federal parliaments, new international representative assemblies. Justinian said: 'Justice is the constant and perpetual will to give every man his due.' If political parties would apply to representation this active conception of justice—going out of one's way to give the other fellow his due—this revolu-

tion in political thought and practice would lift political life in all the democracies onto a higher level of civilization."

For the present, many elections that are overdue are being of necessity postponed, including the election of the British House of Commons. In moving the second reading of the prolongation of parliament bill on October 23, 1940, Home Secretary Herbert Morrison said:

"I make the following statement with the authority of the Prime Minister, the matter having been very carefully considered and a deliberate decision reached: An appeal to the electorate must always remain the final constitutional method of resolving grave issues of national policy. No one can foresee what circumstances will arise, but in normal conditions it will be the desire of His Majesty's Government, when the general election again becomes practicable, to give sufficient notice for the creation of a new register, and this interval would also afford an opportunity for the House to consider, if it so desired, questions connected with changes in our electoral system."

This declaration makes the views of Prime Minister Winston Churchill on the subject of electoral reform of special significance. We are indebted to the British P. R. Society for the following collection of his past statements on the subject:

From an address in the House of Commons, June 2, 1931:

"Having to choose, as we shall have to choose if we are to redress the constitutional injustice, between the alternative vote, the second ballot, and proportional representation in the cities, I have no doubt whatever that the last is incomparably the fairest, the most scientific and, on the whole, the best in the public interest. . . .

"I return to the need for more

strength and structure in our Parliamentary life. The collective personality of great cities is an important factor. Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Bristol—what effective expression have they now of their collective intellectual force? When they had, in the days before the great Reform Bill, perhaps only a couple of members apiece, they had a greater influence upon our affairs than eight or ten members representing carved-up communities of no integral strength. They have far less weight than one or two men would have who spoke with the collective authority of those centers of British progress and culture.

"Under the proportional representation scheme, these cities would regain their collective personality and their members, of every hue—Liberal, Conservative, or Socialist—would speak for the opinions of very large numbers of people forming an integral society. The leading figures in our political life would find at the summit of these great cities far more secure and independent seats than is possible today. Our cities would become centers where keen and powerful political debates would proceed, and the public thrashing out of great questions, such as is almost impracticable now, would proceed again before an increasingly attentive audience, and the formation of new opinion in these centers would influence thought in the surrounding districts. . . .

"It is our duty to strengthen the House of Commons. Parliament is all we have, and the House of Commons is the main part of it. . . . Surely care of this central instrument ought to be a sacred trust. Surely the building up of practical, trustworthy, living organs of government ought to be one of our chief cares."

From a radio address of January 16, 1934, entitled "Whither Britain?", as reported in *The Listener* of the next day:

"We hear a great deal about the reform of the House of Lords, but surely both Houses of Parliament ought to be strengthened not only for constructive purpose but to enable them to resist the dangers of dictatorship. . . . These enormous political landslides, which occur now one way and now the other after some stunt election campaign, are harmful both to our trade and livelihood, and to the House of Commons. . . . The present state of the House of Commons is most unhealthy. All views should be represented there. . . . If we go on lurching about every few years, now to one side of the road and now to the other, it will not be long before we find ourselves in the ditch."

From an article in the *Evening Standard*, January 24, 1934:

"There is one other reform in the franchise which should be made by the present Parliament and should become operative at the next election. I mean the institution of proportional representation for the great cities."

From an article in the *Daily Mail*, May 29, 1935:

"We are approaching a general election. . . . Whenever it comes it will be a great pity that the government has not carried a measure of electoral reform. . . .

"Men would become stronger in relation to political machinery. It is a bad thing in any society when the power and influence of individuals can only be exerted through their getting hold of the caucus or obtaining an official position. An appreciable part of the freedom and culture of British public life has arisen from the fact that we have always had a large class of independent men who counted.

"Both, therefore, on the grounds of securing a truer representation of the people and of strengthening the House of Commons, I am in favor of electoral reform. First the application of proportional representation, in the first instance to the great cities."

Mr. Churchill's recent utterances on the subject have naturally been less frequent and specific, but the following indicate a firm adherence to his earlier ideals of representative government:

From an address in the House of Commons, June 19, 1941:

"Personally, I labor constantly to secure the power, authority, and prestige of the House of Commons. That shall always be my faithful effort and endeavor."

From his address to the Congress of the United States in Washington, December 26, 1941:

"I am a child of the House of Commons. I was brought up in my father's house to believe in democracy. 'Trust the people'—that was his message. . . . Therefore I have been in harmony all my life with the tides which have flowed on both sides of the Atlantic against privilege and monopoly, and I have steered confidently towards the Gettysburg ideal of 'the government of the people, by the people, for the people.'"

Norris Holds Sixth P. R. Election

The town of Norris, Tennessee, used P. R. for the sixth time to elect its town council on January 31. While Norris, an unincorporated community of approximately 1,250 inhabitants, is owned and managed by the Tennessee Valley Authority, townspeople annually elect a council of nine which serves in an advisory capacity to the town

management,¹ although it has no actual powers.

A total of 279 ballots were cast. This represented somewhat less than half the eligible voters of the town. No invalid votes were cast, although a number of the voters were new in the community and were therefore casting their first ballots under P. R. This may be attributed in large measure to the work of a special committee appointed by the council to acquaint the electorate, through bulletins and news releases, with instructions and regulations regarding P. R. voting.

Three candidates, one of whom received approximately 20 per cent of the first-choice votes, received more than enough first choices to be elected. The transfer of these surplus ballots and the elimination of the lowest ranking candidate resulted in the election of three more candidates. Two candidates were elected on the next transfer, and one on the final transfer of votes. Nine out of ten of the voters helped elect someone for whom they had voted, and approximately 75 per cent saw their first choices elected.

Three of the candidates elected were members of the outgoing council, one had previously served as a member and three had run for the office before. The two women candidates, neither of whom had previously been a candidate for council, were elected. All the defeated candidates were offering themselves for office for the first time.

Two housewives, six employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and an employee of the U. S. Bureau of Mines make up the membership of the new council. This council, in addition to acting in an advisory capacity to management, will be concerned with ci-

vilian defense and related problems.

At its first meeting the new council designated a mayor and a vice-mayor from its own membership.

M. H. SATTERFIELD, *Chairman*,
Norris Election Commission

ON THE LOCAL FRONT

(Continued from Page 217)

the soldiers. A dance is scheduled one evening a week. Although invitations are sent to some eighty to one hundred soldiers, it is not unusual to have four or five hundred soldiers attend.

In Mesa, Arizona, the officer in charge of the British Cadets was the British representative at the Davis Cup tennis matches. The Mesa High School took special pleasure in offering its lighted field for the use of his men and the athletic association of the school met the cost of twelve dollars a night. A neighboring town, Tempe, is making available its lighted athletic field for rugby and soccer.

In some cases a community must face the combined problem of defense industries and increased military personnel. Such is the case with Englewood, Colorado. This small suburban town on the edge of Denver is surrounded by fourteen plants with war contracts and also serves Fort Logan and Lowry Field. Except for its schools Englewood entirely lacks indoor recreational facilities. This has placed a heavy burden upon the high school building.

Fortunately, the attitude of the school board and the superintendent has been to enlarge community use. The city has appropriated \$6,500 for light, heat, and upkeep in order that this building might be used at night. The school district has applied for an addition to the building which will provide an enlargement of the present gymnasium and a community room with a separate street entrance.

¹For duties of council see "Government of Norris, Tennessee, Studied," by M. H. Satterfield, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1939, pp. 799-800.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Recent Texts in Politics

American Parties and Elections. By Edward McChesney Sait. (Revised Edition.) New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. x, 790 pp. \$4.00.

The American Party System. By Charles E. Merriam and Harold F. Gosnell. (Revised, Third Edition.) New York, The Macmillan Company, 1940. xi, 476 pp. \$3.50.

American Politics: A Study in Political Dynamics. By Peter H. Odegard and E. A. Helms. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1938. xi, 882 pp. \$3.50.

Party Government. By E. E. Schattschneider. New York, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1942. xx, 220 pp. \$2.50.

Party Government in the United States. By Charles W. McKenzie. (Revised Printing.) New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1939. xi, 509 pp. \$3.75.

The Politics of Democracy. By E. Pendleton Herring. New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 1940. 468 pp. \$3.00.

Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups. By V. O. Key, Jr., New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942. xviii, 814 pp. \$3.75.

After teaching the subject of political parties for many years, and after having observed the practice of it at close hand, one of the reviewers of these books, which represent the recent output available for teachers and for the general public, has come to the conclusion that the only way to review is to compare. He might add that in fairness to them or to their publishers one should also include the textbooks of Bruce and Brooks. They are still valuable, but they are not as fresh as those listed here.

It is not our intention here to indicate preferences. Even Clifton Fadiman,

the omniscient reviewer of the *New Yorker*, annually revises his judgments, and who are we to fly in the face of tradition and publishers' ambitions? Some teachers like to pick a textbook and stick to it through hell and high water, but others change every year to the vexation of their students and to their own benefit as owners of books

Unfortunately for those who do not relish making frequent changes, the subject of political parties is highly fluid. Elections continue to be held with maddening regularity, and enterprising scholars, bitten by the bugs of psychology and statistics, are constantly finding "new light" to throw on the sordid processes of politics.

Merriam-Gosnell is one of the old favorites of teachers of political parties. It no longer appears in the dismal blue binding which used to be one of Macmillan's fixed characteristics, but comes to us now in new and attractive garb, in larger format, and legibly printed on excellent paper. We mention this because no one needs to be told that the content is realistic and philosophical, the point of view still as fresh as it was when Merriam submitted his first manuscript on the subject. If the reader wants the subject presented in thoughtful and dynamic fashion, with proper attention to the position of political parties in the modern world, this is the book to get.

Odegard-Helms, now brought up to date with a separately printed supplement, seems to be admirably suited as an introductory course for young people—freshmen and sophomores. There is a wealth of illustration in it but too much of it is dated. Furthermore, there are altogether too many refer-

ences to New York City. The American Metropolis seems to exercise a fatal fascination for the pundits of the hinterland. The defect in this emphasis is that citizens in Columbus, St. Louis, Fort Worth, Minneapolis, and points west are led to believe that bizarre and corrupt politics is a unique characteristic of our great cities in the east. Still, this is one of the best books for introducing the subject of politics to young people.

Sait's book in its newly revised form is suitable for all levels and is especially valuable for advanced courses. It might even serve as a starting point for research in that a wide selection of primary sources is indicated in the footnotes. Colleges with limited library facilities will find it essential, and individuals and groups who want a single reference work will do well to get it.

McKenzie's style is as heavy as Sait's, but there is less information on current legislation and practices in it, more on the historical development of parties. We believe that it would fill the bill in colleges where a great variety of courses are open to students and where the study of political parties is relatively underemphasized.

Herring is designed for upper classmen and graduate students. It is a mature and thoughtful book, but it is neither orderly nor informative. We have found it useful and urge advanced students to read it—but not without a word of caution against its urbane acceptance of some of the grosser "realities" of politics.

Schattschneider, also a dynamic book, covers the same ground with a more conventional arrangement and more familiar chapter headings. This is an excellent textbook for those who would teach the *problems* of political parties. It would have to be supplemented by reference works when used in college

classes—but we know of no better work for adult study groups.

The last book on the list, Key's *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*, has just been published and is, therefore, the freshest of the lot. It is also one of the most comprehensive. It is packed with valuable information, it is eminently readable; its tone is philosophical, its point of view liberal, and its approach unselfconsciously pragmatic.

The fact that standard older textbooks in the field of political parties are being reissued in revised form and that so many excellent new ones are now being put on the market is highly encouraging. The trend is definitely toward the objective consideration of the problem of political parties. Practically all writers of textbooks on parties are nonpartisan and idealistic—and by this we mean that they are uncompromising in their devotion to the eternal principles of honesty, liberty, equality, and fraternity. We do not agree with the politicians who assert that the professors are impractical. It is true that they have lacked opportunities to participate actively in political leadership. The present may belong to the politicians, the practitioners, but the future belongs to the theorists—for they monopolize the business of explaining, criticizing, and improving the processes of politics in American Democracy.

ROY V. PEEL

LAWRENCE H. WENDRICH

The Institute of Politics
Indiana University

The Mobilization of the Home Front. The British Experience and Its Significance for the United States. By Eric H. Biddle. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. vii, 47 pp. 60 cents.

Eric Biddle watched the British work

out their war problems on the home front during the blitzes between September 1940 and July 1941. He visited the British cities hit hardest.

Then he came home and wrote a forty-seven page pamphlet that ought to be in the hands of every U. S. administrator who deals with the three basic problems of man power mobilization, establishment of defense-connected social services, and civil defense machinery.

"The war will be won on the home front," Mr. Biddle declares in his opening sentence.

In a brief space he then blueprints the metamorphosis in British thinking and administrative organization from a business-as-usual basis to an all-out effort at home of the type we are trying to achieve.

He carefully points out that there are differences in the British and American situations which make it unwise for us to copy exactly. But there are striking parallels from which we can learn, saving both time and pain.

It took time to switch thinking in Britain from what to do with an over-supply of labor to the present question of how to produce for total war with a numerical shortage of workers. But they are solving that problem with some interesting methods which Mr. Biddle outlines.

The British have also learned that in addition to air attacks the Axis attempts to strike at production by disrupting the social system on which it is based. "Hitler has yet to defeat a major power without first undermining its morale."

Hence it is vital to keep up and expand an aggressive program of public service to hold together a home front which has to bear the strain not only of dramatic air raids but of more fundamental dislocation caused by labor

shortages, longer hours, the necessity for mobile labor, and all the other dislocations that come with modern war. The British learned that having what are sometimes called in this country "useless social services" may mean the difference between half-hearted and all-out production, and Mr. Biddle cites examples to prove it.

With Mr. Biddle's outline of British organization against death, damage and destruction from air raids we are perhaps somewhat more familiar, but apparently not familiar enough to have done the same things ourselves to an effective degree.

Britain also had to learn.

No one expected that local governments could carry the whole burden alone and it was assumed from the beginning that national financing, national planning, national supervision, would be necessary. The author shows by specific example how the machinery works and how the national, regional, and local efforts are coordinated.

Mr. Biddle concludes with a resumé of administrative principles and some immediate suggestions for action here. He suggests, among other changes, a unified authority for the mobilization of man power under the direction of one agency. Such a step would also dramatize the importance of social services which will keep our man power in repair.

He also thinks there is much to be said for unifying air raid protection with health and welfare services under a single administrator. In an appendix he outlines the wartime expansion of national social programs in Great Britain.

Our whole civilian war system, as he sees it, must dump overboard the outmoded "Maginot Line complex" of "defense" in favor of an aggressive mobilization of human and social resources on the home front for the offensive.

E. N. T.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Art Museums

Survey of Art Institutes and Art Museums. Milwaukee, Municipal Reference Library, 1942. 28 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Decentralization

The Denver Plan. The Problem of Decentralization and Disintegration in Cities. Denver, Colorado, Denver Planning Commission, 1941. 19 pp. illus.

Federal Government

United States Government Manual—Spring 1942. By United States Information Service. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. x, 698 pp. 75 cents.

Libraries

The Pennsylvania Economy League Surveys the Butler Public Library. Butler, Pennsylvania Economy League, 1941. 44, xl pp.

Regional Library Case Studies. Papers presented at a Meeting of the Library Extension Board June 20, 1941. By Carleton B. Joeckel, etc. Chicago, American Library Association, 1941 and 1942, 26 pp.

Municipal Government

Municipal Authorities in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1941. 32 pp. 25 cents.

Planning

Parks and Public Lands in New Jersey. Report of The Committee on Parks and Public Lands. Trenton, The New Jersey State Planning Board, 1941. x, 41 pp. illus. maps.

Roadside Development. Reports at the Twentieth Annual Meeting by The

Committee on Roadside Development, Highway Research Board. Washington, D. C., National Research Council, 1941. 69 pp. mimeo. 50 cents.

Police

Administration of the Police Civil Service Act of 1941. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1941. 17 pp. mimeo. Ten cents.

The Holyoke Police Department—A Survey.¹ By Gordon Huggins. Holyoke, Massachusetts, Holyoke Taxpayers' Association, 1942. iii, 29 pp.

Social Security

Social Security in War Time and After? Statement and Recommendations by 68 of the Nation's Leading Experts and Students of the Problem, with Comments by William Green, etc. New York City, American Association for Social Security, 1942. viii, 47 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Curtailment of Non-Defense Expenditures. By Henry P. Seidemann. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1941. vii, 54 pp. 25 cents.

Fluctuations in Capital Outlays of Municipalities. By Harold Wolkind. Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1941. vi, 87 pp. 15 cents.

Forced Savings. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1942. 12 pp. 25 cents.

A Survey of Corporation Taxes in Eastern States. Report of the Department of Governmental Research to the Industrial Development Committee. Newark, New Jersey Chamber of Commerce, 1942. 5 pp.

¹See "Holyoke Surveys Sick City Departments," page 229 this issue, for further information on this survey.

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"They Also Serve"

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Kansas City, Mo.

John G. Winant

Canada Regulates Wages, Prices

Supreme Court Hints New Utility
Rate Base

John Bauer

Are There Too Many Cities?

Winston W. Crouch

A Citizen's Observations on State
and Local Budgeting

Grover Wm. Ensley

May 1942

Vol. XXXI, No.

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 5

Total Number 311

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

League Leaders Do Their Bit in the War

Many leaders and former leaders of the National Municipal League have joined the armed forces or are serving in important civilian capacities with the government. Foremost among them is John G. Winant who, although serving as Ambassador in London for the past year, remains active as president of the League and participates in the League's activities by mail, cable and, during his visits to this country, in person.

Among others are:

Colonel Henry M. Waite, former president of the League, now consultant to the National Resources Planning Board;

John N. Edy, honorary vice-president, executive assistant and budget officer of the Federal Works Agency;

Karl Detzer, member of the League's Council, major, Service of Supply, U. S. Army, Washington;

Clarence Francis, member of the Council, administrative assistant with the Defense Plant Corporation, Washington;

Robert W. Johnson, member of the Council, New Jersey State Rationing Director;

Herman C. Loeffler, former member of the Council and member of various League committees, U. S. Bureau of the Budget;

George H. McCaffrey, former member of the Council, lieutenant colonel, Quartermasters Division, Air Corps Advanced Flying School, Moultrie, Georgia;

Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, member of the Council, lieutenant commander, United States Navy;

Charles P. Taft, former member of the Council, assistant director, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Washington;

Leonard D. White, former member of the Council, member of the Committee on Administrative Personnel of the United States Civil Service Commission;

Paul H. Douglas, trustee of the Proportional Representation League, private, U. S. Marines;

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G. Lyle Belsley, member of Committee on a Model State Civil Service Law, executive secretary of the War Production Board;

Weldon Cooper, Alabama correspondent of the REVIEW, with the U. S. Bureau of the Budget;

Harold F. Gosnell, contributor to the REVIEW, head of Communications and Review Section, Office of Price Administration, Washington;

W. Brooke Graves, chairman of League's Committee on State Government, recruiting specialist, Third District Office (Philadelphia), United States Civil Service Commission;

Luther Gulick, member of various League committees, consultant to the

National Resources Planning Board, to the Secretary of the Treasury, and to the Secretary of War;

Julian G. Hearne, Jr., member of Advisory Council, Proportional Representation League, major, 24th Infantry, Fort Benning, Georgia;

Wylie Kilpatrick, member of the League's Committee on County Government, Bureau of the Census, Division of State and Local Government;

Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., member of League's Committee on a Model State Civil Service Law, commander, U. S. Navy;

Lloyd M. Short, Minnesota correspondent of the REVIEW, member of the Committee on Wartime Requirements for Specialized Personnel;

Harold D. Smith, member of League's Committee on Revision of the Model City Charter and Committee on a Model Fiscal Program, director of the U. S. Bureau of the Budget;

Harvey Walker, Ohio correspondent of the REVIEW, captain and assistant finance officer at Columbus for United States Army.

Staff members who have taken up war-connected work are:

S. Howard Evans, formerly director of the League's education project, now consultant for the Bureau of Governmental Requirements, Washington;

E. N. Thompson, field representative of the League, consultant (part-time), National Resources Planning Board;

Ruth M. Williams, formerly publications editor, now with the New York office of the United States Civil Service Commission;

Elizabeth R. Brown, now with British Purchasing Commission, Washington.

Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas

The American Library Association, which last year created the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John R. Russell, librarian of the University of Rochester, seeks the coöperation of American scholars and scientists in the task of safeguarding foreign institutional sets of American scholarly, scientific, and technical periodicals.

In the present world situation many sets of American publications are being broken by financial inability to renew or through failure of mail deliveries. Some libraries in combat areas have been destroyed. While the committee cannot estimate the eventual post-war demand, its efforts have indicated that it will be enormous.

The current coöperation of the committee with the National Municipal League furnishes an example of its work. Virtually all foreign subscriptions to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, except those in the western hemisphere, have been unrenowable, some for as long as the last three years. The committee has arranged with the League to store a supply of each month's REVIEWS for distribution after the war.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

"They Also Serve"

THE integrity and strength of the community and the enlightened coöperation of its citizens have never been more important than now. This has been clearly demonstrated by English experience during a period of great trial, and it is coming into sharp focus in this country.

Americans will not hesitate to make any personal and material sacrifice to achieve victory. To accept less would be deliberately to nullify the progress won by those who have preceded us and to deny to those who come after us the wholesome, purposeful, and decent destiny which is rightfully theirs. We are only the temporary custodians of a forward way of life.

While we win on the battle front, however, let us not make the mistake of needlessly dissipating the progress we have already made. Let us continue our efforts for civic competence, decency, and effectiveness at home. All of us cannot march in the armed forces; but all of us can strengthen the nation by being alert, active citizens in our own communities.

It will not help win the war for local civic leaders and local civic organizations to curtail their efforts at this time. Continued support of civic progress is a protection for the present and a sound investment in the future.

JOHN G. WINANT

Ambassador to the Court of St. James's
and President, National Municipal League

Canada Regulates Wages, Prices

The government has adopted the principle that it is better that the cost of living be stabilized than that cost of living bonuses necessitated by rising commodity and service costs should be paid.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article has been prepared for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW by a staff member of the National War Labor Board of Canada.

MANY members of this House will recall the situation of the wage earner after the last war when his enhanced earnings bought far less than they did before that war, because in an uncontrolled economy wages always lag behind rises in the cost of living. Today there is a formula which protects workers to some degree against rises in the cost of living. It was designed to be applied, and will be applied, to anyone who can show justification for it."

The statement above, made by Canada's Minister of Labor, Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, in the Canadian House of Commons in March, epitomizes the wage policy of the Dominion's wartime administration.

Motivated by a determination to protect wage earners against undue increases in living costs by avoiding a repetition of the situation which developed during and immediately after the First World War, the Canadian government at the outset of the present conflict enacted measures to eliminate profiteering and established a Wartime Prices and Trade Board with authority to regulate commodity prices.

In the intervening years price and wage control has become an integral part of the economic phase of the national war effort. The entire wage

and price situation has been clarified and stabilized, and the ability of the government to cope with any inflationary tendency has in consequence been materially strengthened.

There has been general agreement in Canada that no one shall profit from the war; that the burden of sacrifices shall not be permitted to fall with undue heaviness on any one section of the community.

This policy was first expressed in the government's legislation to control and tax profits, and also to control prices and rents. It was later rounded out by control of wages, which constitute two-thirds of the national income. There has been a definite awareness that if dollar wages are allowed to rise more rapidly than the flow of civilian goods and services can be increased, prices must inevitably mount, the cost of living must increase, and real wages must diminish in so far as purchasing power is concerned.

On the other hand, the government was alive to the realization that labor must be afforded due protection in order that its health, morale, and productive capacity shall not be impaired, as these intangible factors are necessary weapons in the successful conduct of the war.

In 1939 the operation of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act was extended to all disputes between employers and employees engaged in war work, and in 1940 legislation

was enacted enunciating principles for the guidance of Boards of Conciliation with regard to wartime wages policy applicable to industries coming within the purview of this act.

Bonuses Provided

Provision was made for the payment in such industries of a cost of living bonus based on any upward price movement shown by the cost of living index prepared at regular intervals by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. An assurance was thus provided that the normal standard of living of a large proportion of Canadian workers should not be impaired when unavoidable increases occurred in the cost of the necessities of life.

Bonuses were to be determined at quarterly intervals, and paid only if the cost of living had risen by as much as five points. They were to be decreased only if the cost of living declined five points or more during a quarterly period.

The enactment, as amended in June 1941, prescribed that except in special circumstances the highest wage rates established during the period 1926-40 were to be regarded as fair and reasonable. Such wages might be restored if necessary, and maintained but not increased. The amount of the bonus was set at \$1.25 a week for each five-point rise in the cost of living index, except for male workers under twenty-one years of age and female workers employed at basic rates of less than fifty cents an hour, in the case of whom the bonus amounted to 5 per cent of the basic wage rate for each five-point rise. Bonuses were measured from

the cost of living index for August 1939.

At the time of the implementation of this order average money wage rates were higher than they had ever been in Canadian history, with the single exception of the year 1920 when wages were some 2 per cent above the current level and the cost of living was 50 per cent higher.

When steps were taken to stabilize wages they were on a general level approximately 4 per cent higher than in 1929, although the cost of living was 10 per cent lower. Employment was also at its all-time peak, 23 per cent above 1929. The higher prevailing wages, and greater employment with substantial overtime pay, meant that the money earnings of wage earners were also at the highest level ever reached. Payrolls in March 1941 were about 54 per cent above those of 1939. The cost of living was very much below the 1929 figure. Living costs had increased less than 10 per cent from the outbreak of war. It was obvious, therefore, that real wages and real earnings—on the basis of purchasing power—were at an all-time high, and the wage earners of Canada as a whole, despite a greatly increased taxation burden, were better off than they had ever been previously.

As has been pointed out, the original legislation governing wage and bonus policy was applicable only to industries coming within the purview of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. In October 1941, however, the Wartime Wages and Cost of Living Bonus Order was enacted. A national War Labor Board and regional

boards were established and charged with its administration.

Provisions Widened

This new order extended the provisions of the wage and bonus policy to all firms or industries, with limited exceptions, employing fifty or more persons, and to any firm engaged in building or other construction work which employed ten or more persons.

Employers coming within this category were expressly forbidden to increase or decrease the basic scale of wage rates paid by them at the effective date of the order. If, however, a War Labor Board found that any employer's basic scale of wage rates was low as compared with rates generally prevailing for similar occupations in a like locality, it was empowered to prescribe such increased wage rates as it found fair and reasonable.

In December 1941 the Wartime Wages and Cost of Living Bonus Order was amended to cover all employers in the Dominion, irrespective of the number of their employees, with the exception of departments or agencies of provincial governments, municipalities, charitable or educational associations or institutions not carried on for purpose of gain, and persons engaged in agriculture, horticulture, fishing, hunting, or trapping.

It became mandatory upon all employers covered by the order to introduce the payment of bonuses on the first payroll beginning on or after February 15, 1942, provided the cost of living index showed a rise of one full point in January 1942 over the October 1941 index number.

For each rise of one point adult

male employees and other employees engaged at basic wage rates of twenty-five dollars a week or more were to receive a bonus of twenty-five cents weekly. Male employees under twenty-one years of age and female workers employed at basic wage rates of less than twenty-five dollars a week were to receive a bonus of one per cent of their weekly wage for every full point rise in the cost of living index number.

The Wartime Wages and Cost of Living Bonus Order applied to employees up to and including the rank of foreman or comparable rank, and any employee being paid at the rate of less than \$175 a month was deemed to come within its provision.

Price Control Ordered

Concurrently with the enacting of the Wartime Wages and Cost of Living Bonus Order, a further order was enacted freezing the maximum prices of all goods. So successful was this price control mechanism that, instead of increasing, the cost of living index numbers for both January and April 1942 showed a slight decline as compared with the index number for October 1941.

During the first World War the cost of living rose approximately 24 points between August 1914 and January 1917. In the present war it rose 14.5 points between August 1939 and January 1942.

By introducing a cost of living bonus system the Canadian government was most certainly not motivated by a desire to erect a huge Christmas tree loaded with gifts for Canadian wage earners. The bonus system was initiated to insure that no real hardship would result in the

case of workers faced with the necessity of meeting increased living costs out of a wage based upon a period when commodity prices were on a lower level.

There never was the slightest intention that during a period when sacrifices were required of every Canadian, and sacrifices of both a monetary and physical nature were cheerfully being made by the men of the Dominion's fighting services, Canadian wage earners should be accorded special privileges which they had not formerly enjoyed. From the very outset the government has adopted the principle that in the real interest of the wage earners it is much better that the cost of living be stabilized than that cost of living bonuses necessitated by rising commodity and service costs should be paid.

Labor Minister Explains

Reviewing the government's wage and bonus legislation in the House of Commons in March, Minister of Labor Mitchell pointed out that the fact that the cost of living index did not rise in the period October 1941-January 1942 indicated that the government prices policy had, during the initial period at least, functioned on all cylinders.

"Employers not paying a bonus prior to November 15 are mandatorily required to begin paying one as soon as the National War Labor Board announces that the cost of living index has risen by one whole point or more," Mr. Mitchell informed Parliament.

"An employer in the foregoing group may not pay a larger amount of bonus than the announced amount,

or begin to pay one in any amount before an announcement is made by the Board, unless he applies for and is given permission to do so or unless he is directed by the Board to do so as the result of an investigation of his situation.

"Provision is made whereby an employer or an employee or any association or group of employees may apply in writing to a War Labor Board for an authorization that a cost of living bonus be paid in such amount as the Board may find fair and reasonable.

"The reason why it was not made mandatory for all employers to pay a cost of living bonus of any amount larger than the amount dictated by the future movements of the cost of living index is this: that many employees have received wage increases since the outbreak of the war which have compensated them in whole or in part for the rise which has taken place in the index to date. Furthermore, the government could not order a general payment of bonus without regard to the financial condition of a business which may be operating on a reduced margin owing to the price ceiling. On the other hand, the payment of maximum bonuses by all employers able to pay it, without regard to wage increases granted, would release taxable corporation earnings into channels of consumer purchasing at a time when the government is interested in restricting purchasing power for civilian goods. The House will appreciate, too, that some industries are today existing on government funds in the form of subsidy.

"Employers required to pay future

mandatory bonuses or who, having already paid a bonus, find that as a result the business cannot operate, have the right to apply for permission to reduce the amount of bonus or to defer the payment. In such cases an audited financial statement is required by the Board.

"When an application for bonus payment is received, consideration is given to all the factors mentioned. The Board is limited in its authority in that it may not direct that a bonus be calculated in the rise in the cost of living index from a month earlier than the month in which the last general increase in wage rates was granted. The Board has absolutely no authority to order that a bonus be paid retroactively, although, as stated, it may order calculation of the rate of bonus from an earlier date than October.

"It has been stated in various quarters that wages are frozen and

that, in consequence, injustices as between wage rates have become 'frozen' also. This is not true. Just as in the case of bonuses, provision is made for application by employees of a revision in wage rates in cases where it can be shown that wages are low compared with the wage paid for similar or comparable work in a locality or a comparable locality.

"It is feared that many workers not receiving a bonus—but often in receipt of increased wage earnings—do not recognize how much better off they are not to get a bonus for the reason that the cost of living does not justify it, owing to the effect of the government's policies on prices, salaries, and wages. On the other hand, they would be playing leap-frog with a continually out of reach cost of living level to which a completely adequately bonus formula could not be applied without wrecking many business institutions."

PUBLIC officials who want to tackle the most urgent national problem next to war itself, may well study the dilemma of metropolitan areas. New arrangements of territory may be needed, great economies can be made even in the existing areas and a new type of revenue must be found to supplement and replace the property tax. State aid and federal aid may be partial answers but the desirable solution lies in some arrangement of territory, services, and revenue that will permit local determination of policies and administration.

CARL H. CHATTERS in *Municipal Finance*, May 1942.

Supreme Court Hints New Utility Rate Base

Recent opinion of concurring judges opens way to shift from "fair value" to "prudent investment" in rate making.

By JOHN BAUER, Director
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THE Supreme Court decision, March 16, 1942, in the Natural Gas Pipeline case¹ has been heralded as reversing its 44-year-old "fair value" standard of public utility rate-making as enunciated in the famous case of *Smyth vs. Ames* in 1898. While no reversal is expressed or directly implied by the decision and opinion delivered by Chief Justice Stone, basic shift is indicated, or presaged, by the concurring opinion of Justices Black, Douglas, and Murphy.

Apart from other considerations, the fair value rule had long been recognized as fixing reproduction cost as a necessary consideration in determining valuations for public utility rate-making. This particular factor has been under frequent attack before the courts, and has been criticized by many, not only because of its inherent unreasonableness, but especially because of its uncertainties, variability, and difficulty of administration. It has been regarded as the chief obstacle to satisfactory regulation by federal, state, or local agencies.

In recent years the assault upon reproduction cost has been accentuated and sharpened. The Federal

Power Commission particularly has urged the Supreme Court to repudiate "fair value," and to recognize "prudent investment" as the constitutional rate base in deciding whether particular rates are confiscatory.²

Apart from the elements of depreciation and working capital, prudent investment consists of the reasonable original cost of installing the properties that are used in furnishing public service at the time of the rate inquiry, instead of their reproduction cost as assumed under the fair value rule. The prudent investment in any instance would be primarily a matter of definite accounting control, and would always be an exact amount as shown by the records. It would involve no hypothetical and opinion figures, no repetition of valuation procedure with protracted hearings, and no inherent conflict between public and private interest. The vital difference is: prudent investment can be regularly administered on a definite basis in fairness to both the companies and the public; reproduction cost cannot. Administration is the crux of effective regulation.

¹*Federal Power Commission et al. v. Natural Gas Pipeline Co. of America et al.*

²See *Denis J. Driscoll et al. v. Edison Light & Power Company*, 59 S. Ct. 715, decided April 17, 1939.

The instant case arises out of the Federal Power Commission's compliance with the Natural Gas Act of 1938. This placed the interstate natural gas industry under the Commission's control and provided for the fixing of reasonable rates on interstate gas deliveries. On complaint of the Illinois Commerce Commission, and on its own motion, the Federal Power Commission proceeded to investigate the activities and rates of the Natural Gas Pipeline Company of America and the Texoma Natural Gas Company. The two constitute a single enterprise, producing natural gas from their own reservoirs in Texas and purchasing gas produced there by others. They transport the gas through their own pipe line to Illinois, where they sell the bulk wholesale to utilities which distribute the gas for domestic, commercial, and industrial uses.

After investigation and hearings the Commission issued an *interim* order for immediate reduction in rates before the final determinations were completed. The interim rates were predicated upon the companies' own statements with regard to book costs, valuations, revenues, and operating expenses. The rate base adopted for the particular purpose included the claims for reproduction cost but excluded any separate and additional allowance for "going concern" value.

On the rate base presented, the Commission allowed a return of 6.5 per cent, on top of the companies' showing of operating costs, and ordered the lowering of rates equal to an annual reduction of \$3,750,000

in operating revenues to become effective after September 1, 1940.

Before the Supreme Court the companies raised these principal issues: (1) the general jurisdiction of the Commission; (2) the Commission's particular power to fix interim rates prior to the conclusion of the entire investigation; (3) the rate base with respect to fair value, particularly the exclusion of going concern; (4) the rate of return; (5) the basis of plant amortization.

The Decision

The Supreme Court upheld the Commission on all points. Chief Justice Stone discussed the pertinent issues and facts, but limited himself almost entirely to the questions raised by the particular case under the Natural Gas Act. As to reproduction cost he said nothing that can be taken directly as changing the legal situation materially, if at all. He considered merely what the Commission had done. Since it had adopted reproduction cost as claimed by the companies, prudent investment was not involved. What decision might have been reached if investment had been used is not revealed and still remains nominally conjectural.

The Court, however, rejected a claim of \$8,500,000 for going concern, which had been disallowed by the Commission. This amount was claimed as a separate and additional sum on top of the rate base as adopted. It was predicated particularly upon the capitalization of past maintenance, depreciation, and return for surplus plant capacity which had been provided during earlier years,

but was not then needed for operation. The Court held that a separate allowance for going concern is not necessary and that past losses need not be included in fixing future rates. As to rate of return, it approved the 6.5 per cent used by the Commission; it referred to recent interest rates which have been as low as 2 per cent on safe investments, and so may have intimated that a lower rate than 6.5 per cent might not have been found confiscatory.

Concurring Opinion

The prospective significance of the case appears more in the concurring opinion signed by Justices Black, Douglas, and Murphy than in the decision itself or in the directly relevant discussion. The three judges presented two matters of general perspective which had no immediate bearing on the decision but have distinct importance regarding the Court's future dealing with rate cases: (1) the right of judicial review under the constitution, and (2) rejection of reproduction cost as a necessary element in the rate base.

First, the judges questioned whether the courts have any basic function and power under the constitution to review rates fixed under legislative authority. They surveyed the cases dealing with such judicial review and showed that originally in *Munn vs. Illinois* and *Peik vs. Chicago etc. Railway Company*, both decided in 1877, the Court emphatically declared "price fixing to be a constitutional prerogative of the legislative body, not subject to judicial review or revision." But in subse-

quent cases there was a shifting of position, and finally in *Smyth vs. Ames* in 1898 the Court not only recognized the power of judicial review, but proclaimed fair value, with special mention of present cost of construction, as the basis of determining whether rates are reasonable or confiscatory.

The judges expressed their belief that such transfer of power to the courts was historically unjustified, and that it has had a paralyzing effect upon rate regulation. In the instant case the Natural Gas Act itself provided for review, hence the action was statutory and did not necessarily involve the constitutional issue. This, however, can be raised in any ordinary rate case where a company is contesting the validity of rates fixed by a commission without statutory provision for review.

Chief Justice Stone appears to assume that the "due process" clause of the constitution naturally involves judicial review, regardless of statutory prescription. Three judges definitely do not agree. What the majority may hold when the question is at issue is uncertain—but only two more voices need be added to those already heard to discard the doctrine which was wholly court-made after 1877, and has caused no end of trouble in application.

Second, since the Natural Gas Act expressly provided for judicial review but fixed the restriction that the "finding of the Commission as to the facts, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive," the judges feared that Chief Justice Stone's opinion does not properly delimit the

scope of the review under the particular statute. Because of his reference to "constitutional requirements" and to "the limits of due process," they felt that the Court might "be deemed to perpetuate the fallacious fair value theory of rate-making in the limited judicial review provided by the act." Hence they reviewed the fair value doctrine, especially with reference to reproduction cost, and concluded that under the act "the Commission has a broad area of discretion for selection of an appropriate rate base," that the courts cannot "concern themselves with any issue as to the economic merits of a rate base," and that "the Commission is now freed from the compulsion of admitting evidence on reproduction cost or of giving any weight to that element of fair value. The Commission may now adopt, if it chooses, prudent investment as a rate base—the base long advocated by Mr. Justice Brandeis. And for the reasons stated by Mr. Justice Brandeis in the Southwestern Bell Telephone case, there could be no constitutional objection if the Commission adhered to that formula and rejected all others."

Discard of Reproduction Cost

While this definite view on the discard of reproduction cost is not directly expressed by Chief Justice Stone, and though it is stated with reference to judicial review under the Natural Gas Act, it is likely to become the law of the land as soon as the particular issue arises. This is clearly indicated by Chief Justice Stone in the present opinion:

The constitution does not bind rate-making bodies to the service of any single formula or combination of formulas. Agencies to whom this legislative power has been delegated are free, within the ambit of their statutory authority, to make the pragmatic adjustments which may be called for by particular circumstances. Once a fair hearing has been given, proper findings made and other statutory requirements satisfied, the courts cannot intervene in the absence of clear showing that the limits of due process have been overstepped.

While this pronouncement is not specific, it appears to agree with the three judges that it is not "permissible for the courts to concern themselves with any issues as to the economic merits of a rate base." Any commission, unless differently directed by statute, may reject reproduction cost and select prudent investment if it chooses—that is likely to be the law when the issue is once raised in a particular case before the Supreme Court.

Such a case is probably already in the making. For example, the Federal Power Commission has been using prudent investment for some time in fixing interstate electric rates. In applying this rate base it has taken the reasonable original cost of the properties, and has deducted depreciation due to both physical and functional causes, including obsolescence. Both factors, the original cost and the depreciation deduction, are likely to be carried to the Supreme Court for constitutional determination. The issue will be accentuated by the rising prices which have already taken place and which may continue further as the war continues.

The issue is vitally important. If private utility organization with public regulation is to be continued in future national and state policy, modification of basic standards of valuation must be embodied in the law of the land.

Objectives and Standards

If reproduction cost can once be discarded as a constitutional requisite, and prudent investment adopted, a long step toward suitable regulatory practice will have been taken. But this is only the essential first step to attain effective regulation. It should be followed by comprehensive legislation to fix clearly the objectives of regulation and prescribe definitely the standards, machinery, and procedure. The statutes should not only grant commissions the requisite powers, but also impose the positive duties to carry out the legislative mandates through regular and systematic administration.

The existing statutes are far too vague as to purposes, rights, and processes. This lack of definite standards has probably been responsible in large part for the interjection of judicially made standards—unfortunately bad ones. When these have been cleared away appropriate legislation will be required to make regulation an instrument of constructive policy. If that is provided there

will be little or no occasion for recourse to due process. If not, regulation is likely to continue floundering, despite removal of judicial hindrances. Clear purposes and responsibilities, as well as systematic administration, are essential and can be attained only through objective legislation. Apparently such long needed revision of regulatory statutes can now be attained without serious danger of stoppage by the courts.³

³Such modification was proposed by the writer to the 1929 New York Legislative Commission on the Revision of the Public Service Commission Law; it was embodied in bills drafted on behalf of the minority and supported by then Governor Roosevelt, but was rejected by the majority as unavailable under Supreme Court decisions. Likewise, fair value, as predicated largely on reproduction cost, has been regarded by most lawyers as a matter of fixed constitutional decision, so that basic transformation of regulatory standards would not be available.

This assumed rigidity of law is now clearly gone, and legislation appears to be freed to provide constructively the objectives and means of regulation for the advancement of public interest. This released legislative power doubtless applies not only to rate base, but to all phases of policy and administration—not only to public utilities, but to all important economic relations to public welfare and progress.

For positive standards of a rate base see Part III (Chapter XV-XIX inclusive) of *Public Utility Valuation for Purposes of Rate Control*, by John Bauer and Nathaniel Gold. The Macmillan Company, New York City, 1934.

Are There Too Many Cities?

As profoundly desirable as is local government we may be faced with a choice of discouraging further incorporations for selfish purposes.

By WINSTON W. CROUCH
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EVERY census return for the past forty years has shown that the United States is on the way to being a nation of city dwellers. In earlier years many states experienced sudden real estate expansions and influxes of population which led to the creation of a large number of urban governments. Although the 1940 census indicated a sloping off in the rate of city growth, expansion of certain national defense industries is producing a somewhat similar situation in many areas today.

A number of plants have been located in semi-rural and suburban communities in order to obtain the large tracts of land needed for development. Around these plants subdivisions have been platted and housing constructed to supply residential needs. Will this produce a demand for more special districts, village and city governments to supply such needs as police and fire protection, schools, recreation, etc?

The time may now be appropriate to examine the laws and procedures by which the states govern the formation of municipal corporations. In a few commonwealths the question has been raised as to whether communities which are not now incorporated should be encouraged or discouraged in seeking incorporation.

Students of municipal government tend to regard the creation of muni-

cipal corporations by special act of the legislature as a procedure belonging to a past era, one in which states were more rural than urban. Nevertheless, creation of municipal corporations by special act is not entirely a historical phenomenon. Ten states in the eastern and southern sections of the country continue to create and govern municipalities in this manner.¹ Certain of these states submit incorporation proceedings to a vote of the inhabitants of the affected area. In some, newer urban problems have produced a demand for a different handling of municipal government.²

A majority of states now prohibit the creation of municipal corporations by a special act. Commonly the legislature provides a general statute setting forth the procedure to be followed by local groups seeking incorporation. A constitutional provision requiring general laws is not sufficient, however, unless there is no possibility of confusing the construction of the law. Florida and New Jersey, for example, both have gen-

¹Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, Maryland, Florida, Georgia, and Tennessee.

²Charles R. Erdman, Jr., *Growth of Municipal Incorporations in New Jersey, Princeton Local Government Survey (1937)*; American Municipal Association, *The Municipal Charter Problem in Florida (1937)*.

eral municipal statutes, but it is possible also for the legislature to create municipal corporations by special act. In fact the larger number of communities incorporated in both states in recent years have been formed by the special act method at the request of local groups which felt they could best obtain what they wanted by that method.

No Set Policy

The greatest criticism of the special act remains that the legislature undertakes no set policy regarding the form and powers of the municipalities created. Equally important is the fact that this method encourages multiplication of municipalities that are small in area and population. There is no effective pressure for the simplification of the governmental pattern. One newly created New Jersey borough, for example, had almost its entire area within a golf course. The motivation back of this proceeding appeared to be a desire to escape a school tax and to prevent interference with the playing of golf on Sunday. In 1928 the borough of North Cape May was created with only five inhabitants, a number insufficient to provide the officers required by New Jersey borough law.³

The states which create municipal corporations by general law procedure have done so on the theory that the initiative for the move should come from the community itself and that local voters are the best judges of the wisdom of any such movement. The latter assumption may be questioned without violating the best conceptions of home rule. A state can-

not justify the creation of cities or villages with insufficient taxable wealth or even insufficient social unity to vindicate their existence. At least in metropolitan areas the state, or some agency acting for the state, may well be placed in a position to retard unnecessary incorporation movements.

Incorporation of cities, towns, and villages under general law is in reality a delegation of the legislative power to the local voters or to some body charged with responsibility for applying statutory procedure. The statute in each instance outlines certain tests of eligibility and specific procedures that any group of voters seeking to incorporate a municipality must observe. The chief test of eligibility for incorporation under most statutes is population, although usually only a small number of inhabitants is required.

A great many states distinguish between towns and villages as the smallest incorporated local units and the city as the larger and more important municipal corporation. Georgia permits incorporation of a village by a minimum of twenty-five voters, whereas other states require from one hundred to five hundred population for a village or town. Those states which distinguish between the very small municipal corporation and the city set population tests for incorporation of a city at figures ranging from five hundred in South Dakota to ten thousand in Pennsylvania. The figures most frequently set are one thousand and two thousand total population. Five states, mostly in the west, make no distinction between cities and other

³Erdman, *op. cit.*

small units, but allow thinly populated areas to incorporate as a city.⁴

Population, Wealth Factors

Little attention appears to have been given to tests for density of population or taxable wealth within the area proposed for incorporation. Failure to set forth requirements of this nature in the law leaves the way open for creation of municipal corporations that are essentially rural in nature. Numerous examples occur in western states. Both West Covina and Orangethorpe, California, were created as regularly incorporated cities to prevent neighboring cities from establishing sewer farms in these agricultural areas. Property owners could find no other means for combating their neighbors' plans; therefore they rallied a sufficient number of voters to incorporate a city. Once incorporation was accomplished the sewer projects were blocked and little reason remained for the continued existence of these new cities. Orangethorpe has since disincorporated.

Less spectacular examples are the "vest pocket" villages of Long Island, New York, created between 1921 and 1935. Of the ninety-one villages created in that state during those years, sixty-one were concentrated in two suburban counties on Long Island.⁵ While it may not be said that the villages were lacking in population or assessed wealth, they were not urban in character. Once having incorporated their area, property owners could supervise the enforce-

ment of zoning laws which would preserve the community *status quo*.

In each example the problems were real, but the proposition did not follow necessarily that creation of cities or villages was the logical means for solving them.

A few states have attempted to insure that proposed municipal corporations will be urban in character. The Michigan law requires that an area proposed for incorporation must have a density of population equal to five hundred per square mile. In Illinois an area that does not exceed four square miles and has not less than one thousand population may incorporate. New York village law has been amended several times in an effort to discourage establishment of extremely small local units.

Cities in western and middle western states have been induced to include belts of agricultural land within their limits. In some instances realty groups believed that the city would expand and therefore persuaded property owners to permit their lands to be included in the incorporation. In western states such as California undeveloped lands have been included within cities often to assure a supply of water. Police and fire protection afforded by the city have been inducements also. Determination of how much land is to be included in a proposed city or village is usually left to negotiation by those seeking to organize the unit. A part of the strategy of such groups is to include only the lands of those who are known to favor incorporation. The general rule of law, however, is that land must be contiguous to form a city.

⁴Kansas, minimum population, 100; Kentucky, 125; California, 500; Nevada, 250; Wyoming, 500.

⁵Philip H. Cornick, *Excess Land Subdivision and Its Consequences* (1939).

Initiation of incorporation proceedings in general law states is by petition of voters or property owners in the proposed area. In some states a definite number of signers is required, in others a percentage of the local inhabitants or voters must be obtained. Both Missouri and North Carolina require a majority of the freeholders to sign the petition before it can be judged valid. In such instances presentation of a petition is tantamount to holding an election. In the majority of states the number of signatures required is so small as to make the start of incorporation proceedings exceedingly easy.

Form of Proceedings

After a petition has been signed by the requisite number of persons the next step is to present it to the agency designated by the legislature. In many states the petition must be accompanied by a map and description of boundaries of the area and a census or proof of population. All this is usually at the expense of those circulating the petition. A generally accepted requirement is that the incorporation application should be given a public hearing, consequently public notices of the matter must be posted or published.

The body before whom action is taken differs in various states, but in each instance it stands as the representative of the legislature and can exercise only such powers as the legislature delegates to it. In most states it is a local body affiliated with the county and therefore is familiar with local issues. In several states the county court is directed to receive incorporation petitions. In about an equal number of states the

county board of supervisors receives the petition and holds hearings on the application. In North Carolina the Municipal Board of Control, composed of the secretary of state, attorney-general, and public utilities commissioner, passes on applications. In Louisiana the governor is designated to perform this function.

Most states do not appear to give the county court or board of supervisors discretionary authority to inquire into the ability of the proposed city to support a government. The functions of the local body seem to be to check the validity of the petition signatures, determine if the population of the area complies with the statute, and see that all procedural steps have been taken. If these matters are in order there is no alternative but to call an election in the area affected. If a majority of those voting at the election approves incorporation the result is then certified, usually to the county recorder and to the secretary of state. After that the city or village is a full-fledged municipal corporation and may levy taxes, make ordinances, and elect officers.

In a few states discretionary authority to inquire into the need for and the ability to support municipal government is permitted. In North Carolina a proposed town must have at least fifty persons at least twenty-five of whom are freeholders, together with \$25,000 assessed valuation of property. Any person may present objections to the Municipal Board of Control at a public hearing. The board has authority to inquire if incorporation will better the interests of the persons involved and the

public. The entire procedure is in keeping with the strong central control exercised under the so-called North Carolina plan.⁶ In Ohio the statute allows the county commissioners to satisfy themselves that the area proposed is not unreasonably large or small. They may act "if it seems right that the petition be granted."⁷

No Court Review

The courts have restricted their own power of review in incorporation cases, so that the solution of this problem rests with legislative and administrative bodies. The courts have taken the attitude that proceedings by county commissioners in incorporating a village or city are political in nature and not judicial, and therefore are not subject to review on a petition of error.⁸ Furthermore, they have said that the finding of fact regarding the amount of population and the determination of policy as to how much area shall be included is for the county board to decide. The courts will not go behind this finding.⁹

There appears to be nothing in the law on municipal corporations to direct a state board or the county board of supervisors to put a brake upon incorporation proceedings and to demand a showing of cause for incorporation. In most incorporation

proceedings there is enough factional argument to indicate that the citizens of the proposed area are not all of one mind. A "cooling off" period sometimes will produce other methods of solving the problems presented.

Southern California—Los Angeles County in particular — has experienced a population growth and consequent urbanization that is as great as any in the country. The town sites for most of the cities in this county were marked out during the great land "boom" of 1887, but the great urge to create city governments came much later. The city of Los Angeles, the oldest community in the area, was recognized as a city in 1851 by special act of the first state legislature. Since 1887 it has been completely surrounded by a ring of cities varying in population and size of territory. Many attempts to incorporate other areas failed. A record of the actions of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors is illuminating in this matter. Here is a summary:

Petitions for Incorporation 1912-1940

Accepted, incorporation completed	23
Defeated by popular vote in the area	6
Petitions withdrawn by circulators	5
Denied by Board of Supervisors, insufficient population	3
Denied by Board of Supervisors, insufficient wealth	1
Ordered abandoned after public hearing	10
Total	48

Of forty-eight petitions, twenty-

⁶See "Effects of North Carolina's Centralization," by Paul W. Wager, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1937, pp. 572-577.

⁷Page's Ohio General Code, Sec. 3522.

⁸Bring v. Hollister, 4 Ohio App. 45.

⁹People v. City of Riverside, 90 Cal. 461, 9 Pac. 662 (1886); People ex rel Russell v. Town of Loyalton, 147 Cal. 774, 82 Pac. (1905).

nine survived public hearings before the Board of Supervisors, twenty-three of which were approved by the voters. In ten instances the board directed that proceedings be dropped, usually because the petition was defective in some matter stipulated in the statutes. Such fatal errors usually pertained to the drawing of boundaries.

Occasionally so many property owners petitioned to have their lands excluded from the proposed area that an illogically shaped city would have resulted if the matter had proceeded. The supervisors voted to drop proceedings only when community sentiment seemed to be hopelessly muddled.

Only in one instance did the board reject a petition on grounds of insufficient taxable wealth. In that instance petitioners requested incorporation of a strip of land one block wide and three miles long on the east side of Los Angeles. Less than a thousand persons, of working class incomes, lived in the area. The supervisor from that district in moving rejection of the application understated the case when he charged bad faith!

One effort in recent years to organize the largest remaining unincorporated section of the Los Angeles metropolitan area failed because it

attempted to join six or seven communities that had come to have a certain amount of individual identity. Although the proposed city would have had at least 20,000 population and adequate taxable wealth, it would have lacked social and political unity. The proposal was defeated roundly.

In growing areas demands for incorporation are frequent. Some dramatic issue arises or is manufactured by interested groups to stir citizens to action. Sometimes it is a dispute over taxation, sometimes a difference of opinion over zoning policies. Local option and liquor control have figured in the past. Sometimes it is the threat of a nuisance about to be committed by neighboring cities. On other occasions it is merely a desire to secure the services of city government under policies that are agreeable to a local majority. Often in a metropolitan area various groups of suburban residents feel called upon to incorporate to prevent their being caught up in the expansion of the larger city.

As profoundly desirable as is local government, we may be faced with a choice of discouraging further incorporations for selfish and factional purposes. There is need for authorizing some body to force attention to the necessity of simplification in governmental units.

A Citizen's Observations on State and Local Budgeting

The basis for improvement lies with the citizen—water does not rise higher than its source; the basis for successful citizen action is an active citizen agency.

By GROVER WM. ENSLEY
United States Bureau of the Budget

JUST as the blind men describing an elephant were unable to agree as to the exact character of the beast, so perhaps it is reasonable to suppose that different persons or groups are unable to agree as to the present status of state and local budgeting.

The retired farmer elected to the office of clerk in a small western county and charged with the tedious duties of budget officer may believe that the procedures of budgeting are too complicated. A government administrator or economist may not like the way legislators disregard carefully analyzed plans and recommendations. Independent research agencies may decry political inertia negating improvement in the system. Finally, certain taxpayers organizations may criticize present budgeting policies and methods as failing to reduce taxes.

Space will permit a discussion of only a few of the budgeting defects which directly concern the citizen and the citizens' organization. No attempt will be made, therefore, to present a well rounded discussion or even to tip our hat to important technical or administrative problems.

Let us look first at the process of budget preparation. Although determination of government fiscal policy is particularly important at this point,

few governments have agencies devoted to a study of the problem. Too little attention is given to preparing a plan of expenditures which will bring about the most satisfactory relationship between private and public operations and the most desirable balance among the activities of government.

The dollar sign receives more attention than the job to be performed. In some communities thousands of dollars are budgeted for parks and little or nothing for libraries. Large sums may be made available for school plant and equipment; yet educational services may be poor because salaries are too low to attract capable teachers. In many cases requests reflect hobbies or interests of officials or influential citizens.

Criteria need to be developed to indicate on what basis to allocate x dollars for activity A and y dollars for activity B. The need for including the revenue side of the budget in such policy determination analyses is equally important, and yet today, in so far as thought is given to allocating the burdens, this aspect is almost totally divorced from expenditure policy making.

The citizen is interested, of course, in the magnitude of government operations; he wants to know how much

of his income is going to be taken by the government and what services he may expect in return. The one place where he should be able to find out these facts is the budget document. The budget document of any unit of government, as everyone knows, should contain all items of expenditure carefully estimated and show in detail the manner in which these expenditures are to be financed. The truth is, however, that many officials simply copy last year's budget, which they dig out of dusty files; thus, the budget may not provide any real basis for analysis or comparison. One city's budget records expenditures of less than \$100,000 year after year. Actually they run well over \$200,000. Expenditures are underestimated and important functions are not included at all.

Not only do budget documents fail to include all expenditures but many budgets still fail to give any idea as to how expenditures are to be financed. Either they do not include columns for income, or income items are poorly estimated. A county may know from past experience that it collects only 90 per cent of the taxes it levies, and yet it enters as an item of income the full amount of taxes levied.

Even though the budget document has been prepared according to the best standards, further difficulties arise when the budget is submitted to the legislative body for consideration and adoption.

It is generally recognized that adequate provisions should be made for public budget hearings. The citizen, the citizens' agency, or any other interested group should have the op-

portunity to voice endorsement or opposition to items in the budget. At this point many budgeting systems fall down simply because the citizen is not educated as to the content of the budget.

Actually, many officials do not want a public review of budget requests. Sometimes it is a matter of not knowing how to handle the public. In many instances the budget is never made available to interested citizens. In one state, for example, each state budget document is carefully numbered and just a few copies reach the public, with only a cursory governor's budget message appearing in the newspapers.

Analyzing the Budget

When made available the budget calendar often does not permit ample time for the citizen or citizens' agency to analyze the budget and prepare adequately for hearings. A popular condensed version of the budget including explanatory material should be made available to all interested citizens in time for study before the hearings. When this practice was first started in one city, a citizen was amazed to find that the community was spending one dollar per capita annually on cemeteries but nothing on garbage disposal. He said he had always wondered why his city possessed the most beautiful cemetery in the state yet had to put up with incinerator smudge-smoke and unsanitary back yards. Local newspapers, study groups of leagues of women voters, and the like may be useful in arousing public interest in this connection.

In considering and taking action

on the budget each item of expenditure should be given adequate attention. The legislator should distinguish between economy and parsimony. A wise legislator will have a more farsighted attitude than the school board director who said that increasing teachers' salaries was false optimism, basing his conclusion on the fact that one year his board increased the salary of a teacher from \$400 a year to \$440 a year but could see no difference in the quality of the teacher.

But in spite of the fact that citizens may often take an active part in budget hearings, when the storm has subsided they may have difficulty in finding out the nature of the budget plan adopted. Therefore, after the budget has been revised and acted upon by the legislative body and when the executive has had an opportunity to exercise veto powers, some form of summary report should be published showing how the original budget plan has been altered in the legislative process. This, more clearly than the original budget document, gives the average citizen an idea of the probable magnitude of government operations during the forthcoming period.

Failure to Follow Budget

One of the principal defects in the budgeting process is the failure on the part of administrators to execute the plan as authorized. Frequently department heads never see their budgets after they have been submitted. These agencies may know from past experience that no check is made. Hence, they proceed to spend at will. It is true that departments may be re-

quired to stay within certain dollar limits, but generally there is no check to see if a work program is followed.

Supplementary budgets and appropriations are too often employed. A great deal of study and debate may be devoted to an original budget plan, but during the fiscal period substantial supplementary appropriations may be made without notice or open discussion. If this practice is resorted to, period after period, the whole process of original budget preparation, public hearings, and the like becomes meaningless.

The budgeting cycle is completed with the review of budget execution. Responsibility for this review should be with the legislature. Regardless of who performs the technical job of reviewing budget execution, however, the citizen should have several questions answered. These include among others: first, how did actual expenditures and receipts compare with original budget estimates and if there is disagreement, why? Second, has the work program been executed according to schedule, and if not, why not? This information should be included in an annual report and made available to all interested citizens. Many units of government, however, operate year in and year out without any kind of audit or report to the citizens.

Basis for Improvement

I have suggested a few common weaknesses in the budgeting process at the state and local levels, with possible solutions. More far-reaching reforms are required, however, if budgeting progress is to be achieved on all fronts.

Basically, better government structure and more capable personnel are essential. Being realistic, however, we must admit the political limitations to rapid movements in these directions. In the intervening period, then, we must strive for budget systems of a less complicated nature.

A second basis for improvement is through the budget law. Care must be taken in drafting the original act. In one state an overly anxious group of taxpayers, believing there should be a rigid county budget law, copied the statute of an adjoining state and pushed the measure through the legislature before it was realized that the law did not fit the fiscal calendar, revenue system, or administrative organization of the county. Dissatisfaction with the act nearly resulted in a complete overthrow of uniform county budgeting in that state.

Intergovernmental Cooperation

A third basis for improvement may be achieved through intergovernmental coöperation. An attempt should be made to get what might be called an "over-all picture." In terms of services and costs what are the effects on the citizen of the several levels of government—federal, state, county, city, school, and other districts? In a growing number of fields two or more of these levels of government are active. It is practically impossible today to determine in a county how much all units of government are spending for any given function and the aggregate service provided.

A great need exists for uniform terminology and classification in budgeting, accounting, and reporting not only within each level but among all levels. Uniformity of this nature

would make possible the preparation of consolidated statements of total government activity and would be of particular value in preparing budget plans. Many state and local units, for example, find budgeting for welfare next to impossible because they have no way of determining what policy Congress will take in respect to WPA, PWA, and the like. On the other hand, a certain flexibility is desired in federal budgeting. Perhaps budget conferences could be worked out with representatives from the several levels of government attending.

Better understanding of the tasks and responsibilities of the other levels would likewise be strengthened if there were more intergovernmental coöperation. In an unbalanced society, where the government has to fight depressions and wars, it is desirable to have machinery to insure that local action will not deter federal action. Today, for example, the federal government is in the midst of the greatest war effort in history. A realization of this effort by other levels of government is essential. Governments and individuals are being called upon to defer capital improvement outlays and other expenditures that might conflict with this effort or be inflation-generating.

State supervision probably offers the most satisfactory solution to local budgeting ills. By state supervision the surrender of the right of a local unit to determine the content of the budget is not inferred. The determination of how much should be spent, for what it should be spent, and how the burden is to be distributed, within broad limits, should be

decided locally. The procedure of budgeting, however, can be improved through state supervision.

Two principles need further emphasis in respect to this supervision. First of all, the supervisory agency should receive adequate funds. It must be able to follow not only routine supervisory duties, but should initiate improvements. The agency should offer its services as a consultant to local units and serve as a research organization whereby local problems may be studied and solved. Secondly, the agency must be realistic and practical in its demands on the local units. Sometimes a state agency seems to make its regulations and forms as difficult to understand and follow as possible.

Ultimately, the basis for improvement lies with the individual citizen. It must be realized that water does not rise higher than its source. The citizen—the source of all power in a democracy—must take an active part in seeing that the budgeting process is carried out efficiently. This requires more than voting intelligently on election day. It requires the maintenance of a vigilant check on elected representatives and administrators.

The citizen should expect a competent budget authority to prepare a comprehensive budget document. He should make known his wishes before the body charged with considering and adopting the budget plan. Finally, the citizen should insist that a check be made of budget execution. In the course of the budgeting cycle the responsible citizen should be given access to public records and should be entitled to bring legal action for violation of the budget law.

Admittedly, it is difficult for the isolated individual to accomplish much. The basis for successful citizen action is an active citizens' agency, and as long as we have representative government there are bound to be citizen groups. It is impossible, of course, to expect all such groups to use their power for the general good. Indeed, many sins are committed in the name of the citizen. Some taxpayer organizations, for instance, in an attempt to reduce taxes devote their entire attention toward perpetuating property tax limitation laws. A responsible citizens' agency, however, will attack the problem directly through the budget. Furthermore, it will have a long run view, counting the benefits of government as well as the costs. It will combine research with education and give support to those officials who are striving for efficient and economical government.

In conclusion it may be repeated that the average American citizen is interested in receiving a dollar's worth of service for his tax dollar. The budgeting process should be geared to reconcile the citizens' service demands in a way that the most advantageous balance between private and public activities is achieved. Furthermore, the mechanics of public budgeting should be improved to make the entire process more effective. In this improvement the citizen who receives the benefit must take an active part in supporting and even leading budget reform measures.

Editor's Note.—Address before conference of the Governmental Research Association, Princeton, New Jersey, September 5, 1941.

On the Local Front

Nutrition poll shows what average city family eats—and doesn't eat.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

PROBABLY very few city families make a habit of eating all the protective foods necessary for health and strength, according to a preliminary report on a recent nutrition poll. The survey, made by Crossley, Incorporated, at the request of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, was conducted in South Bend, Indiana, where an intensive community nutrition program is now under way.

The eight basic food groups about which South Bend housewives were questioned are those listed as daily "musts" in the national nutrition food rules recommended by the nation's leading nutritionists: milk and milk products; oranges, grapefruit, tomatoes, raw salad greens; green or yellow vegetables; other vegetables and fruits; whole-grain products or enriched white bread and flour; meat, poultry, and fish; eggs; butter and other spreads.

Only a small percentage of the families interviewed use all eight essential groups daily; but the survey shows that a third of the housewives use at least seven of them in the average day's meals and another third use six. Meat, vegetables (other than green or yellow), and butter are the three groups reported most frequently in the average day's meals.

Children seem to fare much better, nutritionally speaking, than adults. This is especially noticeable in the findings on milk and milk products. Approximately 95 per cent of housewives with children believe that milk products

should be served daily, whereas no more than 80 per cent of adults without children believe they need milk or milk products every day. Nine out of ten families with children claim to drink milk at least five days a week; but only about five out of ten families without children say it is served that often.

This relationship between the use of milk as a drink and the age of the individual continues among adults; young housewives seem to use more milk than those who are older. Nearly 90 per cent of those under twenty-five serve it to their families practically every day, but it is used by only about 85 per cent of those from twenty-five to forty, less than 75 per cent of those from forty to fifty-five, and about 40 per cent of those over fifty-five. Though the survey makes no interpretation of these figures, they seem to suggest that the milk-drinking education begun about twenty-five years ago has had a very real effect.

Enriched bread and flour seem in South Bend to be gaining public recognition, though the nutrition poll indicates that their value is not yet fully appreciated. Bakers and millers have placed these new products on the market in response to an urgent appeal from the National Research Council and other national nutrition authorities.

A breakdown of the survey on this food group shows that both enriched bread and flour are already recognized by many housewives as superior to

plain white bread and flour. This may probably be attributed to the intensive educational campaign being waged by government nutrition agencies. Cooperation on the part of the millers and bakers has also helped.

About 75 per cent of the housewives interviewed had heard of enriched bread; about 20 per cent had not, and the remainder were uncertain. Slightly more than half definitely remembered having purchased enriched bread; about one-third did not remember. Some families were found to have enriched bread in the house even though the housewife failed to remember buying it.

The Crossley figures on use of enriched flour are comparable to those for enriched bread, with some 70 per cent of the housewives having enriched flour in the pantry. The survey also shows that about 60 per cent correctly stated that enriched flour and bread are the same color as the plain white varieties, their food value being much enhanced.

Meat Group in Lead

The meat, poultry, and fish group leads in daily use, according to this preliminary report. The findings indicate that about nine out of every ten families include some sort of meat dish in the average day's meals. This is the highest frequency for any of the eight protective food groups.

The most popular meats seem to be beef, veal, lamb, ham, and pork. About half the women interviewed said they served something from this group nearly every day. But fowl, liver or kidneys, and fish also seem to make at least weekly appearance on about half of South Bend's dinner tables. Nutritionists stress the fact that the thrifter selections have just as much health value as those higher priced, and that dishes made with beans, peas,

or nuts may be used occasionally as alternatives.

The eating preferences revealed by this cross-section survey fail significantly to tally with some of the national nutrition food rules. One example cited the relative use of oranges and grapefruit, as against tomatoes, cabbage, and other raw salad greens. Nutritionists say all these foods have similar values from the protective point of view. But though at least nine-tenths of the housewives participating in the survey know that their families should have some of these foods every day, less than three-fourths of them actually serve them in the average day's meals.

Oranges and grapefruit appear much more frequently on their tables than either salad or tomatoes; the relative frequency might be roughly stated as one for tomatoes and tomato juice, two for the cabbage and salad group, and three for citrus fruits. The regular use of the citrus fruits by so many families is encouraging in the opinion of nutritionists. But, it is pointed out, more people need to know that tomatoes and cabbage grown locally over wide areas are acceptable alternatives with similar protective values. This is particularly important information for the housewife who must see that her family is well fed on a modest budget.

The same failure to realize the nutritional importance of certain vegetables is reflected elsewhere in the findings. Apparently a great many women still do not know that the green and yellow vegetables are particularly high in protective vitamins and minerals. The National Nutrition Food Rules recommend one or more big helpings of such vegetables every day, along with ample servings of other vegetables and fruits.

Yet in South Bend, and no doubt in other parts of the country, the white

potato is eaten more frequently than any other vegetable. Eight out of every ten of the housewives to whom the interviewers talked serve potatoes practically every day. This is a good showing in the opinion of nutritionists. But the picture is different for green and yellow vegetables; these are included in the average day's meals in only about half the families. A substantial number, perhaps as much as a third to a half, of the total women interviewed, say they never serve spinach or similar leafy vegetables.

There also seems to be considerable room for improvement even in getting all the good out of the vegetables which are used fairly frequently. Only about one-third of the women interviewed believe the tops of beets have high nutritive value and for turnip tops the ratio is only about one-fourth; one-half of these housewives believe the skins of baked potatoes have high food value.

These preliminary findings underscore the importance of the national nutrition program and of local activities undertaken as a part of this nationwide campaign.

A real improvement in nutrition should result from the many activities now under way. Every community and every family that demonstrates how to utilize its food resources wisely is making a real contribution not only to its own health, but also to the nation's all-out war effort.

Industrial Hygiene Conference

The recent Fifth National Conference of Industrial Hygienists held in Washington pointed up the need for greatly increased efforts to care for the health of industrial workers both in the plants and in the home.

Paul V. McNutt, Federal Security Administrator, told the conference that

80,000,000 working days, or enough to build 14,000 bombers, 33,000 tanks, or ten great battleships in the next year, could be saved if adequate health measures were taken immediately in the country's war plants. "Four hundred million working days are marked off every year because of workers' illnesses. All the delays from supply shortages, bottlenecks, labor troubles, and sabotage combined will scarcely total in a year the destructive power of our wildest saboteurs—disease and injury—which operate day and night in every plant in the nation," he said.

The conference was told by Assistant Surgeon-General Joseph W. Mountin of the Public Health Service that medical services in certain war centers were so inadequate that doctors, nurses, and dentists might have to be drafted from other communities.

Labor's spokesman at the conference was Ralph D. Hetzel of the CIO who suggested a further expansion of union-sponsored industrial health programs. Andrew Fletcher, vice-president of the St. Joseph Lead Company, representing industry, expressed the conviction that when the interest of management and employees has been sufficiently aroused and information and facts are available, absenteeism will be lessened, and thereby we will reduce the great wastage to employees due to loss of wages, to industry due to loss of earnings, and to our country due to loss of production.

The conferees expressed special concern with two phases of industrial health: the health problems created by large, sudden influxes of population into war industrial areas, and the problem of providing adequate health services in small industrial plants.

The conference recommended

1. That the Public Health Services

take leadership in mobilizing facilities in war industrial areas. The Industrial Hygiene Unit of the Public Health Service and the Sub-Committee on Industrial Health and Medicine of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Service should effect a closer coöperation with state and local health officials in order to make more public health services available to industrial workers and their families.

2. That the present program of research, training, and technical assistance in industrial health to war industry be expanded in order to meet

present and future need. This resolution pointed out that almost none of the small industrial plants employing less than five hundred have medical, engineering, or nursing services. Since a large majority of the workers are employed in such plants, and even more will be soon, this situation presents a serious health problem. The conference therefore recommended that governmental industrial hygienists undertake to develop plans and promote the voluntary establishment of medical, engineering, and nursing services in small plants by industry.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Keep on giving us essays like Overstreet's "Leadership in a Democracy" in the REVIEW from time to time. Which reminds me: I feel greatly in your debt for reprinting from *PM* some time ago "Democracy Is for Fighting Men."
Iowa State College JOHN A. VIEG

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Referring to the article in the current number of the REVIEW under the heading, "British Utilities Weather The Blitz," I am enclosing thirty cents in coin for which you will kindly send me as many "tear sheets" of this particular article as the payment warrants.

This is a very interesting article and I am very glad that you published it. Thank you!

Atlantic City, N. J. ALBERT T. BELL

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

...Ever since I became acquainted with the nature and scope of the good work being performed by the National Municipal League I have been able to take a firmer hold on life in the knowl-

edge that someone was really working in an intelligent manner to preserve democracy. . .
GEORGE R. JARVIS
Sylvan Lake Village,
Pontiac, Michigan

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Over the weekend I have been privileged to read the fourth edition of *Model State Constitution* published by your organization.

It is a wonderful product. It naturally would be, coming from the students of constitutional law who made up the committee. In many of its details it would not be appropriate to our state, still, as a model skeleton constitution, and in most of its details, it seems very adaptable.

In our revision work and in legislative drafting we maintain that the law speaks in the present. It seems to us that in drafting your model constitution you have made too free use of the future indicative and of the passive rather than the active verb.

WILLIAM B. HENDERSON
Revisor of Statutes
State of Minnesota

Contributors in Review

PUBLIC utilities have been the chief interest of **John Bauer** (*Supreme Court Hints New Utility Rate Base*) for many years. In addition to his directorship of the American Public Utilities Bureau since 1925 he has a long list of appointments to his credit a few of which include: utility rate adviser to New York City; economic consultant to the New York Legislative Commission on Revision of Public Service Commissions Law; economic consultant to South Carolina Power Rate Investigating Commission; valuation expert for the U. S. Department of Justice; adviser, public utility service, North Carolina League of Municipalities. Dr. Bauer has made utility surveys for several large cities and is author and co-author of numerous articles and books. Among the latter are *Public Utility Valuation for Purposes of Rate Control*; *The Electric Power Industry, Development, Organization and Public Policies*; and *National Welfare and Business Stability*.

CALIFORNIA has been the scene of both the education and teaching experience of **Winston W. Crouch** (*Are There Too Many Cities?*). He received his A.B. and M.A. from Pomona College and his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. He has taught at Occidental College and Pomona, and is now assistant professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles. In addition to numerous articles appearing in the **NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW** and other publications, Dr. Crouch has two books to his credit: *State Aid to Local Government in California* and (with V. O. Key) *The Initiative and Referendum in California*.

THE material contained in this month's article by **Grover Wm. Ensley** (*A Citizen's Observations on State and Local Budgeting*) was gathered while its author was a Sloan Fellow and later when he was an employee of citizens' organizations. Mr. Ensley was in the first Sloan Fellowship class of the University of Denver's Department of Government Management in 1938-1940, where his field work included an exhaustive study of the government of Albany County, Wyoming. On receiving his Master's degree from that institution he joined the research staff of the Tax Foundation, New York City, specializing in public budgeting and publishing various pieces on the subject. He is now fiscal agent with the U. S. Bureau of the Budget.

THE article in this month's **REVIEW** entitled *Canada Regulates Wages, Prices* has been prepared by a staff member of the Canadian National War Labor Board. Mr. R. H. Neilson, secretary of the board, writes that while it is the policy of the board to preserve the anonymity of those preparing such material, "the member of the staff who compiled the article is a former well known writer and lecturer on subjects appertaining to economics."

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Manager Cities to the Fore in Fire Prevention

Cincinnati Wins First Place in Inter-Chamber Contest

CITIES under the manager plan won the grand award as well as two first places out of six population groups in the 1941 Inter-Chamber Fire Waste Contest, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the National Fire Waste Council, and participated in by more than five hundred cities.

The grand award for the most notable work on fire prevention and protection went to Cincinnati, which likewise took first place in the 250,000-500,000 population group. In the latter group two other manager cities, Rochester, New York, and Toledo, Ohio, received honorable mention.

First place in the 100,000-250,000 group was won by Wichita, Kansas, with two other manager cities—Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Oklahoma City—receiving honorable mention. In four groups non-manager cities won first places as follows: over 500,000, Milwaukee; 50,000-100,000, Lakewood, Ohio; 20,000-50,000, Parkersburg, West Virginia, and under 20,000, Valley City, North Dakota. However, in these four groups nine manager cities received honorable mention: in the 50,000-100,000 group, Schenectady, New York, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Berkeley and Stockton, California, and Roanoke, Virginia; and in the 20,000-50,000 group, Newburgh and Watertown, New York, Muskegon, Michigan, and Gastonia, North Carolina.

Selection of winning cities took into account achievements in reducing fire losses, intensive educational work in fire prevention, organization for fire defense, and permanent improvements to eliminate fire hazards.

Winners in City and County Health Contests

Winning cities and counties in the National Health Conservation Contest, conducted jointly by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the American Public Health Association, were announced on April 16.

The cities making the best showing are, in alphabetical order: Detroit, Michigan; Evanston, Illinois; Greenwich, Connecticut; Hackensack, New Jersey; Hartford, Connecticut; LaSalle, Illinois; Louisville, Kentucky; Madison, Wisconsin; Memphis, Tennessee; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Newton, Massachusetts; Racine, Wisconsin; Reading, Pennsylvania; Schenectady, New York. Two of these, Hackensack and Schenectady, have council-manager government.

The counties that led in the rural health contest are: Alger-Schoolcraft Counties, Michigan; Arlington County, Virginia (county manager); Davidson County, Tennessee; Fayette County, Kentucky; Forsyth County, North Carolina; Gallatin County, Montana; Gibson County, Tennessee; Glynn County, Georgia; Lauderdale County, Mississippi; Madison County, Kentucky; Saginaw County, Michigan; Santa Barbara County, California; Thurston and Whitman Counties, Washington.

Council-Manager Plan News

On April 14 **Palm Springs, California**, which has been operating under the manager plan by ordinance of council for the past year, approved the plan by popular vote.

The town of **Mechanic Falls, Maine**,

at its annual town meeting in March, voted to employ a town manager.

In **Gloucester, Massachusetts**, the committee appointed by Mayor Ross last December to study the manager plan expects to place it before the voters for a referendum at the November election. Petitions have been prepared for circulation; approximately 1,200 signatures of registered voters are necessary.

A referendum election on the city manager plan will be held in **Newark, New Jersey**, on May 26.

The manager plan was featured at a meeting of the **Anderson, South Carolina**, Rotary Club on April 7. It was explained in detail by J. A. Raffield, city manager of Sumter, South Carolina, which pioneered with the manager plan in 1912.

The city commission of **Berkley, Michigan**, voted on April 2 to call a special election for June 2 on the question of revising its ten-year-old charter to provide for a city manager. Nominating petitions for a nine-man charter commission must be filed by May 2; if more than eighteen file petitions the June 2 election will constitute a primary to eliminate all but eighteen who will be voted on finally in September.

In **Grand Island, Nebraska**, on April 7 the voters disapproved a proposal for a charter convention to revise the present home rule charter to include the manager plan.

In **St. Louis, Michigan**, a charter revision commission was elected on April 6, the vote for revision being 546 to 309. The Citizens Committee for Charter Revision has been advocating the council-manager plan.

City Planning Agencies Numerous; Aid War Effort

City planning commissions or similar agencies are found in nearly three-

fourths of the cities with more than 25,000 population, according to a recent survey by the International City Managers' Association. These agencies, some of which have been in existence for many years, are of special use today in working out solutions for housing, sanitation, and transportation difficulties which arise in cities undergoing sudden expansion because of war industries or army camps in the vicinity.

The Atlanta and Fulton County Planning Commissions, for example, were called in for advice on selection of a site for a new airplane plant. Recently the Detroit City Plan Commission, with other municipal planning agencies in the area, was consulted on problems in connection with the new "war-made" community of Willow Run.

The percentage of cities with planning agencies varies directly with the size of the city; each of the fourteen cities of over 500,000 population is so equipped, while only 64 per cent of the cities between 25,000 and 50,000 have established such agencies. In about two-thirds of the cities appointments to the planning board are made by the mayor, and in about 20 per cent by the council.

More than half the cities reported that they had master plans in some stage of development, though in 43 per cent the plans are still in a preliminary stage, and in only one-third of the cities have the plans been approved by the council. A majority of the cities also reported long-range public works programs under way, most of them with aid of the federal Public Work Reserve program.

Though the urban part of the nation is well supplied with planning agencies, a large share of the agencies have little or no funds and lack adequate technical staffs, according to the survey. Less than one-fourth of all cities report-

ing said they had full-time planning staff members. In most cases, especially in the 25,000-50,000 population cities, full-time city employees such as engineers, draftsmen, and clerks devote part of their time to the work of the planning agency.

Kentucky Authorizes Municipal Electric Systems

The Kentucky General Assembly has adopted a law which empowers every county, city, and other municipality to establish its own electric system. It is probably the most comprehensive statutory provision in the country for the establishment of municipal ownership. While several Kentucky municipalities already own electric systems, these were established under special legal provisions, without a comprehensive enabling act.

First, the municipal system is organized under a "Board of Public Utilities." This is legally a body politic and corporate, with powers and duties to establish the municipal electric system and to control operations within the terms of the act. It consists of four citizen members and one representative of the governing body (or city manager), each appointed by the mayor or chief executive with the approval of the governing body.

Second, the Board appoints a superintendent who has administrative control over operations, "who shall be qualified by training and experience for the general superintendence of the acquisition, improvement, and operation of the electric plant." His salary is fixed by the Board, and he is removable for inefficiency, neglect, misfeasance or malfeasance. He appoints his assistants and subordinates within the policies fixed by the Board.

Third, the act provides especially for the acquisition of the existing electric

properties owned by a private utility company. The procedure may be by negotiation or by the findings of a valuation board, or by condemnation proceedings. The valuation board is representative of the company and the municipality; its findings are not binding upon either party, but it is intended to bring about agreement. If, however, this cannot be attained, condemnation is provided for.

Fourth, in addition to the acquisition of existing properties, the Board has power to construct, lease, and otherwise acquire properties that are needed to establish the municipal system. It has also full power to operate the properties, to enter into contracts relating to operation, to own and operate properties in contiguous municipalities subject to agreements with them, and to enter into an agreement with the Tennessee Valley Authority for the purchase of bulk power.

Fifth, the acquisition of the privately owned properties and the construction of new plants may be financed by revenue bonds, which are not a debt of the municipality. Their issuance, like the acquisition itself, is subject to approval by the electorate, by a majority of the persons voting.

Sixth, operation must be financially self-sustaining. Rates are fixed by the Board, but they must be high enough in their entirety to cover operating expenses (including maintenance), due provision for depreciation, tax payments or equivalents, and amortization of bonds. Each system must pay to the state and to each municipality or tax collecting unit, taxes equal to the regular tax rate applied to the net plant cost (the acquisition cost of the properties less a proper reserve for depreciation). In addition, reasonable operating reserves may be provided and a return of 6 per cent may be paid

to the municipality on its net equity in the plant. This allowable return, however, is more theoretical than actual, for the equity consists of the gross plant costs less accrued depreciation and outstanding bonds, and without including plant payments made out of earnings; hence no actual equity can appear as a practical matter. All surplus earnings must be applied exclusively to rate reductions. The objective is to furnish electricity at a minimum cost within the standards of fully self-sustaining operation, and except for the tax equivalents, not to contribute to the general municipal budget for the relief of taxpayers or other purposes.

JOHN BAUER, *Director*
American Public Utilities Bureau

State Commission to Administer Local Merit System

Rye, New York, is the first city in that state to elect that the provisions of the 1941 civil service law (requiring adoption of the merit system by cities and counties) be administered by the State Civil Service Commission instead of a local commission.¹

Municipal Government Course in Milwaukee

A short course in municipal government, in connection with defense training efforts, began at Marquette University in Milwaukee on March 11 to continue on Wednesday evenings for eight weeks. It is sponsored by the Milwaukee Government Service League, and is for city and county employees in the Milwaukee area. No collegiate credit is given. Subjects include municipal government in war time, financing local government, public health and welfare,

public safety, education and cultural services, recreation, public works, and planning.

Programming for Local Public Works

Under the joint authority of the Federal Works Agency and the National Resources Planning Board there has been established the Local Public Works Programming Office, effective April 1, which 'supersedes the former Public Work Reserve. The objectives of the new agency are to collect information concerning advance construction plans and estimates by states, municipalities, and other public agencies and to consult with state and local agencies in developing orderly programs of non-federal public works; to aid such agencies to formulate planned programs of public works based upon information regarding real community needs and anticipated financial resources; and to assemble programs formulated by non-federal government agencies on the basis of which a determination can be made of the amount and kind of public works that can be undertaken during the coming six years.

To achieve these objectives, encouragement, counsel, and assistance will be given responsible officials of local governments in the formulation of long-range public works programs. The operating personnel of the office, to be set up on a national, regional, and state basis, will provide this assistance rather than formulate such programs themselves.

The sponsoring agencies will determine the nature, extent, and financing methods of their future work programs, and will be encouraged to reformulate their programs annually. Only those revenues from local, state, or federal sources that are now in sight

¹See also "New York Counties Plan Merit Systems," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1942, p. 233.

and have become established on a continuing basis may be anticipated in drawing up future plans. The effort throughout will be the development of a public works program based upon a real plan for community growth.

New York Legislature Acts on Reapportionment

At the end of this year's session of the New York State legislature, on April 24, a congressional reapportionment measure, setting up new districts for members of the national House of Representatives, was finally passed. It had previously been defeated in the state Senate, along with a reapportionment bill to establish new districts for members of the state legislature.

The congressional reapportionment bill was suddenly revived when it was pointed out that Congress itself might intervene to require election of all representatives at large or to redraw the district lines, which had remained the same except for minor changes since 1911. Two congressmen have been elected at large since 1932, with forty-three elected from districts.

The bill passed does not take effect until 1944. It provides for forty-five districts. The chief shifts are made among the boroughs of New York City.

The last general redistricting for the state legislature was in 1917.

With legislative reapportionment defeated in the New York State Senate, Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh, a leading Republican state senator, advocated a constitutional amendment to turn the task of revising legislative districts over to the Court of Appeals, highest court of the state. This proposal would concern only the districts for the State Senate and Assembly inasmuch as the federal constitution provides that the manner of electing congressmen shall be prescribed by

the state legislatures or by Congress. The proposal was not adopted.

Kentucky Furthers City-County Cooperation, Civil Service, Blight Removal

The Kentucky legislature at its recent session authorized cities and counties to consolidate their purchasing systems and place them under civil service.

Other important bills adopted covered the establishment of the merit system for departments of safety, health, welfare, and civil service; creation of a city and county board of health; and authority for the formation of private urban redevelopment corporations with power to condemn property for slum abatement rehousing projects.

Public Service Training Aided by NYA

A California committee of twenty university and governmental administrators, which has directed an experimental program during the last year and a half whereby selected college students working under the National Youth Administration give part-time service in government offices, is recommending extension of the plan on a national scale.

In lieu of working at usual NYA jobs on the campus, certain students in some seventeen California colleges and universities were employed under this program to serve as "fellows" in several branches of federal, state, county, and municipal governments in that state.

Professor Edwin A. Cottrell of Stanford University, acting chairman of the committee, points out that this employment enables the student to gain practical experience along with his academic training, and emphasizes that in the post-war reconstruction period

some sort of public service reserve should be built up to absorb the millions of youths who will no longer be needed for war pursuits. One need will be the filling by trained personnel of positions in all governments for the prosecution of a public works reserve program.

In the first year of operation in California, 103 students throughout the state were employed under the public service program, and at present 275 students are in selected part-time assignments in government offices, supplementing the work of regular employees. Types of experience gained include accounting, statistical work, nursing, laboratory techniques, personnel management, welfare work, planning commission and engineering drafting, planning inventories, legal research, foreign trade studies, and labor disputes. Many of the trained students have important places in war activities.

Courts Expand Scope of Police Power Regulation

By two recent Florida decisions the doctrine that private business and property may not be regulated under the "police power" upon aesthetic grounds has received another blow.

The two cases are *Hav-a-Tampa Cigar Company v. Johnson* and *John H. Swisher & Son, Inc. v. Johnson*.¹ Both cases sustain the restrictions of the Florida 1941 outdoor advertising statute.²

These decisions deserve a niche beside the great Massachusetts billboard decision of January 1935.³ What they lack in unanimity of view (two jus-

tices dissented) they make up in their express references to aesthetics as a legitimate basis for reasonable regulation of private business and property and their assertion of the right and duty of the police power to protect the "comfort, common good, and general welfare of the public," as well as its "safety, health, and morals."

Both were suits by cigar manufacturers with roadside billboards of their own (not space rented from commercial billboard firms). In the second case a private landowner who had rented a site to a cigar manufacturer was joined as a party plaintiff. The suits were brought to enjoin the State Road Department from enforcing the provisions of the billboard statute. In both cases (coming to the Florida Supreme Court from different counties) the Circuit Courts had dismissed the complaints and in both cases the decisions below were affirmed.

Repeatedly do the five justices who agree in support of the Florida regulations refer to the traffic danger arising from the distraction of attention by advertising signs along the highways. This danger to public travel has been recognized in decisions of other courts.

Chief Justice Brown, specially concurring in the opinion by Justice Whitfield, stated in the second case that if it were necessary to the decision of the present cases or in order to support the 1941 regulations, he would be in favor of overruling the opinion in a previous billboard case.⁴ He said:

I think the time has come to make a candid avowal of the right of the legislature to adopt appropriate legislation based upon these so-called aesthetic, but really very practical, grounds. . . . The location, size, and character of the sign should be taken into consideration.

Chief Justice Brown recognizes the

¹Both decided December 19, 1941 (rehearings denied January 21, 1942), and reported in 5 So. (2nd) 433-446.

²Florida Acts 1941, Chap. 20446.

³See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1935, p. 117.

⁴*Anderson v. Shackelford*, 74 Fla. 36

"right of view of the natural beauty of the surrounding country" and assigns to the desire to protect this right of view certain of the purposes and details of the statute. He accordingly upholds all the restrictions in the statute, some of them upon the ground of protecting the public safety and others upon aesthetic grounds. Justice Whitfield, who wrote the opinion in both cases, refers to the validity of regulations for the "comfort" of the traveling public. Five justices agreed.

Another important feature of the decision is that it supports the "retroactive" regulation. Enforcement of the new statute will require the removal or relocation of hundreds, probably thousands, of signs. Private contracts for the leasing of billboard sites are held to be subject to the exercise of the police power in the public interest. The existence of such contracts neither prevents nor postpones the exercise of the state's power of regulation.

These Florida decisions recognizing public aesthetics as a basis for the exercise of the police power are in line with three other recent opinions in courts of first instance:

Preferred Tires, Inc. v. Village of Hempstead, 173 Misc. (N. Y.) 1017; same case, 19 N. Y. Supp. (2d) 374; *People v. Sterling*,⁵ and *Monterey County v. Bassett*.⁶ Moreover, it should not be forgotten that one of the fifteen billboard cases involved in the great Massachusetts decision was a case of aesthetics pure and simple. The deci-

sion sustained a refusal to extend the permit of a Chevrolet roof-sign in the State House neighborhood and overlooking Boston Common, for the sole reason that the sign was incongruous with its dignified neighborhood.

Handbills and Police Power

In another recent case—that of *Valentine v. Chrestensen*, decided April 13, 1942—the U. S. Supreme Court distinguishes between free press and free speech in civic, governmental, and non-commercial matters, on the one hand, and attempts by business to advertise itself, on the other.

Chrestensen owned a former U. S. Navy submarine, which he brought to New York and moored at a state pier in the East River. He attempted to distribute in the streets handbills advertising the boat and soliciting visitors for an admission fee. This distribution was prevented by Police Commissioner Valentine. Chrestensen brought suit to restrain the police commissioner, claiming a violation of his rights under the fourteenth amendment to the U. S. constitution. The U. S. District Court had upheld Chrestensen, and by a divided decision so had the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The Supreme Court now reverses the decision of those courts.

Justice Roberts, writing for a unanimous court, said:

This court has unequivocally held that the streets are proper places for the exercise of the freedom of communicating information and disseminating opinion, and that though the states and municipalities may appropriately regulate the privilege in the public interest, they may not unduly burden or proscribe its employment in these public thoroughfares. We are equally clear that the constitution imposes no such restraint on government as respects purely commercial advertising.

ALBERT S. BARD, *Counsel*
National Roadside Council

⁵Unreported comments of the late Justice Erskine C. Rogers of New York Supreme Court, from the record of the trial June 10-11, 1940. Quoted in *Roadside Bulletin* of the National Roadside Council, Nov. 1940. (There mistakenly attributed to Justice Bliss.)

⁶Unreported opinion of County Judge Maurice T. Dooling, Jr., (Calif.) Oct. 1938. Quoted in NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Dec. 1938, p. 619.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Kansas City Citizens Rally to Whip Machine *New Citizens Association Plans to Consolidate Election Gains*

IT TOOK six years of citizen effort for Kansas City to rid its municipal government of "machine" domination. Success, finally achieved in the spring of 1940, was the result of the battle waged by the United Campaign Committee. A city council headed by Mayor John B. Gage was elected, and the accomplishments of that administration, pledged to administer government honestly and in accordance with "the letter and spirit" of Kansas City's nonpartisan charter, were remarkable.

Unfortunately, citizen support became disorganized immediately following the 1940 election. The Charter Party, intended to be a permanent nonpartisan group, dissolved. Most of its workers joined with partisan Democratic groups to form the United Democratic Club whose object was to destroy the machine hold on Jackson County government in an intra-party primary fight in August 1940. In this they failed and the machine followed through to win the general county election in November 1940. This left the machine intact to wage a comeback fight in the next city election.

No effort was made immediately to rebuild a citizen group to support the city administration. On the other hand, the United Democratic Club and the Republican party vigorously pursued a policy of increasing party worker personnel among city hall employees on the theory that the machine could not

be held at bay except by a strong counter-organization of such employees. Definite organization antagonism against the mayor and certain councilmen developed because they would not participate in this partisan organization effort. Some of the councilmen temporarily subscribed to the theory, and for a while "dabbled" in political patronage. Citizens were kept alert to the issue, however, by the Civic Research Institute bulletins and the Public Affairs Forum.

As the fall of 1941 wore on without organization of citizen support of the administration a general public concern developed. Many became convinced that, if the Republicans and United Democrats did not both agree to coalition support of the administration, machine success in the 1942 spring city election was certain. It was not until early December 1941 that eighty citizens sent a joint letter to some one thousand others calling a meeting to form a **Citizens Association**.

This meeting, held December 14, resulted in the election of the writer as chairman with authority to appoint an executive committee, open headquarters, and conduct conferences for a coalition. This was done, but citizen apathy, Pearl Harbor, and the holiday season contributed to make the picture anything but encouraging.

The United Democratic leadership, holding fast to its counter-machine theory, refused to support for reelection certain councilmen who had shunned political activity, and conferences with that leadership had to be terminated. Some of the Republican leaders took such a partisan position that coalition with that party was likewise impossible unless they receded.

As the deadline for filing nominating petitions approached the Citizens Association was forced to adopt an

nounce independently a three-point program: (1) Nomination of Mayor Gage and council candidates, the majority being incumbents, who would carry on the administration's policies; (2) organization of the Citizens Party to secure the legal right to watchers and challengers at the polls; (3) re-adoption of the platform of 1940 with an added pledge to submit charter amendments to vote of the people, including a "Little Hatch Act" provision, at the November 1942 election.

Other Groups Give Support

Finally the majority of the Republican organization announced support of this platform and ticket. Likewise the Independent Democratic Association was organized and announced support. These three groups nominated representatives on the Citizens Campaign Committee to campaign for the election of the "Citizens Ticket," against the "United Ticket," supported by the United Democrats and two former machine factions, and against the machine ticket. A small group of Republicans refused complete support, nominating candidates to oppose two of those on the Citizens Ticket.

A few city employees volunteered to work for the Citizens Ticket. Many others took no active part in the campaign. But strangely enough most of those who worked supported the United Ticket. Some even worked with the machine organization. It was possible to organize only a skeleton force of Citizen workers by the time primary day, March 10, arrived. The women, however, as in 1940, organized effectively, again under the leadership of Mrs. George H. Gorton, and did a remarkable job of "selling" the program to the voters through letters, polling, and telephoning. They are again entitled to a major share of credit for the result achieved.

Weakness of the Citizen workers organization necessitated a vigorous radio campaign. Likewise *Citizen Sun* newspapers were circulated citywide by paid services. The local press publicized in an excellent manner the administration's accomplishments. At meetings, in the press, and over the radio, the issue of "visible government" against "invisible government" was pounded home. Just before election a postcard, listing the Citizens Ticket candidates and the polling place of the particular voter, was mailed to every registered voter in Kansas City. Return postage was guaranteed, and returned cards were rushed to precinct workers as a basis for challenging.

An independent nonpartisan campaign by the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the A. F. of L., and the C. I. O., urging the people by payroll inserts, billboard ads, and radio spot announcements, to "vote as you please, but vote," was most effective, and undoubtedly helped to swell the total vote cast.

The primary or elimination election results startled everyone! The "walk-in" vote was phenomenal. The total vote was in excess of the most optimistic pre-election estimates.

The United Party failed to nominate a single candidate. The machine, functioning with full precision, ran a poor second. Mayor Gage and most of the Citizens Ticket candidates polled more votes than their combined opposition. Two of the Citizens' candidates in districts where the machine is strongest ran second but were nominated.

Support flocked to the Citizens Ticket for the general election on March 31. Two factions of the United Party announced their support. Many who lacked confidence during the preprimary campaign came out publicly for the administration, as did all the de-

feated candidates. In the general election all but one of the Citizens' candidates were elected.

Given honest and efficient election and police boards, the answer to machine control of Kansas City's City Hall has involved: (a) conviction in the minds of a majority of citizens that party affiliation should not be of controlling influence in municipal elections; (b) nomination of candidates on the basis of personal character and ability, not because of promises of special favor or of "loyalty" to a particular group; and (c) willingness of the citizens, and particularly women, to work unselfishly in political activity.

What of the future? It was a mistake to permit citizen organization in Kansas City to lapse into inactivity following the 1934, 1938, and 1940 elections. A movement is well under way to make the Citizens Association a permanent organization. Progress achieved in the last two years can continue unabated if, and only if, citizen interest generally is maintained.

KENNETH E. MIDGLEY

Campaign Director

Kansas City Citizens Association

Wisconsin Taxpayers' Radio Program in Eleventh Year

"Your Wisconsin Government"—a radio program devoted to information about government and taxation—is now in its eleventh year of production.

The broadcast idea lays no special claim to originality, promotion, or sales appeal; it is based upon the knowledge that people need and want the unvarnished truth about what's happening in state and local affairs, and in national affairs too when they affect Wisconsin folks. No fanfare, no dramatics, nor entertainment enter into the program—the emphasis is on infor-

mation to help citizens form their own opinions about the way their local and state affairs are being run, with perhaps an idea or two about better ways of doing things.

The talks originated in 1932 with fifteen-minute broadcasts each week over Wisconsin's state-owned station WHA at Madison. This station, now a division of the University of Wisconsin, has continuously served as the original outlet for the program "Your Wisconsin Government."

Although all the talks are given originally over WHA, whose entire facilities are devoted to education, other stations have been added to the list. The broadcasts are now given independently over ten local Wisconsin stations. These commercial stations all contribute time as a public service feature. Talks are given by local speakers who, like the stations, donate their talents as citizens interested in government.

Broadcasts follow no uniform pattern. When the legislature is in session the work of that body is reported each week. Stress is laid on the arguments which develop for and against major legislation so the listener can understand what is happening and form his own opinions.

When the legislature is not in session the talks include a wide variety of subjects—local government news, new developments in different phases of government, instructions for computing and paying taxes, procedures for appealing assessments, and the like—always attempting to keep the subject timely. Before elections and before budget-making times special broadcasts appeal for citizen participation in government—programs about the sanctity of the right to vote and the citizen's duty toward his government.

At intervals a series of broadcasts is devoted to answering questions sent in

by listeners, a type of program endless in variety, stimulating to the sponsor, and loaded with possibilities for guidance for the listener.

Other broadcasts may deal with reforms. The advantages of city manager government, for example, may be carefully reviewed.

The current series deals with such subjects as the menace of inflation, the necessity for higher federal war taxes, and the reasons for buying more war bonds by individuals. As we prepared our present series of talks, we had in mind a letter from a staff member now with the armed forces, which stated in part:

Can you folks make people realize that this is war, that it is more important that men are being shot full of holes and that thousands of native and some American troops are now in Japanese hands in the Pacific Isles than it is that they have cuffs on their trousers or get outrageous rates of pay or profit? If you can drive home these things, make people realize them, you'll have more than discharged your war obligation.

Especially successful along this line was a recent talk "Are We Good Soldiers?"—a unique type of quiz program in which the listener was requested to answer the questions and grade himself on his contribution to the war effort.

Talks are prepared by the research and editorial staff of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** — an independent, non-political, fact-finding institution. Political implications must never be permitted to enter any work of the Alliance.

What is the response to this type of talk? Who listens?

Questions sent in by listeners to be answered over the air come from a typical cross-section of the Wisconsin community. Many listeners — legisla-

tors, public officials, editorial writers, and others—have requested that their names be placed on a permanent mailing list to receive copies of each week's talk. The fact that the program has continued every week for eleven-years indicates the Alliance has faith in the informational type of program and also faith in the democratic process of public discussion of important issues.

C. K. ALEXANDER, *Senior Economist*
Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance

Citizens Budget Group Active in Los Angeles

Forty-eight groups, representing a cross section of the people of Los Angeles County, have for the past five years studied and made recommendations to the County Board of Supervisors on the Los Angeles County budget. These groups, banded together as the **Los Angeles County Citizens' Budget Committee**, to work with members of the Board of Supervisors and the chief administrative officer of the county, Colonel Wayne Allen, and his aides, have made recommendations for economy and efficiency. They have backed up the Board in its efforts toward economy in government, and they have criticized when necessary.

The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, by its own desire and with the backing of this Citizens' Budget Committee together with the press and other civic-minded citizens and groups, has been able to plan the county spending program so that the tax rate has shown a small but steady decline since 1938-39.¹

Organizations represented in the membership of the committee include chambers of commerce, taxpayer as-

¹See also "Los Angeles County Streamlined," by Wayne Allen, *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, April 1942.

sociations, trade associations, women's clubs, real estate associations, and civic and improvement organizations. Its work is planned and directed by an executive committee made up of representatives of nine of the organizations participating. While the Committee is an independent organization, its research is done by the California Taxpayers' Association.

Because representatives of the citizens' organizations making up the Committee are, for the most part, business men and women, the committee holds dinner meetings at the call of the executive committee. These meetings often extend far into the night.

Program of study for the present year, adopted at a Committee meeting on November 18, 1941, and on which recommendations to the Board of Supervisors will be based, includes:

Salary Study Made

1. Study of county salaries in relation to the cost of living and comparison with going rates in private employment;
2. Study of so-called "mandatory" expenditures;
3. Study of possibilities of further accounting mechanization;
4. Study of park areas on a district basis;
5. Study of welfare costs in relation to war prosperity;
6. Study of special districts, including the County Flood Control District.

As a result of study of the first of these items, including a 50 per cent sampling of county salaries, the Committee found that county salaries are relatively higher than those paid in private employment for similar work; that one-fifth of all county employees are now receiving salaries higher than the maximum or fifth step for their jobs (the county salary schedule being on a five-

step basis) and an additional one-fourth of all county employees are at the top pay for the work they are doing; and that although all depression salary cuts have been restored, the Saturday morning off which was established as an offset to salary cuts still prevails.

Pointing out that the reduction in working hours had caused an increase of 10 per cent in salary costs in many offices and especially in institutions, the Committee wrote to the Board of Supervisors: "It is also evident that all-out war is going to require a great many more persons in production than are now engaged. While we know that some employees are now leaving public service to go into defense industries, it is our opinion that local governments should not discourage this, as defense production is our most vital need. If the county would restore the 44-hour week and use more efficient procedures, it could get along with many less employees."

Coöperation with the county government, together with a sound foundation of facts, has been the basis for the Committee's work. Its chairman, Harry H. Baskerville, former president of the Los Angeles City Board of Education, has well said:

"I believe one of the reasons for the success of the committee's work has been that it has taken a constructive and coöperative attitude with public officials. It has tried to gather and understand the exact facts, to base its recommendations on reliable information, to take the long view on problems of the county government, and to be in the position of favoring a good budget rather than simply opposing a bad budget."

JESSIE K. GRANT, *Editor*

The Tax Digest

California Taxpayers' Association

Roundup—

Just how good a wartime citizen are you? This is the question which the editors of *The Citizen*, publication of the **Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan**, ask of their readers. They have assembled a checklist of items which would probably find most of us wanting in one or more respects. Just to find out how you stand, we suggest you get hold of the March issue and test yourself.

The taxpayers associations in Massachusetts were among the first to recognize the need for clear and attention-getting presentations of the results of their research. . . One of the best promotion leaflets we have seen lately is entitled *Indifference: A Sixth Column Menace*, issued by the **Lynn Taxpayers' Association**. . . Along the same lines the **Pittsfield Association** is assisting the city administration in the development of a new streamlined annual city report to be issued soon. The report, which will be illustrated, will cost less than twenty cents per copy and will be distributed by the city to ten thousand taxpayers. Quite a contrast to previous reports which came to over ten dollars apiece and of which about two hundred copies were usually printed. . . Any effort to simplify municipal reports and make them more readable is certainly a worthwhile activity for a citizen organization.

And while we're on the subject of Massachusetts, the **Greenfield Association** has an idea which sounds good for a New England community. That organization sponsored a "Town Meeting Preview," a series of meetings held prior to the annual town meeting, at which issues likely to come before the meeting were discussed and information on them presented.

As a part of its program of concentrating public attention on the im-

portance of Congress and the forthcoming Congressional elections, the **National League of Women Voters** is conducting an ingenious poll of its own members, the results of which will be announced some time in May. The ballot used in the poll consists of a list of a dozen traits of Congressmen, from which League members are asked to pick the five which most nearly describe "what they want in a Congressman." One of the most crucial questions raised by the ballot is whether Congressmen should "follow their mail" or use their own judgment in voting. The results on this should be interesting.

The **St. Louis League of Women Voters** has turned up on the winning side again. This time the voters of that city accepted an eighty-nine-cent school tax rate (an increase of four cents) after a strenuous campaign in its favor by the League. Techniques employed include the radio, a broadside, and individual promotion in all daily contacts by League members.

The **Yonkers Committee of 100** has issued an excellent little booklet describing its activities and outlining what it has accomplished during the last few years. It is unfortunate that the text could not have been presented in a slightly larger format—merely for purposes of readability.

Another story of citizen organization accomplishment is presented in a large pamphlet entitled *8½ Years with New Haven Taxpayers, Inc.*

We were very much interested in a batch of publications which came in the office the other day — promotion material from the 1914 campaign for a constitutional convention in Indiana. Broadside, as well as some technical leaflets on the problems such a convention would face, were included, and we were particularly impressed with how little these problems change from one generation to another. R.M.W.

County and Township
Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

**New York Legislature
Approves Westchester
County Vote Plan**
*Extra Votes Given Board
Members from Large Districts*

THE NEW York State legislature has now approved a bill which is expected to result in a more equitable distribution of the voting strength of the Westchester County Board of Supervisors. The measure was previously acted on by the Westchester board itself, which passed it by a vote of thirty-three to four. Action by the state legislature was necessary since the proposal was in the form of an amendment to the Westchester County charter.

The charter amendment is a substitute for the small board plan rejected by the voters last November.¹ It is the culmination of several years of effort to eliminate the gross inequalities of the present board structure. Instead of changing the number of supervisors, the plan provides merely that additional votes shall be given supervisors from the more populous districts.

The structure of the weighted vote plan is as follows:

District	Present Vote	Proposed Vote
East Chester (town)	1	2
Greenburgh (town)	1	4
Mamaroneck (town)	1	2
Mount Pleasant (town)	1	2

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1941, pp. 545-6, and February 1942, p. 124.

Mount Vernon (city)	5	7
New Rochelle (city)	4	6
Ossining (town)	1	2
Rye (town)	1	3
White Plains (city)	3	4
Yonkers (city)	12	14
All others	15	15
	45	61

**Fulton County and Atlanta
Plan Jointly**

The *News Letter* of the American Society of Planning Officials reports that recently the City Planning Commission of Atlanta, Georgia, and the Fulton County Planning Commission met for the purpose of developing a joint planning program for the Atlanta area. In addition to members of both commissions, the Mayor of Atlanta was present at the meeting.

The following program was adopted with the understanding that, while each commission would concentrate on certain parts, the program as a whole would be executed on a collaborative basis: (1) A post-war works program; (2) completion of the master traffic plan; (3) revision of zones and adoption of a metropolitan area plan; (4) study of neighborhood development problems.

**Erie County, New York,
Sells Real Estate**

In the decade from 1932 through 1941 Erie County, New York, acquired through foreclosure of tax liens 28,519 building lots and 5,601 acres of rural land.¹ The property was appraised at approximately eleven and one-half million dollars. By the end of 1941 the

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1936, p. 589.

county had sold 2,360 lots and 439 acres appraised at nearly \$900,000.

The county is continuing to place in each contract involving sale of a lot a provision requiring construction of a building within a limited period of time and at a specified minimum cost. These provisions have resulted in the construction of dwellings costing a total of \$7,250,000. On the basis of number of dwellings, 70 per cent of the construction in the towns adjacent to Buffalo has been on lots thus sold by the county.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Chicago Tax Collections Off

Real Trouble Spot Continues to Be Personal Property Tax

TAX collection difficulties in Chicago, which were headline-makers during the economic depression of the early 1930's, may again stand out as a sore spot among the wartime financial problems of American cities. This is indicated by a slump in early collections as reported for Cook County, which collects taxes for Chicago and for all the other governmental bodies within the county's boundaries.

To April 15 this year, only 6.4 per cent of the current real estate tax extension and 3.7 per cent of the current personal property tax extension had been collected, as compared with collections to the same date last year of 9.5 per cent for realty taxes and 5.2 per cent for personalty taxes. Although the penalty date on the first half does not occur until June 1, the slump in early collections may prove significant.

Tax collection troubles in the area spring from a multitude of causes, it

may be recalled, not the least being the disruptive effects of the reassessment ordered by the Illinois State Tax Commission because of alleged gross inequalities in the quadrennial assessment of 1928. Even in normal times in Cook County the levy for one year is put into collection the following year, and this delayed schedule was further retarded by the reassessment, 1928 taxes going into collection in the summer of 1930 and later extensions being put into collection at ten- to eleven-month intervals to catch up on the regular schedule. A normal relationship between the budget year and the tax year was reattained in 1938, but tax collections were not significantly improved thereby.

For most municipalities the period since 1937 has been one in which tax receipts were greatly swelled by the realization of the backlog of delinquencies accumulated during the depression years. It has been an exceptional situation where back tax receipts have not offset or approximately offset current tax delinquency during recent years. In Chicago, however, this has occurred only twice recently—in 1935 and again in 1937—both years in which the accelerated schedule of collections resulted in three penalty dates instead of the usual two.

The year 1941 was one of the better collection years in Cook County. During the year current collections on the 1940 levy amounted to 80.7 per cent, while back taxes collected amounted to 19 per cent of the current levy, bringing total current and delinquent collections to 90.7 per cent of the current levy. For the previous year current collections were 77.2 per cent of the 1939 levy, back tax collections equalled 8.8 per cent of the current levy, and total current and delinquent collections totalled 86.0 per cent of the levy.

An especially favorable feature of the 1941 collection experience was a sharp increase in the collection of delinquent personalty taxes, realization of arrears of personal property taxes rising from \$1,828,846 in 1940 to \$7,828,743 in 1941. Less favorable was the situation with respect to delinquent realty taxes, realization on this item falling from \$16,610,828 in 1940 to \$13,982,362 in 1941.

The real trouble spot in tax collections continues to be the personal property tax. In 1940 total current and delinquent personalty tax collections equalled but 57.3 per cent of the 1939 levy, advancing for 1941 to 69.2 per cent of the 1940 levy. In contrast, total current and delinquent collections of railroad taxes slightly exceeded the current levy in both 1940 and 1941, while total realty tax collections advanced from 95.7 per cent in 1940 to 98.1 per cent in 1941. Personal property taxes account for approximately two-thirds of all uncollected and legally collectible delinquent taxes in Cook County for the years since 1927, and experience indicates that only a small portion of this will be collected.

The difficulties with personalty taxes spring from several sources. One is the fact that under the uniformity clause of the state constitution personalty is taxed at the same rate *ad valorem* as realty. The levies are admittedly burdensome on certain classes of personalty, and the situation is only partly alleviated by the practice of assessing personalty at a slightly lower ratio to full value than is used for realty. The situation in this regard is of course beyond the control of the local authorities, some amendment of the state constitution to permit either the removal of personalty from the tax base or its taxation at a lower rate probably being desirable.

The tax collection outlook for the remainder of the year is colored by several important factors which together make it appear unlikely that later collections will reverse the presently evident slump. One of these is the fact that Chicago, which accounts for the bulk of the taxes levied in the county, had last year the second highest tax rate in its history, and has this year the highest. The 1940 rate, used for taxes collectible last year, was \$95.20 per \$1,000 in the city, while the 1941 rate is \$98.90. These rates are against taxable values equal to about 37 per cent of full value, so that on a 100 per cent basis the 1940 rate would be \$35.22 per \$1,000 of full value and the 1941 rate \$36.59.

These are not exceptionally high rates, as the rates for large cities go, but the fact that the current rate is the highest on record locally may be expected to adversely influence collections. This is especially so in view of the heavy federal taxes necessitated by the war, and the fact that rising prices and other uncertainties of warfare make the payment of all taxes increasingly difficult.

Some efforts have been made in recent years to improve the tax collection system, including the modernizing of the tax collection's records, the use of the legal machinery for enforcing tax liens, and a considerable amount of study, research, and educational work aimed at both public officials and the citizens. These are more impressive for their potentialities than for actual accomplishments, however, and it is not unfair to say that Chicago enters the present period of stress only somewhat better as regards tax collections than it was at the beginning of the depression.

Houston Council Amplifies, Increases Mayor's Budget

Press clippings from the city of Houston, Texas, carry an unusual story of a city council taking the administrative budget out of the hands of the executive because it was not sufficiently detailed. According to the press report, the mayor's 1942 budget not only ran about half a million dollars below that of 1941, but also ran to only two pages. The council majority, holding that many cuts were made in essential services, prepared its own document, which is reported to run to nearly fifty pages and to contain itemized appropriations. The council restored some of the cuts and made other increases, so that its budget ran about \$114,000 above that submitted by the mayor.

Reductions in the budget are being made to meet an estimated decline in revenues for 1942, decreases being looked for especially in personalty tax collections and in miscellaneous licenses and charges paid by business enterprises. The drop in personalty tax collections is expected to reflect decreased inventories due to shortages and restrictions on civilian consumption, that in business licenses, etc., to diminished activity resulting from the same restrictions.

Doughton-Cochran Bill Revised

As we go to press Congress continues consideration of the Doughton-Cochran bill to exempt defense contractors from state and local taxes on property going into war orders. However, the measure will probably be considerably less damaging to local revenues than when first introduced, Ways and Means Committee amendments having removed some of the more glaring faults of the bill.

As originally drawn the bill provided for rather sweeping exemption of defense contractors from taxes at

the state and local level where such taxes were based on defense production. Excluded from the exemption were income taxes on the defense contractor, and *ad valorem* property taxes on plant and equipment used in defense production, but otherwise all materials and services used for war products were to be exempt from such excises as the sales and use tax, *ad valorem* property tax, etc.

Amendments to the bill made in committee excluded services from the objects to be tax-exempt, restored to taxability gasoline and other petroleum products, and inserted a recital that nothing in the bill should act to exempt defense contractors from annual *ad valorem* property taxes on real or personal property. As it stands, therefore, the amended bill appears to confer exemption only as to sales and use taxes and to exclude from this exemption those products presently subject to state gasoline taxes.

Just how seriously the bill would affect local revenues if enacted remains to be seen. Government spokesmen are reported to have estimated that war contractors' supplies have yielded to states and localities about \$140,000,000 in state and local taxes, and that during the next fiscal year about \$137,000,000 in local levies would be paid the government through contractors.

An interesting feature of this bill is that its appearance coincides with the Treasury Department's attempt to remove the existing exemption on income from state and local bonds from federal income taxation. In the case of income tax exemption, the government is urging that despite the fact that exemption lowers the cost of borrowing to the states and local units, the exemption should nevertheless be abolished in the interest of equity between taxpayers and increased revenue for the federal government.

In the case of taxation of materials used in government contracts, however, the government is taking the opposite position, and urging that equity as between taxpayers and the revenue needs of the states and local governments count for nothing provided that the cost to the government can be reduced by the exemption. Obviously, the government can't eat its cake and have it, too.

New Jersey Considers Post-War Reserve

The upper house of the New Jersey legislature has passed and sent to the lower chamber a bill which would establish a large reserve fund to help cushion the shock of post-war unemployment and other adjustments. According to the proposal, made before his death by the late state treasurer, William H. Albright, the state would set aside annually \$4,000,000 from the gasoline tax and \$1,000,000 from alcoholic beverage levies until the fund had reached a total of \$50,000,000. Funds so accumulated would be used to assist in meeting the financial problems of municipalities after the war.

Sponsors of the measure reported that it would not reduce the amounts available for highway construction, since reduction in highway debt requirements over the next few years will release funds to hold moneys available for construction near recent levels. They apparently were assuming that gasoline tax receipts would not be seriously curtailed because of wartime restrictions on motor vehicle sales, tire rationing, gasoline rationing, etc. Since gasoline rationing for the eastern seaboard was announced after the New Jersey Senate approved the proposal, it is not unlikely that the measure may be amended.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

The New Book Against P. R.

***An Examination of
Dr. Hermens' Attack***

This review, by the editor of this department, of F. A. Hermens' *Democracy or Anarchy? A Study of Proportional Representation* (University of Notre Dame, *The Review of Politics*, 1941) appeared in *The American City* for November 1941 along with another review of the same book by Harold W. Stoke of the University of Wisconsin. It is reproduced here in view of the fact that Dr. Hermens' book is being cited by certain opponents of P.R. as authoritative backing for their point of view.

THIS amazing book with its wealth of citation and footnotes gives the superficial appearance of scholarship. But when you start to delve into its 440 pages, if you have the temerity to do so, you soon find that all the laws of scholarship have been violated. It is sometimes contradictory, often inaccurate, oftener illogical, and always lopsided.

For the first 96 pages the author theorizes about what "will" happen under proportional representation and under other methods of election, giving hardly a scintilla of actual evidence, setting up straw men and knocking them down, and often contradicting the known experience of many P.R. communities. He then blandly proceeds, "in the preceding pages it has been shown that P.R. is incompatible with the requirements of democracy." But there has been no demon-

stration of anything, merely speculation.

From that point on, the book is more readable, because it deals with actual history. But it is no mistake that the speculation comes first. To the author that is the really important part. "Reflection alone on the facts of the case, apart from actual experience," he says, "suffices to prove that a country which has democratic government and wants to keep it has every reason to reject P.R." Long ago in Germany he reached that theoretical conclusion, and when, for many reasons, things went badly in the Weimar Republic (which had a party list form of P.R.), he regarded his theory as vindicated. Since then he has been out to save the world from proportional representation.

In analyzing the facts of P. R. experience, Dr. Hermens has no difficulties because he knows the answers beforehand. Whatever is bad under P.R. is evidence against it. Whatever is good is explained away on some other ground.

A large part of the book is devoted to a zealous and uncritical collection of untoward events in P.R. countries and cities. Since even the best of election methods cannot usher in the millennium there are plenty of such events to be found. The recital in itself proves nothing. But since nearly everything good in P.R. communities is studiously avoided and since P.R. is given full blame for everything bad, the impression is cultivated that under P.R. everything is bound to go wrong. The same sort of case could be made against religion or education or democracy or anything else.

For over 150 pages Dr. Hermens develops the highly questionable theory that P.R. was responsible for the woes

of Germany and Italy, in the latter of which it had hardly time to get started. He then gives 55 pages to explaining why P.R. is to be given no credit for the success of democracy in Ireland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and dismisses the P.R. experiences of Czechoslovakia and Finland without discussion. Yet one wonders why, if P.R. is the menace he pictures it to be, all these countries were able to get along so well with it for long periods of years and made no effort to change it.

Going on to American city government, Dr. Hermens admits, in a few words here and there, that such cities as Cincinnati, Toledo, Hamilton, and Wheeling are well governed—a very damaging admission, since in each of these cities the P.R. council determines the whole character of the city government, not only fixing policies but appointing and controlling a city manager to carry them out. But, as before, he puts all the emphasis on what he considers shortcomings.

His eagerness to find these shortcomings leads him astray time after time. Two examples will have to suffice. In discussing the New York City election of 1937, when the City Council was first elected by P.R., Dr. Hermens makes the gross misstatement: "When the results were known, the voters came to realize that the P.R. council was the one point at which the Fusion landslide had been stopped." Actually, the Fusion forces lost all the county offices but one, four-fifths of the city's assemblymen (elected from nearly the same districts as the old Board of Aldermen which preceded the Council), and seven-eighths of the city's delegates to the state constitutional convention (elected from the districts

(Continued on Page 296)

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

The Education of Free Men in American Democracy. Washington, D. C., Educational Policies Commission, 1941. 115 pp. 50 cents.

Dr. George S. Counts is the member of the Educational Policies Commission who prepared this book, which is a synthesis of the studies the commission has already published on the relationship of the school to democracy. The book deals with principles, concepts, and ideas; hence it is not wise to read only a little of it. Only by a reading of it all does the meaning of each major term acquire sharpness.

Those whose special interest is adult civic education looking to more active citizenship in local affairs can use this book with profit to originate or modify their practical programs.

W. J. M.

Refuse Collection Practice. By the Committee on Refuse Collection and Disposal. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1941. xiv, 659 pp. \$5.

One of the aims of the National Municipal League is to inform citizens about the best practices used in local administration and to energize them into demanding such practices. When the latter stage is reached the individual citizen soon learns that only by joining with others can he work effectively. Then tools and methods can be used which are beyond the capacity of the individual.

This book is a case in point. It was prepared to aid those who want to do better an important job—removing refuse—and to such, municipal official and citizen alike, it will prove invaluable. But in the hands of an organization of citizens concerned with

seeing that they get what they should from their taxes and interested in having their city a good place in which to live, it can have another use. It can be used to push forward the method by which all progress is made—comparison.

The volume is based upon data on experience and practice in 190 cities, large and small, in the United States and Canada and represents more than two years of research. There is a wealth of illustrative material, a bibliography, and an adequate index.

W. J. M.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Municipal Accounting—Principles and Procedures. By Lloyd Morey and Orval W. Diehl. New York City, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942. xiv, 415 pp. \$4.50.

Blighted Areas

A Proposal for Rebuilding Blighted City Areas. Washington, D. C., The Urban Land Institute, 1942. 7 pp.

A Selected List of Important and Recent Publications on Urban Rehabilitation. Chicago, American Institute of Planners, 1942. 1 p. mimeo.

Budgeting

Municipal Budget Procedure and Budgetary Accounting. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1942. vii, 100 pp. \$1.

City Manager Government

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager

Cities. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1942. 16 pp. \$1.

Defense

Blackouts and Air Raids — Model Ordinance Annotated. Full Text of Ordinances of 12 Cities Together with Other Model Statutes, Ordinances and Materials Relating to Wartime Problems of Cities. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1942. 36 pp. \$2.

National Defense and Municipal Legal Problems. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1941. iv, 68 pp. \$2.

Fire

Municipal Support of Volunteer Fire Companies. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1941. 24 pp. mimeo. 10 cents.

Initiative and Referendum

City Proposals Voted Upon: 1941. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1942. 44 pp.

Libraries

Library Service in Illinois. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, Research Department, 1942. ii, 43 pp. mimeo.

National Defense and the Public Library. By Nell A. Unger, Katherine Shorey, and others. Chicago, American Library Association, 1942. 48 pp.

Regional and District Libraries. (Revised Edition). Compiled by Julia Wright Merrill. Chicago, American Library Association, 1942. 41 pp. mimeo. 75 cents.

Regional and District Library Laws. Compiled by Julia Wright Merrill. Chicago, American Library Association, 1942. 67 pp. mimeo. 75 cents.

Management

Proceedings of The Institute of Government Management 1941. Denver, Department of Government Management, University of Denver, 1941. xiv, 118 pp.

Parking Meters

Parking Meters in Tennessee. By Kenneth O. Warner. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Governmental Reference Service, 1942. 22 pp. mimeo.

Planning

Local Planning Activity in the United States. Princeton, New Jersey, The Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University, 1941. vi, 22 pp.

National Resources Development — Report for 1942. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. v, 227 pp. 55 cents.

Population Facts for Planning Chicago. Chicago, The Chicago Plan Commission, 1942. viii, 32 pp. charts, illus.

State Legislation on Planning, Zoning and Platting. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1941. vi, 79 pp. mimeo.

Post-War Planning

Post-Defense Readjustments. An Address by David C. Prince. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1941. 15 pp.

Public Employment

Geographic Distribution of Federal Civilian Employees, 1936-41. By Herman B. Byer and A. C. Edwards. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1942. 18 pp.

Public Employment and the War. A Functional Analysis with Special Attention to State and Local Government. Prepared under Supervision of C. E. Rightor. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1942. x, 90 pp.

Recording

Microfilm for Public Records. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, 1942. iii, 11 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Revenue Laws of California (Annotated) 1941. Compiled by Dixwell L. Pierce. Sacramento, State Board of Equalization, 1942. 1042 pp. \$3.

Taxing Municipals by Federal Statute—The Real Issue. An Address by Austin J. Tobin. New York City, The Conference on State Defense, 1942. 25 pp.

Training for Public Administration

The Development of Administrators. An Interim Report on Training in Administrative Management. Washington, D. C., United State Department of Agriculture, 1941. 14 pp. mimeo.

Educational Preparation for Public Administration. A List of Colleges and Universities Offering Courses or Programs of Training. New York City, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, 1942. 14 pp.

Youth

Youth and the Future. The General Report of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, Owen D. Young, Chairman. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1942. xix, 296 pp. \$2.50.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from Page 293)

which would have been used for the Council under the new charter if P.R. had been rejected). They lost only half the P.R. Council.

He then has the temerity to suggest that the Fusion forces might have done

better without P.R. in 1939, an "off-year" election when, as happens every fourth year, large numbers of voters stayed at home because no mayor, governor, or president was to be elected. In that year the Democratic organization swept every office in the city except the P.R. Council. In the Council the minorities retained one-third of the seats, which was more than they had had in any Board of Aldermen under the old plan since 1919.

Dr. Hermens' purpose is to defend democracy against what he considers a menace. But he does not really believe in democracy as most of us think of it. He quotes with approval a former Austrian chancellor: "The first and only essential object of voting is to give the state a legislative body as good as possible, and therefore capable of the best possible action, and to create a majority in it well able to govern. The electoral system is not at all to be considered as to whether it is 'just' for the individual voter . . . but as to whether it gives the state what the state needs." Would not Hitler himself say Amen?

Dr. Hermens' whole theory is one of compulsion, albeit through the electoral system rather than the Gestapo. Whereas most Americans regard the suppression of minorities as an evil and readily accept the ideal of P.R.—majority rule with minority representation—he would suppress most minorities deliberately as a matter of choice. He would force all the people to compromise on the best they can get by plurality vote, even though that may be the machine despotism of a Tammany or a Boss Hague. He does not trust the people to choose freely the representatives they really want, as they can under P.R., for fear they will do something that is not good for them. That he calls "anarchy."

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June 1942

Vol. XXXI, No.

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 6

Total Number 312

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Should We Cut Local Taxes?

THE advice which financial wise men were giving as long as a year ago is still good: that cities, counties, and states will serve their people well if they strive at this time toward a pay-as-you-go basis and place their financial houses in good, controllable order.

Superficially it may seem fair and necessary—especially to officials who are going to be up for re-election soon—to decrease local and state taxes on the ground that federal taxes are growing and must continue to grow.

But how does this jibe with the argument that a large amount of money must be siphoned off to prevent inflationary tendencies?

How do we know that taxpayers really are unable to continue to pay the same local and state taxes as usual while they carry the increased federal load?

The surpluses which were quite widely experienced during 1941 and which encouraged some tax cuts are very likely to melt away “like snow upon the desert’s dusty face” as the full effect begins to be felt of the curtailment of the use of automobiles and the drying up of industry and business not definitely war-connected.

So a policy of playing safe is in order not only because of doubt about future revenues but also to get debt under control and keep it there.

It is reassuring that the trend of municipal debt in the United States

continued downward during 1941 for the fifth consecutive year. But it should be noted in connection with the figures published elsewhere in this issue¹ that when they were compiled there had not yet been time for the war to affect them one way or the other.

Now, however, some of the suburban so-called “white collar” communities where personal incomes are static or declining are considering refunding part of their debt. It is to be hoped that this will be done only as a last resort and that other communities whose people are in better financial condition than usual because of the war will resist the temptation to imitate.

The relief load has become generally lighter. Capital improvements are being held in abeyance because of the shortage of labor and materials. Other expenditures can and should be reduced. As a result, the question naturally arises: what shall we do with any resulting surplus?

Local and state tax reductions seem at first glance to be attractive and desirable. On the other hand, debt reduction and the creation of funds to finance postwar improvements seem wiser in the long run, more statesmanlike, and more permanently in the taxpayer’s interest.

¹See “Bonded Debt of 286 U. S. Cities,” by Rosina Mohaupt, pp. 316-332.

On Bending Twigs

THE attractive residential town of Teaneck, New Jersey, which has been widely publicized for its accomplishments since it adopted the council-manager form of government twelve years ago, has done something original again.

To replace firemen who have gone into the armed forces but whose jobs will be waiting for them after the war, high school athletes have been trained. They study and sleep nightly in the firehouses for thirty dollars a month. If a serious fire breaks out during the day they leave class and rush to the scene by automobile.

There is an obvious economy for the community, and there are obvious benefits for the boys themselves. Their scholarship has improved, their habits of sleeping are more regular, and they plan to save most of their wages toward college expenses.

Less obvious but perhaps more important to Teaneck's future is the effect this experience is having on the boys' characters and on their attitudes as citizens of their community. There is, after all, a considerable difference between trailing the fire apparatus to an exciting "good fire" and riding on that apparatus to protect one's community from an enemy.

A somewhat similar system is used in some New England towns. The siren blows. The volunteer firemen rush to their fire trucks from office, store, and farm. Meanwhile, from the nearby high school the senior boys run from their classrooms and follow in cars. Arrived at the scene, the boys pay no attention to the fire. Their job is salvage. They carry

everything of value out of burning home or barn.

In a very real and immediate sense they are saving not only their community but their own families—from loss, for the fact that everyone in town is protected by the same farmers' mutual insurance companies makes it especially easy to see that the loss of one is the loss of all.

Both of these community services are of a rather dramatic nature; but there are scores of others which have been tried and through which young people are helped to serve themselves and their neighbors at very early ages.

Stuart Chase, in an article entitled "Bring Our Youngsters into the Community!",¹ tells of "what is being done here and there, and should be done everywhere, to tear down the walls that separate young people from life, work, and responsibility." He argues that young people must be made to feel "that society cannot get along without them. It means *duties*, not *rights*. We have all been thinking too much of our rights in America, and not enough of our duties."

Among the community tasks performed by America's youth to which Dr. Chase refers are planting town and school forests, checking soil erosion, fighting forest fires; building playgrounds, tennis courts, swimming pools; conducting town cleanup campaigns; abolishing dumps, rubbish, billboards, community filth; making surveys of stream pollution, pests, diseases, flood danger; direct-

(Continued on Page 364)

¹*The Reader's Digest*, January 1942.

We Can't All Shoot But—

The insatiability of total war is genuine; the impossibility of finding tasks is not; what is lacking is imagination enough to see the mountainous tasks which lie before us.

By ALBERT GAILORD HART,* C. ARNOLD ANDERSON,
BRYCE RYAN, W. H. STACY

All of Iowa State College

THE needs of total war are supposedly limitless. Yet most of the civil population of the United States seems unable to find a way to make any significant contribution. The citizen feels like the new boy at school, running back and forth in the middle of the ball game but mysteriously unable to lay hands on the ball.

On the seacoasts this paradox is masked by concern with air raid precautions, first aid, and what not, and a more or less satisfying bustle is created by these activities. But in the middle country they seem unreal, and if effective civilian war participation is to be organized it must be upon another basis.

Civilian organization for war in Iowa, as everywhere, falls under three main headings:

1. "Civilian defense" organizations, semi-officially connected with local government;
2. Organizations steered by the field staffs of federal agencies;
3. Unofficial organizations.

The structure of civilian defense in the narrow sense is headed in Iowa by the Industrial and Defense Commission, appointed by the Governor. This commission has a curious combination of functions—securing the location of war plants in Iowa and steering the activities of local civilian

defense councils. The commission has avoided rather than sought publicity for its actions under the second head. On the whole it seems to limit itself to transmitting suggestions from regional and national OCD headquarters, partly by meetings of county and city chairmen, partly by correspondence.

County chairmen of civilian defense were appointed in the autumn of 1941 by the Governor and the boards were filled in chiefly with names suggested by the chairmen. Some appointments were based on suggestions from OCD headquarters that the individuals in question had shown active interest in forwarding civilian defense organization. Mayors of cities were urged to appoint municipal defense councils. But at the time of the outbreak of war many of the councils in the state were simply lists of names—letterheads in process of being printed.

Some functions were assigned to the county councils by the Governor. They were requested to cooperate with sheriffs in arranging anti-sabotage measures. More important, when tire rationing was called for the county councils were instructed to appoint rationing boards.

County and city defense councils have been comparatively inactive. In Des Moines and other larger cities a

*Draftsman of the manuscript.

nucleus of air-raid precautions has been set up. Some smaller cities have undertaken to draft "catastrophe plans" for dealing with possible conflagrations, floods, or sudden movements of population. Encouragement has been given to certain fund-raising campaigns, salvage campaigns, etc. Since the state authorities have drawn attention to the unwisdom of creating card files of civilian volunteers in advance of finding tasks for them, few volunteer offices have been opened. In the absence of both volunteer help and funds to meet expenses few if any of the councils operate offices of any kind: they remain simply committees.

Story County's Experiment

In the writers' own county—Story County, including the city of Ames with about 15,000 population, seat of Iowa State College, and the city of Nevada, somewhat smaller—an attempt is being made to root the defense council somewhat deeper.¹ The county council invited representatives of a number of civic organizations and of action agencies with war programs to join with it in constituting a Story County War Conference, which met for the first time in February 1942. The conference is aimed to serve as promoter and clearing house for war activities of different agencies and for defense councils at the community level.

To this writing the experiment—like most of Iowa's civilian defense

organization—remains at the stage of discussion and paper work.² Such programs as are in operation show little tendency so far to get in each other's way, and few community councils are forming. No sweeping national program of a civilian war participation is being offered; and there are few visible signs of a spontaneous local movement.

Federal Action Agencies

For obvious reasons the federal agencies whose programs have the strongest impact in Iowa are the various field forces of the Department of Agriculture. A program for expanding food production is being vigorously pushed all over the state by these agencies and by the Extension Service of the State College. While this program suffers from the nearly universal vices of being too liberal with patriotic praise for activities which involve no sacrifice and of taking promises as nearly equivalent to fulfilment, indications are that a large part of the slack will be shaken out of Iowa agriculture in 1942. The agricultural agencies have set up their own clearing houses, called agricultural war boards, which show signs of becoming the chief agency in organizing civilian war participation outside the cities.

The food production program is at least a partial explanation of the backwardness of civilian defense in the countryside. Expanding food production, in view of equipment shortages and the drain of young men to the armed forces and war indus-

¹The county council early in the winter requested the appointment of an advisory committee by Iowa State College. The present writers compose this committee, and are thus in direct touch with developments.

²The authors are informed that organization on this pattern is in successful operation in Franklin County, Iowa.

tries, will absorb most of the leisure of farmers and their wives, besides much of the slack in the rural non-farm population.

Aside from food production agencies, the most active federal agency in Iowa is the Treasury's savings bond field staff. The state director of the savings bond campaign has gone so far as to set quotas for the state by counties; and some of the county committees already claim to have subscriptions for systematic bond purchase approaching their quotas. Since the state quota works out at well toward \$100 per capita, this implies capturing a large part of the increase in incomes since 1940. On the other hand, it must be remembered that rural communities are thrifty, and that a sharp rise in income makes saving painless. There are many indications that Iowans are spending more freely as well as saving more; but investments in automobiles, farm equipment, and buildings are being held far below normal, releasing funds for bond purchases.

Unofficial Organizations

The usual list of national organizations are active in Iowa. The United Service Organizations have appealed for funds; in view of the lack of major military training centers in Iowa they have little else to do. The Red Cross has asked for money and conducted training courses—largely first aid, also emergency nurses' training on a considerable scale.

Local civic organizations and professional societies have of course turned toward war work. The state bar association has taken on respon-

sibilities for organizing speakers' bureaus—a field in which there is some competition as a number of "war information centers" have been designated. The American Legion has interested itself in organizing a State Guard, and in making advance arrangements to protect civil liberties. Rotary clubs etc. are taking a hand in the savings bond campaign. In a few centers the League of Women Voters and other civic groups are attempting programs of civic education with attention to wartime economic and social adjustments.

Jobs Being Ignored

The paradox of inability to find useful tasks in the face of total war is a fraud. The insatiability of total war is genuine; the impossibility of finding tasks is not. What is lacking is imagination enough to see the mountainous tasks which lie before us.

The first thing to be thrown overboard is the notion that if an activity is to contribute to the war effort it must have something to do with blood. The fantastic popularity of air-raid precautions, first-aid classes, and anti-sabotage arrangements springs from this elementary association of war with violence and blood. These activities are not only in danger of wasting resources by being pushed beyond proper limits—witness recent demands for 800,000 "auxiliary firemen"—they are in danger of keeping the suicidal notion of "defense" in the forefront of everybody's mind.

The beginning of wisdom in civilian war participation is to look at war not as a series of spectacular acts of

violence but as a social process which calls for quick and drastic changes in our ordinary way of living and doing business. The problem of civilian war participation is to guide these changes so as to combine a tolerable level of human existence during the war with a maximum of war effectiveness and of salvage value for the postwar period of regeneration.

Here is a partial list of programs which call for widespread civilian participation and which must be carried into the local community:

I. *Economic Mobilization*

- A. Food production; saving of food through home canning
- B. Conservation, through
 1. Salvage
 2. Careful maintenance of existing durable goods (automobiles, farm machinery, etc.)
 3. Fire protection, campaigns against vermin, etc.
 4. Consumer rationing
 5. Voluntary curtailment of consumption
 6. Fuller use of existing facilities through staggering of working hours, days off, and vacations
- C. Financial mobilization
 1. Thrift (the monetary counterpart of conservation) and investment in savings bonds, etc.
 2. Acceptance of taxation (perhaps also of compulsory loans)
- D. Labor mobilization
 1. Developing an adequate labor register
 2. Persuading needed workers to shift jobs
 3. Economizing labor force by providing comfortable housing near war plants—not merely through new construction but also through reallocation of existing housing
 4. Fuller use of labor through adjustment of job standards

to make efficient use of types of labor now under-employed (women, persons over 45, negroes)

5. Maintaining efficiency and minimizing loss of working time by safety, public health, and nutrition campaigns
6. Improving vocational training and making it more accessible
7. Minimizing losses from worker-employer disputes, etc.

II. *Civilian Protection*

- A. Against violence
 1. Public health, safety, and nutrition (see above)
 2. Air raid precautions in key areas
 3. Preparation for limited evacuations
- B. Against avoidable social dislocation
 1. Helping families adjust to loss of members, economic dislocation, long working hours, absence of parents, etc.
 2. Preventing disruption of religious and recreational activities which relieve strain and keep up community spirit
 3. Minimizing hysteria and preventing persecutions

III. *Preparing for a Durable Peace*

- A. Encouraging initiative within the community, particularly in community leadership
- B. Adjusting educational programs
 1. Strengthening school programs in basic subjects necessary for literate citizenship—for example elementary mathematics, geography, basic physical science
 2. Broadening of citizenship training and of education in international problems within schools and colleges
 3. Adult education along similar lines
 4. Opening opportunity for higher education and for specialized vocational training to all who can use it effectively, re-

ardless of financial status, residence, or race

- C. Planning for postwar improvements in public facilities, housing, etc.

The genuineness of these needs can scarcely be challenged. But there are few communities in the country where there is any widespread interest in more than five or six of the points listed. The citizen is twiddling his thumbs because he can't see jobs which are already urgent.

Scope for Community Initiative

A wide range of useful war activities is open to citizens in any community which can uncover enough initiative. If nothing else appears at once there is always plenty of room for leadership training, to get key members of the community to understand the essentials of the social and economic adjustments required by modern war. The adult education side of preparation for a durable peace is also pressing; and any community resources which would otherwise stand idle will be well spent in that direction.

But it is by no means necessary to stop with educational activities. In every community there are unexploited opportunities for salvage, better maintenance of durable goods, thrift campaigns, discovery of workers who possess key skills and are not using them, adjustment of job standards, public health measures, etc. A community council should be responsible for seeing that these jobs are being undertaken by competent citizens or civic groups, for keeping track of activities, and for setting standards of performance.

Where war industries congregate opportunities for community service multiply. One of the chief of these opportunities is in the field of housing. New construction, even though we are concentrating it in areas congested because of war industry, cannot keep up with the problem. The cold fact is that if we are to house the war workers reasonably near their jobs some other people must make room by moving out or doubling up. The device of a housing bureau is a step in the right direction, restricting waste through vacancies in crowded areas. But it is only a short step. We need to point out to older occupants of areas where war workers are forced to crowd in that they will perform a public service by moving to other areas—often just as convenient for themselves, or nearly so; and we need to facilitate such moves by arranging to have war workers take over leases etc. So far as possible, we must get a reverse flow of people into the areas where war workers are leaving vacancies. This is a job for community organization; done right, it is a big job.

Community leaders must accept responsibility for failing to see jobs like those listed above. The obligation of national authorities (the OCD for instance) in these fields is chiefly to supply suggestions and consultative service. But many other jobs—including many of the most important—cannot be done effectively within the community in the absence of national coördination. There is no use, for example, in setting up a local labor register in advance of federal action, for uniform classification is essential. Many salvage campaigns

are pointless in advance of national collection arrangements. A local savings bond committee cannot properly go beyond salesmanship and apply stronger pressures unless it is done elsewhere: a compulsory program must be reasonably uniform to be fair. Local public health programs are handicapped in some fields by lack of national action; public works planning must be coördinated. In these fields community leadership must mark time until it is given something to which it can tie.

Headquarters Organization

The situation calls for a federal office of civilian war participation. This office should not expect to be a "boss agency." Its job should be to guide community organization for war, to interpret programs offered by other federal agencies into terms of civilian activity within the community, and to channel suggestions arising at the grass roots. It should be alert to discover sectors of the civilian effort where compulsion is called for, not to constrain unwilling citizens—which is next to impossible—but to assure willing coöperators that other citizens are doing their share. As English and German experience shows, the citizen's willingness to sacrifice is much greater under these conditions.

This office should have a field staff for organization work, a research staff competent to gauge the consistency and completeness of the program offered by federal action agencies and to put out needed interpretations, and leadership with enough weight—

and enough diplomatic talent—to secure adjustment of the action program at a good many points. There may also be room for a small-scale private agency to serve as consultant and perhaps guide organizational experiments in a few selected centers.

The existing OCD has a great part of what is required, but it has many handicaps. It has the misfortune to combine within it a "civilian mobilization" section, devoted to much of what this article has been discussing, and a "civilian protection" section devoted to air raid precautions, etc., which is a boss agency. This wedding with a second-magnitude boss agency confuses public and official thinking about the clearing-house functions of the civilian mobilization section. The OCD also has to struggle with popular impressions that civilian defense has got to be bloody, and that the OCD thinks civilian morale consists of hearing patriotic oratory and having a good time, instead of doing worth while jobs and getting recognition.

To get away from these handicaps calls for a divorce from air-raid precautions and elimination of the defense label with all its disadvantages. But it will take more than relabelling. A fresh start is needed—a clearer recognition of the problem of civilian war participation as social and economic adjustment, and a deeper concern with making the program work at the community level and through community leadership.

NOTE: Journal Paper No. J-1017 of the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Ames, Iowa. Project No. 383.

State and Local Government After the War

The problems which will face governments in America after the war will be as challenging and far-reaching as those of the war itself.

By C. E. RIGHTOR and HUGH D. INGERSOLL
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RECENTLY in Washington there sat around the table the governors of ten states and representatives of twenty-seven others. This group had just taken an unprecedented action—they had rejected an offer of the federal government to make \$300,000,000 available to state unemployment compensation systems to supplement benefits paid to displaced industrial workers.

The chief reason given for their action was that existing state unemployment benefit systems were adequate to meet this extra load, but there was a strong undercurrent issue: Would an appropriation of this kind provide an opening wedge for the federal government ultimately to take over the operation of state unemployment compensation systems?

This relatively minor instance brings into focus an age-old controversy, the issue of federalism vs. states' rights—one which is assuming more significance at this time. In directing the activities of this nation at war there can be only one operator in the driver's seat—the federal government. This means that in war time the other 175,000 governmental units of the United States must take a back seat.

That the present war will leave its imprint on state and local govern-

ments is accepted as fact in light of the experience of the first World War. This remains true even though the social, political, and economic backgrounds—the scope and distribution of governmental services and the status of public finances—existing at the time of the previous war are not paralleled today.

It is the thesis of this article that the most important factor in determining the position of state and local governments after the war is the extent to which the federal government dominates all governmental activity during the war and the manner of procedure. If in war time the national government must be supreme and overshadow all other governmental units, the question may well be raised as to the status of the other levels of government after the war.

To answer this question it is helpful to study the current pattern of federal-state-local relations. Briefly, four different types of procedure may be distinguished:

1. Direct federal operation;
2. Modified direct federal operation by locally-appointed federal officials;
3. Indirect federal operation, direct state operation;
4. Indirect federal operation, direct local operation.

The increase of uniformed men on the streets throughout our country bears visual testimony to the enlarged importance of the federal government. The Army and Navy are operated directly by the national government and the principal contacts of states and municipalities with these services are the civilian-military relations arising in those areas where there is an extensive military or naval reservation.

Federal Operation

The War Production Board is another example of direct federal operation. The existence of a Bureau of Government Requirements in this agency bears testimony to the importance of states and local units even when the nation is at war. The establishment of price and rent controls, through the Office of Price Administration, also falls in this category.

Another interesting example of direct federal operation is the recent assumption of the direction of employment offices, which until recently were operated by the state governments and financed in part by federal aid. This service is closely associated with the administration of unemployment compensation, now conducted by the states under federal review and subsidy, so that, as already indicated, the states are alarmed over the prospect of absorption of their systems into a centralized system.

Examples of direct federal operation of nondefense functions, under normal conditions, are activities such as the Post Office, the Work Projects Administration, and the Divisions of

Vital Statistics and of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census.

The second type of interlevel relations—modified direct federal operation by locally-appointed federal officials—is a new technique which has stemmed from the defense effort. The leading example is the Selective Service System, administered by locally-appointed boards whose members and personnel are federal employees. While criticism has been made of the lack of uniformity among boards in decisions on particular types of cases, there is much to be said in favor of having persons familiar with local conditions administer this vital wartime function.

The administration of rationing is another important application of this type of relationship. This necessary wartime activity is being conducted by the Office of Price Administration working through local rationing boards. These boards have been set up throughout the country by the OPA working in close coöperation with state and local defense councils. Like the selective service boards, their members are residents of the locality but are federal employees. Exercise of this function may leave its impress on the nation long after the war is ended.

In the nondefense field, the U. S. Department of Agriculture has used a somewhat similar arrangement. County and community committees, elected in each county by local participants, administer the AAA program. These committees, originally established for peacetime purposes, are proving to be very valuable in

carrying the wartime farm program to each community.

The Grant-in-Aid

The third type of intergovernmental relations—indirect federal operation coupled with direct state operation—will be recognized as the federal grant-in-aid device. This device has been used extensively during the nondefense era for such functions as highways, the social security category, and vocational education.

It is significant that so far in the war effort this relationship has been used almost exclusively in the expansion of the older types of grant-in-aid programs to meet the emergency. The predefense program of grants for vocational education has been expanded to include grants for defense training—made through the Office of Education. The training is carried out under state supervision by local school districts and by universities and colleges.

Grants for defense highways are administered on the federal level by the Public Roads Administration, which is also responsible for administering the traditional federal-aid highway program, and which has continuously sought the advice of the War Department.

Under the fourth type of interlevel relations—indirect federal operation coupled with direct local operation—the federal government works with the local government while the states are conveniently left out of the picture. A good example in the defense field is the program being effected by the Office of Civilian Defense working directly with local defense boards, particularly those in the

cities. A recent appropriation of \$100,000,000 was made for civilian defense equipment to be distributed on a loan basis to those communities which the OCD and the War Department decide are in the target area.

In the field of defense housing the federal government has been utilizing the services of local housing authorities. As part of its program to provide housing for defense workers, the federal government is constructing projects throughout the country in areas acutely affected by the defense program. In providing for their management two policies have been pursued. Where there is a local housing authority which has had management experience and which in the judgment of the federal authorities is qualified, the management of the project is vested in that local authority. In all other areas management is directly by federal officials.

This program of using local facilities when they are available and qualified avoids duplication of administrative machinery and evidences confidence in local government. In the nondefense field the same pattern has been followed by the U. S. Housing Authority and the Public Works Administration.

The Local Public Works Programming Office, which is preparing a reservoir of useful public projects to absorb postwar unemployment and provide needed public services and facilities, is working directly with the cities, counties, and states.

The problems which will face government in America after the war will be almost as challenging and far-reaching as those of the war itself.

In readjusting from wartime to peacetime economy, every level of government will be strained almost to the breaking point.

The great increase in regimentation during the war will undoubtedly result in a reorientation of some of our prewar democratic ideals. The return to civilian life of those in the armed forces will require the strengthening of our agencies for social adjustment. The change from an economy of scarcity under which many necessities are rationed, to an economy of abundance where there is enough for all, will severely tax our economic system.

Higher Expenditures

Looking at the picture from the point of view of governmental finance as a whole it is likely that postwar federal expenditures will remain at a considerably higher level than at prewar times because of a necessity for maintenance of a larger army and navy, the care of veterans, and for postwar readjustment such as public assistance, public works, housing, etc. This will require that the federal government drain permanently large amounts from the nation's taxable wealth at the expense of state and local government revenues.

The state and local governments, which are now enjoying somewhat of a King Midas prosperity because of the increase in tax yields particularly at the state level, will find themselves after the war caught between a probable decrease in tax revenues and an increase in expenditures for postwar readjustment. It is incumbent upon the federal government, in shaping its tax and nondefense

expenditure programs, to have due regard for the problems of state and local governments.

Coöperation among all levels in developing a coördinated program of revenues may well result in a readjustment in the operation of the grant-in-aid and tax-sharing processes, to the advantage of the states and local units. Such a program may be one of the salutary results of the forthcoming report of the special committee appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury to study inter-governmental fiscal relations.

The chief reason for federal operation or control of functions normally considered to belong to state and local governments has been that it was desirable to have minimum standards of performance throughout the nation, and the federal government could induce such program through financial aid. The question arises whether the states and municipalities can cope with these postwar problems with a modicum of indirect assistance from the federal government or whether it will be necessary for the latter to assume direct responsibility for their solution.

There is much to encourage one who seeks to find an answer to this question to resolve it in favor of state and local governments. There are evidences of alertness to present-day responsibilities by public officials at these levels. Organizations of the states and of the local governments such as the Council of State Governments and state municipal leagues have been a constructive force.

The movement for efficiency in state and local government has made considerable headway in recent years

and is being greatly bolstered by a campaign for improving state and local administration to help the war effort. Opportunities exist for streamlining our governmental structure through consolidation of governmental units and contractual agreements for service, and for elimination of waste through standardizing administrative processes. In times of stress citizen-taxpayers give special attention to the realization of these possibilities.

As evidence of closer relations developing between federal, state, and local governments are the activities of the Council on Intergovernmental Relations. The major aim of the Council is to blend more harmoniously the powers and interests of federal, state, and local governments. The council program is essentially a "grass roots" approach to the problem of collaboration between the several levels of government. Local councils are being formed in several counties. These councils will consider the problems and activities of government which are the concern of all levels of government. A closer working relationship between governmental agencies is the anticipated outcome. The Council at the federal level is located in Washington. It is composed of the Director of the Budget, the Administrators of the Federal Works Agency and the Federal Security Agency, and the Director of Extension Work of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Another encouraging factor is the emphasis being given to postwar planning at all levels.¹ The recent proposals to use federal funds to purchase blighted areas within cities for

postwar development has centered attention upon this important urban problem. Unfortunately, the Congress recently rejected the proposal to provide funds for grants to local governments for postwar planning.

It may be anticipated that postwar capital expenditures will take a different course from those after the first World War, with less emphasis on highways and more on housing, institutions, and airports. As to current funds for state and local governments, it need merely be stated that extensive new sources of revenue, such as those developed after the former war, no longer exist and higher rates generally will run against the existing sources.

It is but natural to conclude that state and local public debt, which will continue its recent moderate decrease during the war period, will, under the urge of a far-reaching postwar public projects program, reverse this trend and show an increase.

State and local governments are on trial. What they do now will to a large extent determine their status after the war. If they can meet their problems without a large amount of federal control or without the federal government taking over, they may look forward to increased importance. Failure to meet the test will result in a diminution of their relative importance in the postwar era.

ning, see U. S. National Resources Planning Board, *After Defense—What?* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1941; U. S. Federal Housing Administration, *A Handbook on Urban Redevelopment for Cities in the United States*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1941; Luther Gulick, "Cities and Post-defense Planning," *Public Management*, January 1942, pp. 3-8.

¹For examples of the need for plan-

Can the 'King' Do No Wrong?

Agencies of government are institutions designed to serve the needs of the community; damage and loss inflicted by their negligent operation ought to be counted in the cost of government.

By **GEORGE A. WARP**
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THE monarchical doctrine that the king can do no wrong and the tyrannical rule that governments are above law can scarcely be harmonized with the democratic idea that the law is supreme. Yet these ancient ghosts of antiquity still haunt much of the law of municipal tort liability¹ in the United States.

While it is true that the courts have made great inroads into the field of municipal immunity, it is also true that their efforts to adapt the common law to new circumstances have been considerably hampered and restricted by the judicial doctrine of deciding current cases on the basis of past decisions. And the only thing that has stood in the way of recognition by the legislatures of a broader concept of municipal liability has been the lack of data upon which to base such acceptance.

The legal basis of the modern tort responsibility of municipal corporations lies in the dual functional character attributed to them. Liability or immunity depends, not upon the nature of the act or upon the relation of the injured party to the municipi-

ality, but upon whether the function with which the tort is connected is "proprietary" or "governmental." The theory underlying this rule is that the municipality performs two types of functions, one as a mere agent of the state in the process of government, the other for the particular benefit of the corporation and its inhabitants.

While acting in its governmental capacity the municipality is not liable in tort because, in so acting, it is but the agent of the state and is so far a part of the state that it shares the state's sovereignty in respect to immunity from suit. But if the municipality is acting in its proprietary capacity, for the particular benefit of the inhabitants of the community, it is not acting as an agent of the state. It is merely exercising a privilege granted by the state. Consequently, it may not share the state's immunity.

In any case, of course, in order to hold a municipality liable, the familiar doctrine of *respondeat superior* (holding a principal or employer liable for the acts and omissions of his agents or employees) must be applied, because a municipality, being a legal entity, can act only through its servants. Accordingly, under the rule of *respondeat superior* municipalities are liable

¹The law of municipal tort liability relates to the responsibility of a municipality for negligence, nuisance, trespass, conversion, patent infringement, and other civil wrongs committed by its officers, agents, and employees.

for the wrongful or negligent acts of their officers or employees: (1) if the relation of master and servant exists between the municipality and the tortfeasor; (2) if the act is within the scope of the duties of the officer, agent, or servant, and not *ultra vires* (beyond his authority); (3) if the duty in which the tortfeasor was engaged was a proprietary duty as distinguished from a governmental one.

These basic principles of municipal immunity for torts committed in connection with governmental functions and of municipal liability for torts committed in connection with proprietary functions are accepted in all the states except South Carolina and Florida. There is, however, a hopeless diversity of judicial opinion in determining under which of two heads the various municipal activities fall, for what are governmental functions and what are proprietary functions is not subject to precise definition.

Division of Duties

There are, of course, some duties the governmental nature of which is too well settled to be disputed, such as the establishment and maintenance of schools, hospitals, poorhouses, police and fire departments, jails, workhouses, and police stations. In fact, duties connected with the public peace or health, or the prevention of the destruction of property by fire, are all governmental duties, and hence there is no municipal liability for torts in connection therewith, unless, in a specific state, the law has been modified by statute.

Certain duties and functions, on the other hand, are well settled as being proprietary and not governmental, including the construction and maintenance of municipal water and light plants, the construction and repair of sewers, and generally the management of property owned by the municipality, such as wharves and public market places. Furthermore, any business conducted by the municipality for profit involves the exercise of proprietary rather than governmental functions. Indeed, even duties which are primarily governmental are transformed into proprietary where conducted for profit.

It is in cases intermediate between these two classes of functions that the authorities are irreconcilably conflicting. In this controversial category are the maintenance and operation of the street cleaning department, of sewers and drains, of public parks, and of streets and sidewalks. These duties partake of both governmental and proprietary elements. The decisions in the cases are determined according as the courts are influenced more by one than by the other of these particular aspects. From them one can see that a trend against the immunity of municipal corporations has taken form. In fact, where cases of first impression arise, the courts quite uniformly hold the function to be proprietary and impose liability.

The growing desire on the part of the courts to expand the scope of municipal liability has resulted in many nice legal differentiations. In Minnesota, where the sprinkling of streets had long been established as

a governmental function, the state supreme court was able to hold that the flushing of streets was so radically different as to be proprietary.

In Michigan and in Ohio the lighting of streets is a governmental function while the furnishing of current for domestic consumption is proprietary. Municipalities are not liable for negligently driven vehicles used for governmental purposes but are liable when such vehicles are used for proprietary purposes.

"Confusion Worse Confounded"

If one falls into an unguarded excavation, one's recovery may depend upon what department of the municipality was at fault or upon the purpose for which the particular improvement was undertaken. And a paying patient injured in a public hospital may in some cases recover if he pays more than his expenses. In other cases he must show that the hospital was operated for a profit. Even then he may be denied recovery on the ground that the profit is *ultra vires*.

The courts of two states have repudiated the governmental-proprietary distinction as applied to tort cases. In South Carolina the courts never adopted the distinction, holding from the first that all municipal functions are governmental in the exercise of which municipalities are immune from liability.

While the Florida courts adopted the governmental-proprietary distinction, they later realized its superficial nature and threw it overboard. Today the Florida courts deem the functions of modern cities as partak-

ing "more of the nature of a business than a government" and treat all functions as proprietary—even police and fire.

No other states, of course, have gone so far in the direction of municipal immunity as South Carolina or so far in the direction of municipal liability as Florida. Instead, they have been content to apply the governmental-proprietary test, though in many cases frankly recognizing its unjust character. Their tendency to extend municipal liability has been indicated in fine distinctions and in pretty rationalizations, rather than in abrupt departures from the established doctrine.

The average man, obviously, sees little "reason" in the law of municipal tort liability. From his standpoint it makes little difference what department is responsible for the negligence which causes his difficulties, and to him it seems purely arbitrary to draw a line between governmental and proprietary functions. His injury is the same whether he is damaged by a carelessly operated municipal fire truck or by a negligently driven municipal passenger bus. He thinks only in terms of the obvious principle that, in a human society, acts involve consequence and consequence involves responsibility. And he is unable to understand why the public funds should not compensate him for his injuries. Indeed, in the light of abstract justice, it is hard to justify the immunity of a municipality which has been guilty of an act for which a private concern would be liable.

While the governmental-proprie-

tary rule is thoroughly established by precedent, in principle it is discredited. Legal scholars writing on the subject have almost unanimously subjected it to vigorous attack. They maintain that the only logical step is to abolish the governmental-proprietary distinction by legislation and to expand the scope of municipal liability.

The agencies of government, after all, are institutions designed to serve the needs of the entire community. While there must necessarily be loss and expense involved in the functioning of these agencies, such burdens ought to be borne by the community served. Loss and damage inflicted by reason of the negligent operation of these institutions ought to be counted in the cost of government and carried by society rather than by the unfortunate individual upon whom the loss accidentally happens to fall.

Administration of Tort Claims

Does experience justify the complete abolition of municipal immunity in tort? After all, unsound legal reasoning may well prevail if sound public policy is thereby furthered. In other words, justification for the governmental-proprietary distinction must be found, if at all, in the facts of its operation. What is the financial burden with which municipalities are now confronted? What would be the additional burden if the rule of liability were expanded? And how efficient are the methods of administration?

In order to throw some light on these problems the Bureau of Public Administration at the University

of Virginia recently undertook a comprehensive survey of the actual operation of municipal tort liability in the cities and towns of the commonwealth of Virginia.² Ninety-six per cent of the independent cities and 90 per cent of the incorporated towns—representing 93 per cent of the total population of Virginia's incorporated subdivisions—furnished data for the study. *The combined tort burden of all these municipalities for the year beginning July 1, 1939, and extending through June 30, 1940, was only \$7,500.* Prior to suit the median claim was \$150 and the median settlement \$32.50. After suit the median claim was \$3,250, the median settlement \$135, and the median judgment \$50. Indeed the claims, settlements, and judgments were almost uniformly small.

Except in the matter of small towns the survey reveals no justification for fears of excessive litigation, fraud, and unreasonable cost if tort liability were to be further extended. The functions most likely to result in tort claims—streets, utilities, and recreational facilities—have already (in most states) had the cloak of immunity removed from them. The governmental functions are comparatively unimportant, so far as being a source for tort litigation. If liability were extended to governmental functions the number and amount of claims probably would not be increased by more than 15 per cent.

There is no question but that the

²*Municipal Tort Liability in Virginia*, by George A. Warp. Charlottesville, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, 1941.

present method of handling tort liability places a real burden upon the small towns. While towns face the threat of tort actions much less frequently than cities—even considering the disparity of population—the towns feel the results of settlements much more severely. For example, a \$5,000 judgment against a city of 100,000 inhabitants would scarcely be felt at all, but a similar judgment against a town with a population of 500 would be disastrous. The fact that \$5,000 judgments against municipalities are almost non-existent in Virginia is not the answer to the problem. The remedy would seem to lie in some form of state or coöperative insurance, perhaps made compulsory.

The half-dozen scattered tort studies of individual cities sponsored by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council³ arrived at similar conclusions as to the tort burden. While they reveal much larger burdens than the Virginia study, the differences may be explained in terms of size, climate, character of population, attitude of courts, customs of citizenry,

and extent of municipal participation in proprietary functions. In no instance was the present cost of tort liability excessively great, and in no instance did the authors conclude that the cost of an extension of liability would be prohibitive.

The Virginia study provides interesting data on the nature of claims and claimants. Of the claims filed, two-thirds involved defective conditions in streets and sidewalks, one-fourth concerned the utilities department, 60 per cent related to personal injuries, and more than three-fourths were based upon nonfeasance—the failure of the municipality to remedy some dangerous condition. Sixty per cent of the claims filed were rejected and not pressed, 24 per cent were settled, and 16 per cent were litigated. Of those litigated 20 per cent were settled, 23 per cent were dismissed, 40 per cent resulted in judgments for the municipality, and only 17 per cent resulted in judgments for the claimant.

Law Department's Role

In the disposition of claims filed the law department of a municipality plays a very conspicuous role. It is everywhere much more than a mere agency to prepare cases for trial. Its recommendations relating to the claims filed amount to a veritable final deciding power even where, as in most municipalities, the municipal council exercises the formal authority to deal with the claim. Seldom is the decision of the law department overruled. Indeed, in a growing minority of the municipalities the law department's action is final in theory

(Continued on Page 320)

³*The Administration of Public Tort Liability in Los Angeles, 1934-1938*, by Leon T. David and John F. Feldmeier. New York, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, 1939; *Tort Liability of Municipalities in Massachusetts*, by Edgar Fuller. Cambridge, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, 1941; unpublished studies by Paul A. H. Shultz, Assistant Corporation Counsel, Chicago, Gus Levy, Director of Personnel, Austin, Texas, and Mark E. Gallagher, Jr., City Solicitor, Medford, Mass. See also "The Law and Administration of Municipal Tort Liability," by George A. Warp, *Virginia Law Review*, January 1942.

Bonded Debt of 286 U.S. Cities as at January 1, 1942

For the fifth consecutive year cities have reported a decrease in their net debt, this year amounting to 4.6 per cent.

By ROSINA MOHAUPT
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

IN A world of ever-mounting governmental debt, the trend of debt of American cities is a distinct reversal. For the fifth consecutive year cities have reported a decrease in their outstanding net debt, this year amounting to 4.6 per cent. The decrease over the five-year period totals approximately 12.5 per cent.

If this trend continues it is reasonable to believe that the total municipal debt will be extinguished within the next thirty to forty years for the majority of American cities. Desirable as this may be from the standpoint of the municipality, it has serious consequences. As pointed out in previous discussions of municipal debt trends¹ these decreases have been caused by the decline in the rate of growth of cities, the precarious financial situation of many larger cities, and the willingness of the federal government to absorb all or a major portion of the local construction program.

The present downward trend of municipal debt may possibly be an indication of the decline of the municipality and the ascent of the federal government as a major factor in financing many of the larger costs of urban government. From a politi-

cal standpoint this is highly desirable, giving many manifestations of physical progress without increasing the tax or debt burden, but it has serious implications to the average citizen who devoutly believes in home rule and citizen-controlled government. When it is too late he may find that his city has been swallowed by a vast bureaucracy over which he has but slight control.

The decline in municipal debt should produce a definite decrease in the cost of local government, but it is possible that such decreases may be absorbed in bettering working conditions of public employees, increased use of public employees in the postwar expansion program, and perhaps an increase in the functions and services rendered by government. Shifting the burden of construction costs from the local to the federal government, however, does not change the total cost of all government, but perhaps requires taxpayers other than owners of real property to participate in financing costs.

It is estimated on the basis of returns from 286 cities in this study that the total gross bonded debt of American cities over 30,000 population was \$8,747,700,000, or \$171 per capita, as of January 1, 1942—a decrease of \$3.80 per capita from the previous year. This per capita is

¹*The Bonded Debt of 304 Cities as at January 1, 1941, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1941.*

somewhat higher than one-third of the per capita federal debt as of the same date.

It is doubtful if the present decline in debt reflects the curtailment of construction by cities because of the war economy program since the figures antedate any such effort. It is possible that present trends may be entirely reversed by a concerted drive for postwar construction programs to absorb man power released from war industries. At present any plans for sharing the financing of such projects among federal, state, and local governments are nebulous.

Tables I to V summarize the salient facts of this compilation. Table I, for the 273 cities reporting in both 1941 and 1942, shows the gross bonded debt and the net bonded debt less utilities. The latter is considered the actual debt burden when sinking funds and utilities have been deducted. In each of the six population groups there has been a decrease in both gross and net debt in the past year.

Table II shows the per capita figures for the same data. They indicate the same trends and further show the relationship between the demand for capital improvements and the size of the city—the smallest cities show the smallest per capita debt.

The percentage decrease in gross and net debt over the past year is shown in Table III as well as the five-year decrease for the 221 American cities reporting in both 1937 and 1942. Greatest decreases for the five-year period occurred in the net debt of the larger cities (Groups I and II).

Table IV shows the five-year trend in the gross and net debt by population groups. The ability of the larger cities to reduce their net debt at a faster rate than the smaller cities is outstanding.

This is still better illustrated in Table V, showing the per capita decrease for the five-year period. Average net debt decreases range from \$21.45 per capita for the largest cities (excluding New York) to \$6.29 and \$7.71 for the smallest cities. Whether this is due to better debt administration in the larger cities, or increased ability to retire debt, cannot be determined from this study.

Methods of Tabulation

1. *Population Groups*

The classification of cities into population groups has been changed this year to conform with that used by the Division of Population of the Bureau of the Census, except that Group VI in this study includes only cities above 30,000. Group I includes cities over 1,000,000; Group II, cities between 500,000 and 1,000,000; Group III, cities between 250,000 and 500,000; Group IV, cities between 100,000 and 250,000; Group V, cities between 50,000 and 100,000; Group VI, cities between 30,000 and 50,000.

2. *Debt of Ad Hoc Units*

The debt tabulated represents bonds issued exclusively by municipalities except as indicated in footnotes. Where *ad hoc* units of government, such as school districts, park districts, etc., administer functions ordinarily performed by the city, the city's pro rata share of the debt of such districts is included, as explained by a footnote. The division is on the basis of the relative proportion of the assessed valuation of the district lying within and outside of the city limits.

TABLE I
TOTAL GROSS AND NET BONDED DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1941-42
273 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES (IN MILLION DOLLARS)

Population Group ^a	No. of Cities	Gross Bonded Debt		Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities	
		1942	1941	1942	1941
I	5	\$4,544	\$4,620	\$1,751	\$1,854
I ^b	4	1,544	1,584	859	902
II ^c	8	897	929	527	558
III	22	1,136	1,172	730	762
IV	51	852	865	565	587
V	81	586	593	436	443
VI ^d	106	337	349	246	255
Total	273	8,352	8,528	4,255	4,459
Total ^b	272	5,352	5,492	3,363	3,507

TABLE II
PER CAPITA DECREASE IN GROSS AND NET DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1941-42
273 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group ^a	1940 population (000 omitted)	Gross Bonded Debt			Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities		
		1942	1941	Decrease	1942	1941	Decrease
I	15,911	\$285.60	\$290.35	\$4.75	\$110.04	\$116.55	\$6.51
I ^b	8,456	182.55	187.27	4.72	101.56	106.70	5.14
II ^c	5,794	154.82	160.41	5.59	91.00	96.23	5.23
III	7,443	152.64	157.47	4.83	98.03	102.39	4.36
IV	7,344	115.95	117.73	1.78	76.92	79.96	3.04
V	5,607	104.48	105.69	1.21	77.69	78.93	1.24
VI ^d	4,089	82.32	85.37	3.05	60.21	62.30	2.09
Total	46,188	180.81	184.62	3.81	92.11	96.53	4.42
Total ^b	38,733	138.14	141.77	3.63	86.81	90.53	3.72

TABLE III
PERCENTAGE DECREASE IN DEBT OVER ONE-YEAR AND FIVE-YEAR PERIODS

Population Group ^a	No. of Cities	1941-42 Decrease		No. of Cities	1937-42 Decrease	
		Gross Debt	Net Debt Excluding Utilities		Gross Debt	Net Debt Excluding Utilities
I	5	1.6%	5.6%			
I ^b	4	2.6	4.9	3	11.0%	19.2%
II ^c	8	3.5	5.4	8	8.6	14.4
III	22	3.1	4.3	22	4.4	7.8
IV	51	1.5	3.8	49	7.5	11.0
V	81	1.1	1.6	64	5.6	7.6
VI ^d	106	3.6	3.4	75	12.7	12.8
Total	273	2.1	4.6			
Total ^b	272	2.6	4.1	221	7.8	12.4

^aFor changes in upper and lower limits of groups see discussion.

^bExcluding New York City.

^cDoes not include Washington, D. C., which has no debt.

^dWhile the Bureau of the Census defines Group VI as cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, in this study only cities over 30,000 are included.

3. *Overlapping Debt*

In a few instances, notably in the larger cities, a combined city-county plan makes it impossible to accurately report the debt. In such cases no attempt is made to estimate the city and county portions of the debt. The total debt is reported with a footnote to explain the situation. For the great majority of cities, however, overlapping debt (except as noted above) is not included.

4. *Special Assessment Debt*

Special assessment debt, except in a few instances indicated in the footnotes, is not included in the total or per capita

debt figures. The last two columns of the tabulation show the amount of such debt and indicate what portion of it is backed by the full faith and credit of the city.

5. *Per Capita Net Debt*

The per capita figure reported is net debt excluding *all* utilities and is computed on the basis of the 1940 census. Previous to 1939 the per capita figure was computed on the basis of net debt excluding *self-supporting* utilities. Because the concept of a *self-supporting* utility varied so much from city to city as well as from year to year in the same city it was decided that all utilities

TABLE IV
TOTAL GROSS AND NET BONDED DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1937-42
221 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES (IN MILLION DOLLARS)

Population Group ^a	No. of Cities	Gross Bonded Debt		Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities	
		1942	1937	1942	1937
I ^b	3	\$ 969	\$1,088	\$ 590	\$ 730
II ^c	8	897	980	527	616
III	22	1,136	1,188	730	792
IV	49	806	872	546	613
V	64	445	472	340	369
VI ^d	75	205	235	159	182
Total ^b	221	4,458	4,835	2,892	3,302

TABLE V
PER CAPITA DECREASE IN GROSS AND NET DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1937-42
221 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group ^a	1940 Population (000 omitted)	Gross Bonded Debt			Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities		
		1942	1937	Decrease	1942	1937	Decrease
I ^b	6,525	\$148.45	\$166.77	\$18.32	\$90.43	\$111.88	\$21.45
II ^c	5,794	154.82	169.22	14.40	91.00	106.32	15.32
III	7,443	152.63	159.60	6.97	98.03	106.38	8.35
IV	7,068	114.10	123.31	9.21	77.21	86.76	9.55
V	4,460	99.77	105.73	5.96	76.33	82.62	6.29
VI ^d	3,020	67.93	77.80	9.87	52.53	60.24	7.71
Total ^b	34,310	129.94	140.91	10.97	84.28	96.22	11.94

^aFor changes in upper and lower limits of groups see discussion.

^bExcluding New York City.

^cDoes not include Washington, D. C., which has no debt.

^dWhile the Bureau of the Census defines Group VI as cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, in this study only cities over 30,000 are included.

should be deducted. In making comparisons with figures of years previous to 1939 all necessary adjustments have been made.

6. *Public Utilities*

For the purposes of this study a utility has been defined as a commercial enterprise operated by a unit of government performing a service entirely outside the scope of purely governmental functions, serving the city as a whole rather than any small group, and earning a portion or all of its overhead, operating, and debt charges from revenues based on a rate structure. Water, light and power, gas, street railway, rapid transit, port and harbor facilities, docks, and sewage disposal plants fall within the scope of this definition. Such public service enterprises as golf courses, swimming pools, stadiums,

convention halls, and airports are not included in the same category. The debt of such enterprises, although often wholly self-supporting, is included in general public improvement debt as designated by footnote.²

7. *Method of Compilation*

Figures for this study were obtained from questionnaires mailed to public officials, research bureaus, chambers of commerce and other civic organizations in the 343 cities over 30,000 population. The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research wishes to acknowledge the co-operation of these agencies in making possible this compilation.

(Tabulations on following pages)

²For more detailed discussion of public utilities see "The Bonded Debt of 289 Cities as at January 1, 1939," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1939.

CAN THE 'KING' DO NO WRONG?

(Continued from Page 315)

as well as in fact. Some municipal councils have conferred upon it blanket authority to make settlements not exceeding a certain amount or have appropriated to it a lump sum for the settlement of tort claims.

For the most part the administration of municipal tort liability has been efficient. Usually law departments honestly try to strike a balance between the interests of the city and the interests of the claimant. There are a few who still follow the policy of forcing every claim into the courts but the number of these, fortunately, is diminishing. In the future it would seem that further development of the administrative method in handling tort claims is in order. Either the law department should be given blanket authority to

settle small claims or authority should be transferred to some independent board or commission created for the purpose of considering claims.

Up till now the doctrine of municipal immunity in tort has been retained largely as a result of fear—fear of an excessive tort burden and fear of administrative abuse. Both fears, however, would appear to be greatly exaggerated, if not groundless. Discredited in theory and unwarranted in fact, the arbitrary, absurd, and unjust governmentalproprietary rule should be eliminated from municipal law. Liability should be made to depend not upon the nature of the function but upon the nature of the act. If the act is such that a private corporation would be liable, then a municipal corporation should be liable, too, regardless of the nature of the function being performed.

BONDED DEBT OF 286 AMERICAN CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1942

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.
Members of the Governmental Research Association, City Officials, and Chambers of Commerce

From Data Furnished by Members of the Governmental Research Association, City Officials, and Chambers of Commerce

Group If	1940 Census	GROSS BONDED DEBT			SINKING FUNDS			NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		General Improve- ment	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Im- prove- ment (per cent)	Public School ity (per cent)	Public Util- ity (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Utilities	Total Obligation	
Population 1,000,000 or over													
1 New York, N. Y. ¹	7,454,995	\$ 766,563,528	\$ 339,071,778	\$ 1,894,898,492	\$ 3,000,533,798	—	60	2,465,821,144	\$ 892,094,198	\$ 119.66	\$ 169,673,750	100	
2 Chicago, Ill. ²	3,396,808	256,712,679	35,476,500	2,200,000	294,389,179	65	35	N	269,071,098	266,871,098	78.57	15,444,523	
3 Philadelphia, Pa. ³	1,931,334	312,542,140	68,390,000	194,118,460	575,050,600	50	16	34	406,012,801	268,804,341	139.18	N	
4 Detroit, Mich. ⁴	1,623,452	171,028,000	65,375,500	172,752,739	354,056,239	20	N	80	327,133,908	230,900,152	142.23	N	
5 Los Angeles, Cal. ⁵	1,504,277	44,628,690	47,588,342	227,909,442	320,126,474	N	N	100	319,233,617	92,217,032	61.30	350,000	
Group II													
Population 500,000 to 1,000,000													
6 Cleveland, Ohio ⁶	878,336	90,894,281	7,024,000	22,190,500	120,108,781	77	N	23	111,202,926	91,051,768	103.66	1,197,814	
7 Baltimore, Md. ⁷	859,100	100,955,147	18,541,540	51,694,393	171,191,080	78	4	18	139,323,692	93,482,843	108.81	N	
8 St. Louis, Mo. ⁸	816,048	60,108,000	1,750,000	4,758,000	66,616,000	79	9	12	62,703,987	58,406,987	71.57	N	
9 Boston, Mass. ⁹	770,816	64,805,900	7,075,000	110,369,300	182,250,200	19	12	69	157,808,890	64,185,426	83.27	N	
10 Pittsburgh, Pa.	671,659	57,562,100	21,179,309	3,695,100	82,436,509	67	27	06	75,515,139	72,200,799	107.50	N	
11 Washington, D. C.	663,091	No Bonded Debt										N	
12 San Francisco, Cal. ^a	634,536	30,008,300	10,784,000	96,266,800	137,059,100	N	N	N	137,059,100	40,792,300	64.29	765,000	
13 Milwaukee, Wis. ¹⁰	587,472	30,698,737	3,510,000	2,414,000	36,622,737	95	5	0	25,423,222	23,013,222	39.17	N	
14 Buffalo, N. Y.	575,901	76,054,438	9,599,750	15,085,000	100,739,188	27	N	73	94,993,878	84,129,672	146.08	611,326	
Group III													
Population 250,000 to 500,000													
15 New Orleans, La. ¹¹	494,537	65,723,000	6,833,000	7,538,000	80,094,000	82	18	N	78,173,323	70,635,323	142.82	2,408,000	

* = Estimated.

N = None.

† = Figures not available.

new grouping of cities by the U. S. Bureau of Census includes cities between 25,000 and 50,000 in group VI, this tabulation does not include cities under 30,000 population.

^aNew York City. General debt includes \$155,305,000 assessment and \$14,368,750 special assessment debt. Of utility debt \$98,616,964 is self-supporting.

^bChicago. General debt includes \$97,902,700 park district and \$92,291,979 sanitary district debt (city's pro rata share). County debt of \$28,721,910 and forest preserve debt of \$12,205,750 not included (80.99% of total debt of these units).

^cPhiladelphia. Self-supporting debt estimated at \$73,000,000.

^dDetroit. Utility debt includes \$4,743,000 sewage disposal bonds not faith and credit of the city. Housing Commission bond anticipation notes of \$15,015,000 and street railway equipment trust notes of \$825,000 which are not backed by faith and credit of the city are not included, nor are \$793,000 street railway revenue notes. Debt as of December 31.

^eLos Angeles. General debt includes \$14,160,403 flood control and utility debt includes \$127,914,292 metropolitan water district debt (city's pro rata share).

Harbor debt (\$14,876,500) is only 40% self-supporting.

^fCleveland. Utility debt includes \$2,500,000 light debt serviced by taxation. Special assessment debt of \$1,197,814 and library debt of \$504,000 included in general improvement debt.

^gSt. Louis. Although only city debt is shown for most cities, the St. Louis debt includes all local overlapping debt since certain functions, elsewhere performed by the county or special districts, are performed by the city. Relief bonds of \$2,685,000 are serviced by municipal bridge tolls but are also general obligations of the city.

^hBoston. Utility debt includes city's share (60%) of Boston Metropolitan District debt which is a general obligation of the district but serviced from revenue.

ⁱSan Francisco. Does not include \$29,750,000 (city's share) Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District debt. Utility debt includes \$14,880,000 water debt which is not self-supporting.

^jMilwaukee. General improvement debt includes city's share of both county debt for relief (\$8,061,774) and metropolitan sewage debt (\$10,270,963).

^kNew Orleans. General debt includes \$22,925,000 Orleans Levee District debt. Port bonds of \$33,553,000 issued by state agency not included.

GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS		NET BONDED DEBT		GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS				
1940 Census	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Im-ment (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Gen'l City	Total Obligation	
16 Minneapolis, Minn. ¹²	492,370	49,294,173	15,249,835	11,492,000	76,036,008	54	34	12	74,194,251	62,924,450	127.80	2,963,614
17 Cincinnati, Ohio ¹³	455,610	42,017,214	10,373,500	31,717,939	84,108,653	35	11	54	59,387,806	40,977,541	89.94	1,357,790
18 Newark, N. J. ¹⁴	329,178	17,226,402	16,634,200	19,042,000	107,262,602	52	32	16	87,364,696	71,141,047	165.54	N
19 Kansas City, Mo.	499,176	30,818,000	18,866,500	18,563,000	68,249,500	80	67	33	58,468,839	43,152,248	108.10	N
20 Indianapolis, Ind. ¹⁵	386,972	17,480,250	7,561,000	7,565,000	32,606,250	80	12	8	31,375,247	23,902,997	61.77	1,237,880
21 Houston, Tex. ¹⁶	384,514	Not Reporting										
22 Seattle, Wash.	368,302	14,518,000	6,393,000	51,512,000	72,423,000	26	N	74	71,167,949	20,584,235	55.89	12,822,992
23 Rochester, N. Y. ¹⁷	324,975	37,353,000	12,301,500	4,767,000	54,421,500	36	24	40	49,941,147	46,739,795	143.83	6,958,500
24 Denver, Colo. ¹⁸	329,412	15,613,160	5,286,000	24,538,600	45,437,760	11	—	89	43,898,085	32,613,592	64.30	2,958,700
25 Louisville, Ky. ¹⁹	317,077	30,321,400	10,966,400	1,000,000	42,287,800	—	—	4	32,781,472	32,613,592	102.21	N
26 Columbus, Ohio ²⁰	306,087	22,393,356	5,165,001	4,119,000	31,677,357	32	41	27	24,760,359	22,381,801	73.12	2,254,306
27 Portland, Ore. ²¹	305,394	16,013,800	3,770,307	13,359,000	33,143,107	65	N	35	28,104,952	16,502,124	54.04	2,317,608
28 Atlanta, Ga.	302,288	6,230,000	3,428,000	1,612,000	11,270,000	57	22	21	9,984,135	8,642,473	28.59	530,500
29 Oakland, Cal. ²²	302,163	7,924,475	8,249,000	30,276,750	46,450,225	N	N	N	46,450,225	16,173,475	55.53	285,177
30 Jersey City, N. J. ²³	301,173	41,362,000	10,679,000	12,989,255	65,030,255	57	21	52	57,366,308	48,375,257	160.62	N
31 Dallas, Tex.	294,734	19,911,000	7,244,000	10,048,000	37,203,000	52	13	35	34,122,532	25,152,812	85.34	N
32 Memphis, Tenn. ²⁴	292,942	15,491,000	5,176,000	24,331,000	44,998,000	59	18	23	41,938,627	18,297,159	62.46	161,000
33 St. Paul, Minn. ²⁵	287,736	18,981,000	9,025,000	6,346,000	34,352,000	—	—	25	27,397,763	22,803,027	79.25	6,000,000
34 Toledo, Ohio ²⁶	282,349	23,673,185	12,050,000	4,224,000	39,947,185	49	45	6	37,384,959	33,028,622	117.97	775,292
35 Birmingham, Ala. ²⁷	267,583	12,305,000	9,478,000	4,250,000	26,033,000	100	N	N	22,382,382	18,132,382	67.76	—
36 San Antonio, Tex.	253,854	13,620,500	6,047,000	5,737,000	25,404,500	55	28	17	24,607,169	19,003,425	74.86	152,000
37 Providence, R. I.	253,504	43,384,019	15,450,802	18,795,708	77,630,529	43	20	37	59,588,552	47,473,867	187.27	N
38 Akron, Ohio	244,791	22,476,208	3,945,207	8,765,000	35,186,417	8	8	84	32,661,702	26,006,462	106.24	883,900

¹²Minneapolis. General debt includes market bonds which are almost self-supporting. Utility debt includes \$6,203,000 sewage disposal bonds which are only partially self-supporting.

¹³Cincinnati. General debt includes \$441,500 airport bonds not self-supporting. Rental of Cincinnati Southern Railway Terminal is sufficient to provide for debt service on additional \$147,350,000 debt. Utility debt includes \$6,100,000 rapid transit debt not self-supporting.

¹⁴Newark. General debt includes refunded subway, airport, port, and dock bonds but not \$600,000 bond anticipation notes. Utility debt does not include \$165,000 bond anticipation notes.

¹⁵Indianapolis. General debt includes city's share of five poor relief districts in city.

¹⁶Houston. Debt report not available in time for publication.

¹⁷Rochester. Debt as of December 31, 1942.

¹⁸Denver. General debt includes \$3,168,160 Moffat Tunnel District bonds (city's share) financed through taxation. Debt as of December 31.

¹⁹Louisville. School sinking fund included in general city. Utility debt is not an obligation of city. Debt as of December 31.

²⁰Columbus. General debt includes \$2,254,306 special assessment debt with sinking fund overdraft of \$1,505,999.

²¹Portland. General debt includes city's share, \$1,048,002, of Port of Portland debt and \$79,000 golf bonds not self-supporting.

²²Oakland. General debt includes harbor debt which is tax-supported. Utility debt is city's share of East Bay Municipal Utility District debt.

²³Jersey City. Debt as of February 28.

²⁴Memphis. Debt as of January 2.

²⁵St. Paul, et al. School sinking fund included in that for general improvement debt.

²⁶Toledo. Library debt of \$1,050,000 included in debt of school district which is independent of the city.

²⁷Birmingham. Debt as of January 15.

	GROSS BONDED DEBT			SINKING FUNDS			NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
	1940 Census	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Im-prove-ment (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Utilities
39 Omaha, Neb.	223,844	6,515,100	7,950,000	1,140,000	15,605,100	18	58	24	4,833,623	9,631,477	48.12
40 Dayton, Ohio ²⁸	210,718	7,202,314	4,316,723	2,803,000	14,322,037	67	N	33	1,125,898	10,759,989	51.06
41 Syracuse, N. Y.	205,967	22,122,950	4,152,595	4,546,000	30,821,545	N	N	N	N	26,275,545	127.57
42 Oklahoma City, Okla.	204,924	7,065,800	4,975,167	8,762,600	20,803,567	30	41	29	3,574,583	17,228,984	46.45
43 San Diego, Cal. ²⁹	203,341	4,238,256	2,998,375	15,574,484	22,811,115	N	N	N	N	9,494,484	35.59
44 Worcester, Mass.	193,694	9,167,000	22,000	2,272,000	11,461,000	N	N	N	N	7,236,631	35.59
45 Richmond, Va. ³⁰	193,042	26,208,115	6,876,044	7,224,392	40,308,551	61	19	20	14,004,725	9,189,000	47.44
46 Honolulu, Hawaii	179,358	Not Reporting								21,837,845	113.12
47 Fort Worth, Tex.	177,662	13,488,000	5,750,000	6,912,000	26,150,000	40	33	27	1,152,352	18,401,459	103.58
48 Jacksonville, Fla. ³¹	173,065	8,688,000	3,526,000	3,181,000	15,395,000	49	41	10	1,443,733	10,919,412	63.09
49 Miami, Fla. ³²	172,172	28,153,000	7,482,650	8,819,000	44,454,650	72	24	4	2,015,516	33,703,444	195.75
50 Youngstown, Ohio	167,720	8,846,355	1,306,000	529,000	10,681,355	20	80	N	352,975	9,799,380	58.43
51 Nashville, Tenn.	167,402	8,426,000	3,400,000	17,901,000	29,726,000	45	N	55	3,018,172	10,474,223	62.57
52 Hartford, Conn.	166,267	17,246,000	4,610,000	1,790,000	23,646,000	58	31	11	20,492,266	19,043,025	114.53
53 Grand Rapids, Mich.	164,292	4,418,800	873,158	4,365,000	9,656,958	15	N	85	8,376,958	5,099,958	31.04
54 Long Beach, Cal. ³³	164,271	4,908,038	6,163,863	25,852,203	36,924,104	N	N	N	36,924,104	11,071,901	67.40
55 New Haven, Conn.	160,605	11,516,000	240,000	N	11,756,000	92	8	N	586,358	11,169,642	69.55
56 Des Moines, Iowa	159,819	5,206,789	6,415,500	3,849,000	15,471,289	28	34	38	15,029,200	11,622,289	72.72
57 Flint, Mich.	151,543	4,802,599	3,835,000	1,470,600	10,108,198	28	34	38	7,346,522	6,921,212	45.67
58 Salt Lake City, Utah ³⁴	149,934	2,159,500	3,761,000	3,727,000	9,647,500	51	49	N	9,234,347	5,349,547	35.68
59 Springfield, Mass.	149,554	7,120,000	1,420,000	5,427,000	13,967,000	N	N	N	13,967,000	8,540,000	57.10
60 Bridgeport, Conn.	147,121	9,875,000	2,472,000	N	12,347,000	N	N	N	N	12,347,000	83.92
61 Norfolk, Va. ³⁵	144,332	16,591,796	6,800,000	14,109,904	37,501,700	55	—	45	23,745,903	15,860,190	109.89
62 Yonkers, N. Y. ³⁶	142,598	19,876,700	6,856,500	31,589,400	58,322,600	N	N	N	31,589,400	26,732,900	187.47
63 Tulsa, Okla. ³⁷	142,157	7,216,024	4,724,907	2,762,500	14,703,431	—	43	—	10,550,041	7,787,541	54.78
64 Scranton, Pa. ³⁸	140,404	2,555,000	6,242,000	8,797,000	33,294,000	23	77	N	8,464,054	8,464,054	60.28
65 Paterson, N. J.	139,656	9,115,778	5,062,400	12,832,000	27,010,178	92	8	N	26,094,178	13,262,178	94.96

²⁸Dayton. Utility debt includes \$3,392,000 water and \$1,465,000 sewage plant bonds of which only \$2,614,000 water and \$1,899,000 sewage bonds are self-supporting.

²⁹San Diego. Utility debt is not self-supporting, and is backed by full faith and credit of the city.

³⁰Richmond. Debt as of January 31.

³¹Jacksonville. School debt is not a city obligation. Utility debt includes \$236,000 dock bonds not self-supporting.

³²Miami. School debt is city's share of debt of four independent school districts. General debt includes \$212,000 hospital and \$137,000 stadium bonds which are self-supporting.

³³Long Beach. General debt includes city's share of county flood control bonds of \$1,851,538. Public utility debt includes city's share of metropolitan water district, \$16,348,703.

³⁴Salt Lake City, et al. Utility debt not self-supporting. General sinking fund.

³⁵Tulsa. Utility debt is not self-supporting, utility sinking fund is included in general sinking fund.

³⁶Scranton. School debt as of June 30, 1941.

1940 Census	GROSS BONDED DEBT			SINKING FUNDS			NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
	General Improve- ment	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Im- prove- ment (per cent)	Public School ity (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Per City Gen'l City Total Obligation
66 Albany, N. Y.	130,577	15,211,600	4,251,550	13,109,000	32,572,150	—	N	30,913,345	17,804,345	136.35	136,000 100
67 Chattanooga, Tenn.	128,163	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	1,213,952	26	39	16,705,571	16,058,743	128.78	N N
68 Trenton, N. J.	124,697	6,835,963	1,070,800	17,919,523	2,860,000	62	9	2,733,911	2,545,991	20.87	1,652,993 0
69 Spokane, Wash.	122,001	2,099,000	537,000	126,089	9,659,156	8	2	7,307,696	5,558,550	45.77	165,584 100
70 Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	3,244,156	2,563,000	3,852,000	1,504,000	N	N	3,746,500	2,242,500	18.94	2,938,000 0
71 Fort Wayne, Ind. ⁸⁷	118,410	540,500	1,702,000	3,484,000	25,253,828	102,210	51	24,231,727	23,354,043	198.70	N N
72 Camden, N. J.	117,536	20,802,228	3,484,000	967,600	10,332,576	83	N	17,101,963	9,011,963	77.05	520,792 0
73 Erie, Pa.	116,955	4,634,000	4,528,576	1,170,000	226,000	100	N	4,035,000	3,783,000	30.77	N N
74 Fall River, Mass.	115,428	3,503,000	506,000	252,000	10,614,862	N	N	10,614,862	9,286,087	80.77	2,324,520 100
75 Wichita, Kans. ⁸⁸	114,966	5,988,087	3,298,000	1,328,775	11,049,700	1,438,760	—	9,610,940	3,225,740	28.67	— —
76 Wilmington, Del. ⁸⁹	112,504	3,988,500	676,000	6,385,200	8,116,297	N	N	8,116,297	20,865,398	187.00	— —
77 Gary, Ind. ⁹⁰	111,719	4,992,297	3,124,000	N	1,969,720	69	N	24,687,753	8,815,637	79.73	345,000 0
78 Knoxville, Tenn.	111,580	20,453,235	1,767,000	4,437,238	6,760,000	938,614	100	5,821,386	5,039,386	45.67	N N
79 Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	17,800	100	N	13,488,535	9,635,535	87.67	N N
80 Reading, Pa.	110,568	2,868,000	6,137,500	2,060,000	11,065,500	370,146	51	10,695,354	5,718,515	52.75	612,779 0
81 New Bedford, Mass. ⁴¹	110,341	5,351,000	627,000	782,000	6,760,000	938,614	100	5,821,386	4,598,000	45.00	129,420 100
82 Elizabeth, N. J.	109,912	5,671,525	4,677,450	3,853,000	14,201,975	713,440	—	13,488,535	8,838,260	83.41	507,794 100
83 Tacoma, Wash. ⁴²	109,408	2,975,000	850,000	11,263,000	15,088,000	17,800	N	2,691,220	2,691,220	25.61	658,994 0
84 Canton, Ohio	108,401	3,606,820	4,146,000	594,000	8,346,820	2,034,305	49	4,825,000	4,825,000	45.00	N N
85 Tampa, Fla.	108,391	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	317,123	N	N	5,637,497	5,379,620	53.12	2,000,000 88
86 Sacramento, Cal.	105,958	3,788,260	5,050,000	3,253,000	12,091,260	N	N	12,091,260	8,838,260	83.41	507,794 100
87 Peoria, Ill. ⁴³	105,087	2,139,220	552,000	N	2,691,220	N	N	2,691,220	2,691,220	25.61	658,994 0
88 Somerville, Mass. ⁴⁴	102,177	3,529,000	1,069,000	227,000	4,825,000	N	N	4,825,000	4,598,000	45.00	N N
89 Lowell, Mass.	101,369	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	5,954,620	317,123	N	5,637,497	5,379,620	53.12	2,000,000 88
90 South Bend, Ind. ⁴⁴	101,268	3,886,620	1,493,000	575,000	7,874,833	N	N	7,874,833	5,723,333	56.63	100,000 0
91 Duluth, Minn.	101,065	3,757,333	1,966,000	2,151,500	8,671,722	173,473	88	8,498,249	5,828,000	57.76	1,254,008 100
92 Charlotte, N. C.	100,899	4,850,906	1,129,000	2,691,816	6,714	—	—	9,976,495	9,976,495	99.25	82,525 100
93 Utica, N. Y.	100,518	8,646,678	1,391,531	N	10,038,209	6,174	—	16,687,500	9,927,500	99.96	N N
94 Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	8,991,500	936,000	6,760,000	16,687,500	287,780	59	7,734,220	7,431,220	75.70	— —
95 Shreveport, La.	98,167	7,494,000	225,000	303,000	8,022,000	287,780	41	7,734,220	7,431,220	75.70	— —

⁸⁷Fort Wayne. School debt not a city obligation.
⁸⁸Wichita. General debt includes city's share (\$2,204,500) of relief bonds issued by county.
⁸⁹Wilmington. Utility debt includes \$2,570,000 harbor and \$3,815,200 water bonds not retired from water revenue.
⁹⁰Gary. General debt includes \$2,550,000 bonds of independent sanitary district.
⁴¹New Bedford. General debt includes \$33,000 wharf bonds not self-supporting.

⁴²Tacoma. General debt includes 65% of Port of Tacoma debt serviced through taxation, but partially self-supporting.
⁴³Peoria. School debt is city's share of independent school district debt. General debt includes \$1,026,720 representing city's share of sanitary district debt.
⁴⁴South Bend. Court decision has made \$1,650,000 special assessment debt a city obligation.

	GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS			NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
	1940 Census	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Im- provement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Util- ity (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
96 Lynn, Mass.	98,123	4,315,100	1,173,000	296,000	5,784,100	N	N	N	5,784,100	5,488,100	55.93	2,638,100
97 Evansville, Ind.	97,062	1,700,200	1,438,500	1,402,000	4,540,700	N	N	36	4,238,580	2,944,622	30.34	114,957
98 Allentown, Pa. ⁴⁵	96,904	4,629,700	3,297,000	700,000	984,333	N	51	—	7,642,367	6,942,367	71.64	310,100
99 El Paso, Tex.	96,810	2,933,000	1,715,138	1,462,000	6,110,138	62	20	18	5,756,158	4,360,149	45.04	—
100 Savannah, Ga.	95,996	4,501,500	433,500	125,000	5,060,000	—	—	—	4,705,250	4,580,250	47.71	N
101 Little Rock, Ark.	88,039		Not Reporting									
102 Austin, Tex.	87,930	3,170,000	1,776,000	1,124,500	6,070,500	—	—	—	6,016,675	4,892,175	55.64	N
103 Schenectady, N. Y.	87,549	9,495,500	741,000	207,000	10,443,500	—	—	5	10,364,483	10,161,740	116.07	100
104 Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	86,236	2,632,000	671,000	N	3,303,000	N	N	N	3,276,718	3,276,718	38.00	N
105 Berkeley, Cal. ⁴⁶	85,547	715,715		8,389,225	—	N	N	N	—	—	—	11,527
106 Rockford, Ill.	84,637	571,000	2,393,000	N	2,964,000	100	N	N	2,927,000	2,927,000	34.58	0
107 Lawrence, Mass.	84,323	2,261,000	187,000	422,000	2,870,000	N	N	N	2,870,000	2,448,000	29.03	—
108 Harrisburg, Pa.	83,893		Not Reporting			N	N	N				
109 Saginaw, Mich. ⁴⁴	82,794	386,000	127,000	1,738,000	2,251,000	N	N	N	2,251,000	513,000	6.20	273,600
110 Glendale, Cal. ⁴⁷	82,582	1,104,250	3,340,000	240,000	4,684,250	N	N	100	4,641,219	4,444,250	53.82	83,980
111 Sioux City, Iowa	82,364	3,585,000	984,000	484,000	5,053,000	100	N	N	4,945,700	4,461,700	54.17	51,000
112 Lincoln, Neb. ⁴⁸	81,984	2,249,500	3,285,000	1,396,000	6,930,500	4	N	96	5,953,727	5,496,615	67.04	167,975
113 Pasadena, Cal. ⁴⁹	81,864	2,642,775	2,434,000	5,793,175	155,917	N	N	100	10,714,033	5,076,775	62.01	2,097,208
114 Altoona, Pa.	80,214	2,031,000	3,010,000	476,000	5,517,000	88	7	5	4,879,418	4,433,035	55.27	758,000
115 Winston Salem, N. C.	79,815	8,023,663	3,435,906	2,394,431	13,854,000	—	—	—	13,555,610	11,161,179	139.83	172,000
116 Bayonne, N. J.	79,198		Not Reporting									
117 Huntington, W. Va. ⁵⁰	78,836	1,199,000	395,000	N	1,594,000	—	—	—	1,135,753	1,135,753	14.41	—
118 Lansing, Mich.	78,753	561,000	—	656,000	1,217,000	N	N	100	561,000	561,000	7.12	N
119 Mobile, Ala. ⁵¹	78,720	8,310,000	—	5,289,000	13,599,000	—	N	N	13,547,589	8,258,589	104.91	N
120 Birmingham, N. Y.	78,309	2,643,000	2,553,200	20,000	5,216,200	N	N	N	5,216,200	5,196,200	66.36	—
121 Montgomery, Ala.	78,084		Not Reporting									
122 Niagara Falls, N. Y. ⁵²	78,029	8,607,355	6,511,210	1,482,730	16,601,295	N	N	100	16,428,992	15,118,565	193.76	N
123 Manchester, N. H. ⁵³	77,685	3,219,980	227,020	67,500	3,514,500	N	N	N	3,514,500	3,447,000	44.37	N
124 Quincy, Mass.	75,810	3,638,500	393,000	175,000	4,206,500	N	N	N	4,206,500	4,031,500	53.18	N
125 Pawtucket, R. I.	75,797	11,038,000	3,329,000	2,669,000	17,036,000	51	34	15	14,317,271	12,068,362	159.22	—

⁴⁵Allentown, Hamtramck. Utility sinking fund included in general.
⁴⁶Berkeley. Utility debt is city's share of East Bay Utility District debt.
⁴⁷Glendale. Does not include city's share of metropolitan water debt (\$6,042,207) nor flood control debt (\$661,164).
⁴⁸Lincoln. General debt includes \$65,000 sanitary district debt.
⁴⁹Pasadena. Does not include city's share of metropolitan water debt (\$8,254,800) nor flood control debt (\$888,960).
⁵⁰Huntington. Flood control debt of approximately \$1,000,000 retired from special assessments not included.
⁵¹Mobile, et al. School debt included in general improvement debt.

	1940 Census	GROSS BONDED DEBT			SINKING FUNDS			NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita	Gen'l City Obligation
126 St. Joseph, Mo.	75,711	4,100,000	2,521,000	N	6,621,000	84	16	N	6,407,608	6,407,608	84.63	—
127 East St. Louis, Ill.	75,609		Not Reporting			N	N	N	4,770,357	317,000	4.20	0
128 Springfield, Ill.	75,503	19,000	298,000	4,560,000	4,877,000	64	N	100	10,621,366	4,769,366	64.76	N
129 Portland, Me. ⁶⁴	73,643	4,705,400	335,000	6,046,900	11,087,300	58	N	42				
130 Charleston, S. C.	71,275		Not Reporting			—	—	—	7,628,590	6,937,565	98.68	N
131 Springfield, Ohio	70,662	6,301,940	Not Reporting	691,025	7,628,590	N	N	N	5,245,277	4,331,962	61.72	0
132 Troy, N. Y.	70,304	3,043,670	1,423,500	988,000	5,455,170	64	N	36	5,539,000	4,914,000	70.33	N
133 Hammond, Ind.	69,873	3,495,000	1,419,000	625,000	5,539,000	—	—	14	10,523,969	5,952,829	85.92	N
134 Newton, Mass. ⁶⁵	69,287	6,778,000	—	4,700,000	11,478,000	84	5	11	4,761,894	2,964,620	42.87	9,895
135 Roanoke, Va. ⁶⁶	69,287					—	—	13	8,264,063	7,941,736	115.19	20,000
136 Lakewood, Ohio	69,160	1,648,050	1,664,500	1,841,000	5,153,550	84	5	11	4,916,706	3,201,908	46.62	N
137 East Orange, N. J.	68,945	5,468,024	3,222,445	431,000	9,121,469	15	72	13	1,644,550		24.02	38,116
138 New Britain, Conn.	68,685	1,404,000	1,984,000	1,724,000	5,112,000	95	N	5				
139 San Jose, Cal. ⁶⁷	68,457	744,550	900,000	N	1,644,550	N	N	N	2,653,268	2,653,268	39.11	421,451
140 Charleston, W. Va.	67,914		Not Reporting			N	N	N	4,836,150	4,350,150	64.50	120,300
141 Topeka, Kans.	67,833	1,057,268	1,596,000	N	2,653,268	N	N	N	8,994,723	8,270,625	122.78	N
142 Madison, Wis. ⁶⁸	67,447	2,371,400	1,978,750	486,000	4,836,150	12	N	88	3,461,126	2,680,000	39.88	19,503
143 Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	67,362	5,299,000	3,240,050	2,714,000	11,253,050	45	N	55	6,399,329	6,399,329	95.99	N
144 Racine, Wis.	67,195	2,010,000	744,000	873,000	3,627,000	71	29	N	5,948,300	4,587,300	68.85	1,122,000
145 Johnstown, Pa. ⁶⁹	66,668	3,938,000	3,951,000	N	7,889,000	100	N	N	4,193,228	3,247,564	49.18	177,170
146 Pontiac, Mich. ⁷⁰	66,626	2,996,250	1,844,300	1,361,000	6,201,550	56	N	44	3,452,000	2,347,000	35.55	152,681
147 Davenport, Iowa	66,039	2,052,917	1,361,000	1,075,000	4,488,917	84	N	16	3,609,749	3,109,216	47.17	N
148 Oak Park, Ill. ⁷¹	66,015	1,237,000	1,434,000	1,105,000	3,776,000	100	N	N	11,237,472	6,063,472	92.69	533,722
149 Augusta, Ga. ⁷²	65,919	2,876,000	801,700	611,000	4,288,700	N	100	N	2,763,381	2,732,045	41.78	678,699
150 Phoenix, Ariz. ⁷³	65,414	4,052,000	2,945,000	5,174,000	12,171,000	N	92	8	24,414,000	22,314,000	348.14	—
151 Evanston, Ill.	65,389	548,000	2,401,000	49,000	2,998,000	N	N	N	11,102,154	10,068,664	158.35	857,467
152 Cicero, Ill.	64,712		Not Reporting			89	N	10	3,840,000	3,448,000	54.66	N
153 Atlantic City, N. J. ⁷⁴	64,094	22,314,000		2,100,000	24,414,000	N	N	N				
154 Dearborn, Mich. ⁷⁵	63,584	9,692,467	5,182,030	1,571,000	16,445,497	N	1	10				
155 Medford, Mass.	63,083	2,848,000	600,000	392,000	3,840,000	N	N	N				

⁶²Niagara Falls. School debt includes \$1,300,000 bonds specifically excluded by constitution when computing city debt limit.

⁶³Manchester. Of the water bonds \$37,500 are not self-supporting.

⁶⁴Portland, Me. General debt includes Portland's share of bridge and pier district debts (\$51,000 and \$207,400 respectively). Utility debt is Portland's share of water district debt.

⁶⁵San Jose. Debt as of November 30, 1941.

⁶⁶Madison. Utility debt includes \$56,000 water bonds not self-supporting.

⁶⁷Johnstown. Debt as of January 5.

⁶⁸Pontiac. Utility debt includes \$1,167,000 water bonds not self-supporting.

⁶⁹Oak Park. General debt includes \$602,000 park district bonds.

⁷⁰Dearborn. Debt as of January 31, 1942. School debt is city's share of debt of six separate school districts.

	1940 Census	GROSS BONDED DEBT			SINKING FUNDS			NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Im- prove- ment (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Utilities	Per Gen'l City Obligation
188 Holyoke, Mass.	53,750	251,000	325,000	779,000	1,355,000	N	N	N	1,355,000	576,000	10.72	N
189 Santa Monica, Calif. ⁸⁰	53,500	1,612,500	1,686,000	889,250	4,187,750	35	45	20	3,973,363	3,127,737	58.46	100
190 Columbus, Ga. ⁸¹	53,280	2,149,200	—	45,000	2,194,200	N	N	N	2,194,200	2,149,200	40.34	100
191 Pueblo, Colo.	52,162		Not Reporting									
192 Waterloo, Iowa	51,743		Not Reporting									
193 Amarillo, Tex. ⁸²	2,821,500	1,670,000	1,789,772	6,281,272		60	38	2	5,913,158	4,131,097	79.93	N
194 Asheville, N. C. ⁷⁰	51,310	14,598,007	2,617,284	5,043,176	22,260,467	N	N	N	22,260,467	17,215,291	335.52	N
195 Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	950,700	2,805,000	121,000	3,876,700	49	47	4	1,957,268	1,916,467	37.72	100
196 Portsmouth, Va.	50,745	5,144,000	583,000	2,972,000	8,699,000	30	N	70	5,884,623	4,877,018	96.11	N
197 Hamilton, Ohio	50,592	1,404,441	742,000	677,500	2,823,941	30	70	N	2,670,806	1,993,306	39.40	100
198 Hoboken, N. J. Group VI†	50,115		Not Reporting									
199 Hantrameck, Mich. ⁸³	49,839	4,025,978	2,635,500	491,000	7,152,478	—	N	—	6,026,877	5,535,877	111.08	N
200 Brookline, Mass. ⁸⁴	49,786	479,000	455,000	294,000	1,228,000	N	N	N	1,228,000	934,000	18.76	—
201 Muncie, Ind.	49,720		Not Reporting									
202 Pittsfield, Mass.	49,684	802,000	321,000	136,000	1,259,000	N	N	N	1,259,000	1,123,000	22.60	N
203 Jackson, Mich. ⁷¹	49,656	1,238,500	911,000	1,166,500	3,316,000	N	N	N	3,316,000	2,149,500	43.29	100
204 Lexington, Ky.	49,304	2,070,500	489,000	N	2,559,500	—	—	—	2,111,554	2,111,554	42.83	0
205 Woonsocket, R. I.	49,303	4,833,000	946,000	680,000	6,459,000	87	13	N	5,423,251	4,743,251	96.21	N
206 Clifton, N. J.	48,827		Not Reporting			N	N	N	3,076,000	2,588,000	53.07	100
207 Kenosha, Wis.	48,765	334,000	2,254,000	488,000	3,076,000	N	N	N	3,076,000	2,588,000	53.07	100
208 Berwyn, Ill. ⁷²	48,751	845,000	—	N	—	N	N	N	—	—	—	0
209 Bay City, Mich.	47,956	349,000	515,000	1,113,000	1,977,000	31	34*	35	1,747,521	713,899	14.89	100
210 Stamford, Conn.	47,938	2,808,878	1,914,000	N	4,722,878	N	N	N	4,722,878	4,722,878	98.52	N
211 Muskegon, Mich.	47,697	1,468,000	1,643,658	875,000	3,986,658	100	N	N	3,746,911	2,871,911	60.21	100
212 New Castle, Pa.	47,638	652,000	1,789,000	N	2,441,000	91	9	N	2,381,472	2,381,472	49.99	—
213 Aurora, Ill.	47,170	493,000	365,000	258,000	1,116,000	N	N	N	1,116,000	858,000	18.19	27
214 Cranston, R. I.	47,085	2,482,500	2,103,000	N	4,585,500	—	—	—	4,377,946	4,377,946	92.98	N
215 Raleigh, N. C.	46,897	2,447,603	—	2,025,000	—	100	N	N	—	—	—	100
216 Everett, Mass. ⁸⁴	46,784	1,307,900	334,000	92,000	1,733,900	N	N	N	1,733,900	1,641,900	35.10	N
217 Haverhill, Mass.	46,752	1,378,039	48,000	122,000	1,548,039	N	N	N	1,548,039	1,426,039	30.50	N
218 Green Bay, Wis.	46,235	145,500	1,293,000	737,000	2,175,500	N	87	13	1,943,307	1,237,307	26.76	—

⁸⁰Santa Monica. Does not include city's share of metropolitan water debt

(\$4,844,800) or flood control debt (\$475,000).

⁷⁰Asheville. General improvement debt includes \$987,967 debt of four over-

lapping sanitary districts.

⁷²Berwyn. Utility debt includes \$686,500 water bonds not self-supporting. Does not include debt of park district.

	1940 Census	GROSS BONDED DEBT			SINKING FUNDS			NET BONDED DEBT		GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Utilities
219 Port Arthur, Tex.	46,140		Not Reporting								
220 Wichita Falls, Tex. ⁷²	45,112	3,384,500	1,720,000	3,492,000	8,596,500	34,636	81	3	8,561,864	5,070,905	112.41
221 Elmira, N. Y.	45,106	1,832,000	832,000	240,000	2,904,000	N	N	N	2,904,000	2,664,000	59.06
222 Lima, Ohio	44,711	2,198,600	340,000	334,500	2,873,100	N	N	N	2,873,100	2,538,600	56.78
223 Lynchburg, Va. ⁷³	44,541	3,172,348	—	2,307,708	5,480,056	1,104,374	56	44	4,375,682	2,557,974	57.43
224 Williamsport, Pa. ⁷⁴	44,355	504,000	835,000	1,339,000	201,984	17	83	N	1,137,016	1,137,016	25.63
225 Lorain, Ohio	44,125	1,104,358	412,000	46,000	1,562,358	14,369	53	47	1,547,989	1,508,674	306.459
226 Dubuque, Iowa ⁷⁵	43,892	956,000	435,000	95,000	1,486,000	218,040	51	N	1,267,960	1,280,280	29.17
227 Ogden, Utah	43,688		Not Reporting					49			
228 San Bernardino, Calif.	43,646	487,583	898,840	169,675	1,556,098	157,498	21	73	1,398,600	1,237,603	28.36
229 Battle Creek, Mich.	43,453	354,000	684,500	272,000	1,310,500	N	N	N	1,310,500	1,038,500	23.90
230 Warren, Ohio ⁷⁶	42,837	1,188,872	521,840	238,000	1,948,712	111,176	39	38	1,837,536	1,641,536	38.32
231 Rock Island, Ill.	42,775	497,400	979,000	4,329,000	5,805,400	194,424	5	N	5,610,976	1,466,088	34.27
232 La Crosse, Wis.	42,707	515,000	640,000	14,000	1,169,000	3,000	—	—	1,166,000	1,152,000	26.97
233 Jamestown, N. Y.	42,638	483,000	1,472,500	345,000	2,300,500	73,000	N	100	2,227,500	1,955,500	45.86
234 Joliet, Ill.	42,365		Not Reporting								
235 Fitchburg, Mass. ⁷⁴	41,824	1,088,750	541,250	170,500	1,800,500	N	N	N	1,800,500	1,630,000	38.97
236 Chicopee, Mass.	41,664		Not Reporting								
237 Bloomfield, N. J.	41,623	2,069,000	2,380,500	1,031,000	5,480,500	5,000	N	100	5,475,500	4,449,500	106.90
238 Anderson, Ind.	41,572	368,100	487,000	1,257,000	2,112,100	82,065	28	N	2,030,035	831,730	20.00
239 Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439		Not Reporting								
240 Chelsea, Mass.	41,259	1,905,400	202,500	N	2,107,900	449,517	100	N	1,658,383	1,658,383	40.19
241 Perth Amboy, N. J. ⁷⁸	41,242	8,257,500	1,184,000	1,672,000	11,113,500	559,446	23	46	10,554,054	9,056,054	219.58
242 Salem, Mass.	41,213	1,204,950	50,500	80,000	1,335,450	N	N	N	1,335,450	1,255,450	30.46
243 Sioux Falls, S. Dak.	40,832	576,000	1,030,500	N	1,606,500	794,772	8	92	881,728	1,881,728	21.59
244 Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	1,165,000	475,000	109,000	1,749,000	N	N	N	1,749,000	1,640,000	40.36
245 Foughkeepsie, N. Y.	40,478	3,313,000	991,800	318,000	4,622,800	22,386	65	35	4,600,414	4,282,414	105.80
246 Quincy, Ill. ⁷⁷	40,466	250,000	588,000	182,000	1,020,000	N	N	N	1,020,000	838,000	20.71
247 Portsmouth, Ohio ⁷⁸	40,469	3,287,050	1,260,000	1,083,000	5,630,050	115,048	—	61	5,515,002	4,501,976	111.25
248 White Plains, N. Y.	40,327	4,465,016	6,426,000	1,019,000	11,910,016	386,742	54	2	11,523,274	10,511,598	260.66
249 Waltham, Mass.	40,020		Not Reporting								
250 Arlington, Mass.	40,013	31,000	301,000	N	332,000	13,728	100	N	318,272	318,272	7.95

⁷²Wichita Falls. Utility includes city's share (\$3,092,000) of Wichita County water bonds not self-supporting.

⁷³Williamsport, Easton. Debt as of January 5, 1942.

⁷⁴Dubuque. General debt includes \$161,000 dock bonds not self-supporting.

⁷⁵Perth Amboy. Utility debt includes \$150,000 light and power bonds not self-supporting.

⁷⁶Quincy. Debt as of February 1, 1941. Public utility not self-supporting.

⁷⁷Portsmouth, Kearney, Tucson. Utility debt is only partially self-supporting.

	1940 Census	GROSS BONDED DEBT			SINKING FUNDS			NET BONDED DEBT		GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		General Improve- ment	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Im- prove- ment (per cent)	Public School ity (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total Obligation
251 Norwalk, Conn. ²⁴	39,849	3,779,000	125,877	772,000	4,576,877	—	—	120,548	4,556,329	3,784,329	94.97
252 Montclair, N. J.	39,807	39,807	Not Reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
253 East Cleveland, Ohio ²⁵	39,495	819,000	1,104,000	N	1,923,000	38	62	552,827	1,370,173	34.69	121,500
254 Meriden, Conn.	39,494	517,000	681,000	30,000	1,228,000	100	N	12,442	1,215,558	30.02	—
255 Cumberland, Md. ²⁶	39,483	2,530,000	1,304,000	2,705,000	6,539,000	54	N	961,854	5,577,146	83.94	—
256 Kearny, N. J. ²⁷	39,467	5,038,340	1,814,000	4,673,000	11,525,340	100	N	208,000	11,317,340	168.35	N
257 West New York, N. J.	39,439	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
258 Laredo, Tex. ²⁸	39,274	995,500	563,000	N	1,558,500	68	32	119,207	1,439,293	36.65	N
259 Oshkosh, Wis.	39,089	454,000	250,000	463,000	1,167,000	N	N	13,151	1,153,849	18.01	N
260 Alhambra, Calif.	38,935	283,850	1,383,000	475,000	2,141,850	N	N	N	2,141,850	1,666,850	42.81
261 Lewiston, Me.	38,598	583,000	385,000	349,000	1,317,000	N	N	N	1,317,000	968,000	25.08
262 High Point, N. C. ²⁹	38,495	4,932,794	1,839,791	2,472,613	9,245,198	54	22	230,147	9,015,051	171.42	1,047,203
263 Elgin, Ill.	38,333	870,000	480,000	131,000	1,481,000	71	29	69,994	1,411,006	33.92	172,083
264 Norristown, Pa.	38,181	540,000	1,425,000	N	1,965,000	15	85	361,421	1,603,579	41.99	N
265 Hazleton, Pa.	38,009	1,515,000	1,252,000	N	2,767,000	13	87	213,850	2,553,150	67.17	—
266 Steubenville, Ohio	37,651	571,710	681,750	20,000	1,273,460	—	—	46,020	1,227,440	32.07	569,940
267 Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
268 Plainfield, N. J.	37,469	2,602,000	1,494,300	N	4,096,300	—	—	107,344	3,988,956	106.46	0
269 Pensacola, Fla.	37,449	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
270 Taunton, Mass.	37,395	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
271 Mansfield, Ohio	37,154	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
272 Joplin, Mo.	37,144	338,000	668,000	N	1,006,000	67	23	177,342	828,658	22.31	N
273 Butte, Mont.	37,081	883,000	556,677	N	1,439,677	66	34	102,941	1,336,736	36.05	245,013
274 Newport News, Va.	37,067	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
275 Gadsden, Ala. ³⁰	36,975	1,833,500	931,000	56,500	2,821,000	100	N	1,507	2,819,493	2,762,993	74.73
276 Danville, Ill.	36,919	102,000	449,300	N	551,300	N	N	N	551,300	551,300	14.93
277 Tucson, Ariz. ³¹	36,818	1,196,500	1,048,800	801,500	3,046,800	86	14	682,625	2,364,175	1,562,675	42.44
278 Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	331,000	1,362,000	95,810	2,230,810	N	N	95,810	2,134,190	868,000	23.59
279 Orlando, Fla.	36,736	3,801,500	1,019,000	1,225,000	6,045,500	22	14	946,528	5,098,972	4,480,581	121.97
280 Fort Smith, Ark.	36,584	84,500	744,100	1,197,000	2,025,600	N	N	N	2,025,600	828,600	22.65
281 West Allis, Wis. ³²	36,364	1,272,000	1,187,000	222,000	2,681,000	N	N	N	2,681,000	2,459,000	67.62
282 Alameda, Calif.	36,256	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
283 Auburn, N. Y.	35,753	2,512,067	927,000	171,500	3,610,567	N	N	50,885	3,559,682	3,439,067	96.19

²⁵East Cleveland. General debt includes \$50,000 bonds of independent library district.

²⁶Cumberland. School debt issued by county—amount shown is city's pro rata share.

²⁷Laredo, Albuquerque, University City. Debt as of June 30, 1941.

²⁸High Point. Electric revenues pledged for retirement of \$2,517,000 general and \$121,000 school debt although these are also backed by full faith and credit of the city.

²⁹Gadsden, Meridian. Debt as of September 30, 1941.

	GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT				SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
	1940 Census	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Gen'l City	Total Obligation
284 Orange, N. J. ³⁴	35,717	2,813,000	1,176,500	185,000	4,174,500	266,212	49	N	3,908,288	3,723,288	104.24	N	N	N
285 Meridian, Miss. ³⁵	35,481	2,169,768	816,211	414,000	3,399,979	3,252	87	N	3,396,727	2,982,727	84.07	169,553	100	100
286 Albuquerque, N. Mex. ³¹	35,449	1,637,000	645,000	789,000	3,071,000	418,119	94	N	2,652,881	1,863,881	52.58	517,500	0	0
287 Watertown, Mass. ³²	35,427	646,000	242,000	2,000	890,000	N	N	N	890,000	888,000	25.07	N	N	N
288 Richmond, Ind.	35,147	536,000	590,000	N	1,126,000	34,553	88	N	1,091,447	1,091,447	31.05	125,175	0	0
289 Superior, Wis.	35,136	637,295	1,295,667	N	1,932,962	N	N	N	1,932,962	1,932,962	55.01	N	N	N
290 Santa Barbara, Calif.	34,958	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting										
291 Greenville, S. C. ³⁶	34,734	1,242,500	524,700	4,585,000	6,352,200	375,229	38	2	5,976,971	1,615,371	46.51	33,000	0	0
292 Baton Rouge, La.	34,719	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting										
293 Riverside, Calif.	34,696	153,000	1,223,000	492,480	1,868,480	N	N	N	1,868,480	1,376,000	39.66	N	N	N
294 Moline, Ill. ³⁷	34,608	687,100	510,000	286,000	1,483,100	N	N	N	1,483,100	1,197,100	34.59	113,992	0	0
295 Revere, Mass.	34,405	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting										
296 Burbank, Calif. ³⁷	34,337	236,925	2,163,000	519,000	2,918,925	N	N	N	2,918,925	2,399,925	69.89	N	N	N
297 Waukegan, Ill.	34,241	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting										
298 Rome, N. Y.	34,214	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting										
299 Norwood, Ohio ³⁸	34,010	482,855	607,770	100,000	1,190,625	179,011	95	5	1,011,614	911,614	26.80	N	N	N
300 Kokomo, Ind.	33,795	361,500	393,000	294,000	1,048,500	42,949	62	N	1,005,551	727,678	21.53	29,000	100	100
301 West Hartford, Conn. ³⁹	33,776	678,000	1,533,000	N	2,211,000	418,136	22	78	1,792,864	1,792,864	53.08	N	N	N
302 Paducah, Ky.	33,765	1,524,500	44,000	2,171,000	3,739,500	130,197	—	—	3,609,303	1,467,477	43.46	N	N	N
303 West Palm Beach, Fla. ⁴⁰	33,693	11,642,125	784,730	N	12,426,855	359,748	89	11	12,067,107	12,067,107	358.15	N	N	N
304 Easton, Pa. ⁴¹	33,589	2,431,800	1,314,000	3,387,000	7,132,800	1,058,806	48	52	6,073,994	2,686,994	80.00	N	N	N
305 Alexandria, Va.	33,523	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting										
306 Elkhart, Ind.	33,434	29,000	410,900	1,054,000	1,493,900	75,831	1	N	1,418,069	439,079	13.13	N	N	N
307 Wilmington, N. C.	33,407	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting										
308 Watertown, N. Y.	33,385	1,853,672	799,000	458,000	3,110,672	295,434	60	40	2,815,238	2,357,238	70.61	N	N	N
309 Amsterdam, N. Y.	33,329	918,400	1,587,000	79,000	2,584,400	68,825	N	40	2,515,575	2,478,202	74.36	N	N	N
310 New Brunswick, N. J.	33,180	2,508,000	1,061,000	926,000	4,495,000	N	N	N	4,495,000	3,569,000	107.56	N	N	N
311 University City, Mo. ⁴²	33,023	1,819,000	1,345,200	N	3,164,200	N	N	N	3,164,200	3,164,200	95.82	N	N	N
312 Nashua, N. H.	32,927	956,000	387,000	N	1,343,000	41,264	—	—	1,301,736	1,301,736	39.53	N	N	N
313 Bloomington, Ill.	32,868	Not Reporting	Not Reporting	Not Reporting										
314 Port Huron, Mich.	32,759	827,298	166,000	15,000	1,008,298	206,170	100	N	802,128	787,128	24.03	255,689	100	100
315 Danville, Va.	32,749	1,767,000	375,500	2,027,000	4,169,500	33,006	100	N	4,136,494	2,109,494	64.41	N	N	N

³⁴Orange. Utility debt includes \$90,000 light and power debt not self-supporting.

³⁵Greenville. General debt includes the following revenue bonds: \$33,500 swimming pool, \$39,000 stadium, and \$11,500 community center.

³⁶Moline. General debt includes \$82,000 swimming pool bonds which are self-supporting.

³⁷Burbank. Does not include city's share of metropolitan water debt (\$3,253,800) or flood control debt (\$283,350).

³⁸West Hartford. Debt as of February 28, 1942.

³⁹West Palm Beach. Winter population estimated at about double the 1940 census figure.

GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT		GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS				
1940 Census	General Improvement	Public Schools		Public Utility	Total	Gen'l Im-prove-ment		Public School		Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Utilities	Gen'l City	Total Obligation
		Not Reporting	Reporting			(per cent)	(per cent)	(per cent)	(per cent)					
316	Fargo, N. Dak.	32,580	Not Reporting	2,619,000	5,814,000	N	N	N	N	5,814,000	3,195,000	98.34	N	N
317	Hagerstown, Md. ⁸⁰	32,491	2,025,000	1,170,000	4,427,000	75	23	2	3,292,090	1,956,423	60.67	N	N	N
318	Muskogee, Okla.	32,332	2,400,000	668,000	3,657,000	—	—	—	1,134,910	2,485,827	77.28	N	N	N
319	Spartanburg, S. C.	32,249	2,031,000	946,000	680,000	—	—	—	491,173	3,165,827	77.28	N	N	N
320	East Providence, R. I. ⁸¹	32,165	347,425	1,391,000	77,755	59	—	41	65,257	1,750,923	53.26	—	—	—
321	Santa Ana, Calif. ⁸²	31,921	930,037	1,502,968	437,231	83	17	N	29,262	2,840,974	75.39	2,000	100	100
322	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,883	Not Reporting	89,000	1,147,500	98	2	N	59,611	1,087,889	31.72	12,000	100	100
323	Lubbock, Tex.	31,853	Not Reporting	89,000	1,147,500	98	2	N	59,611	1,087,889	31.72	12,000	100	100
324	Ottumwa, Iowa	31,570	Not Reporting	89,000	1,147,500	98	2	N	59,611	1,087,889	31.72	12,000	100	100
325	Newark, Ohio	31,487	Not Reporting	89,000	1,147,500	98	2	N	59,611	1,087,889	31.72	12,000	100	100
326	Alton, Ill.	31,255	Not Reporting	16,000	1,278,708	100	N	N	3,936	1,274,772	40.32	N	N	N
327	Middletown, Ohio	31,220	501,708	761,000	3,436,500	N	N	100	148,152	3,288,348	41.79	279,107	100	100
328	Salem, Ore. ⁸³	30,908	808,500	483,000	2,145,000	N	N	N	N	946,000	715,000	23.26	N	N
329	Marion, Ohio	30,817	515,000	200,000	231,000	N	N	N	N	946,000	715,000	23.26	N	N
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,745	2,032,000	509,500	297,000	43	32	25	75,728	2,762,772	81.12	1,000	100	100
331	Newport, Ky.	30,631	4,165,500	990,000	5,155,500	45	35	20	1,910,084	3,245,416	105.95	N	N	100
332	Petersburg, Va.	30,631	547,257	461,000	532,919	—	—	—	863,762	677,414	10.43	194,928	100	100
333	Wyandotte, Mich.	30,618	Not Reporting	3,026,000	5,422,000	61	39	N	243,295	5,178,705	70.51	N	N	N
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.	30,579	1,737,000	659,000	3,026,000	—	—	—	243,295	5,178,705	70.51	N	N	N
335	Newport, R. I.	30,532	4,024,000	405,000	940,000	—	—	—	354,140	5,014,860	143.26	N	N	N
336	New London, Conn. ⁸⁴	30,456	1,209,000	359,000	1,430,000	N	N	N	N	2,998,000	1,568,000	51.84	—	—
337	Owensboro, Ky. ⁸⁵	30,245	711,000	267,000	1,535,000	36	14	50	259,979	2,253,021	28.36	204,509	0	0
338	Everett, Wash.	30,224	35,000	545,000	242,500	26	N	74	35,525	786,975	18.96	513,000	0	0
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	Not Reporting	242,500	822,500	26	N	74	35,525	786,975	18.96	513,000	0	0
340	Ingleswood, Calif. ⁸⁶	30,114	Not Reporting	242,500	822,500	26	N	74	35,525	786,975	18.96	513,000	0	0
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.	30,103	Not Reporting	242,500	822,500	26	N	74	35,525	786,975	18.96	513,000	0	0
342	West Haven, Conn.	30,021	Not Reporting	242,500	822,500	26	N	74	35,525	786,975	18.96	513,000	0	0
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	1,019,475	342,800	1,361,975	N	N	N	N	1,361,975	1,361,975	45.38	542,140	100

⁸⁰Hagerstown. Utility debt includes \$2,327,000 water bonds not self-supporting.

⁸¹East Providence. Debt as of October 11, 1941.

⁸²Santa Ana. Does not include city's share of metropolitan water bonds (\$2,429,649).

⁸³Salem. School debt shown is city's share (93%) of Marion County School debt.

⁸⁴New London. Debt as of October 1, 1941. School sinking fund included in general.

⁸⁵Owensboro. Does not include \$150,000 county hospital bonds, half of which are retired by the city.

⁸⁶Ingleswood. Does not include city's share of flood control bonds (\$197,200) nor sanitation district bonds (\$284,400).

The Nation's Citizenship Day

In thousands of American communities, great and small, "I Am an American Day" was a day of dramatic, colorful, inspiring ceremony.

By JEROME MAHLBERG
University of Wisconsin

IT IS hardly possible to describe adequately the widespread scope and dynamic brilliance which characterized this year's "I Am an American Day" celebrations held May 17 throughout the length and breadth of the nation. In a very real sense the whole nation participated, from small family groups around their radios to the unprecedented gathering of an estimated 1,250,000 persons in Central Park of New York City.

There was heartening truth in Mayor LaGuardia's prediction when he said: "New York's 'I Am an American Day' celebration and the thousands of other great rallies throughout the nation will undoubtedly give Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito something to think about. They will be forced to face the realization that they are up against something unconquerable, something they can't lick, and something they can't understand—the united will of free men to maintain their freedom."

In every major city in the country there was renewed evidence of the significance of the idea of emphasizing each year the importance of the occasion when our sons and daughters reach the age of twenty-one and become our partners in the guiding and protecting of America. Indeed, this day has become a vital, life-giving event of our democracy, acknowledging the important place of youth in this great country.

In many counties of Wisconsin, and of the nation, the ceremony was preceded by an educational program to

enable youth to understand better the new responsibilities which they were about to assume. The nation-wide interest, so generally expressed, certainly provides an unusual basis for the development of a most significant educational program—one which should not only aid the war effort, but be of far-reaching help to the great postwar tasks which lie ahead.

With its traditional enthusiasm Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, where the first "Citizenship Day" program set the pattern for the nation three years ago, sponsored another stirring patriotic celebration. Highlight of the occasion was the presence of representative youth now serving the nation—in the Marines, the Army, the Navy, and the air force. Indicative of their eagerness to carry on the leadership tradition established by Manitowoc County's youth, Robert Suhr of Two Rivers, newly elected chairman of the 1942 new voters group and their spokesman, declared: "It is our aim to make Manitowoc County the citadel of patriotic citizenship."

In Milwaukee 20,000 persons gathered and expressed their patriotism and faith in America by a mass recital of the "American's Creed." The theme of the celebration was expressed by Lieutenant Carl F. Zeidler, Milwaukee's mayor who is now on leave to do his bit in the Navy. He said: "American citizenship cannot be bought, sold, or exchanged. To those who have it, it is priceless. To those who do not have it, it represents Utopia."

Like many other small communities

all over the nation, DePere, Wisconsin, staged a stirring parade of home defense units. More than a thousand marchers filed down the streets and thousands participated in the patriotic rallies held in the community high schools.

The spirit of many such small communities was aptly expressed by Robert W. Ostrander, superintendent of schools of Lancaster County, Wisconsin, when he remarked: "There are no funds for a county-wide celebration, and since tire saving is on everybody's mind, probably local observance would, after all, be the most American way of celebrating. But no community is too small to make this 'I Am an American Day' a very special occasion this year."

Chicago Celebrates

In appreciation for the blessings America has given them, more than half a million Chicagoans of foreign descent reaffirmed their loyalty to the United States on "I Am an American Day" by participating in a series of patriotic programs throughout the city. They gathered in city parks, schools, and auditoriums. Many of the racial groups—Norwegians, Lithuanians, and Hungarians—held separate meetings. Others joined in celebrations sponsored by religious, civic, and veterans bodies.

As if to signify the unconquerable strength and spirit of a free people, the largest crowd ever to assemble at a single point anywhere in the world gathered in New York City and repeated the pledge offered to them by Justice Hugo L. Black of the United States Supreme Court:

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice to all.

Fresh from their heroic deeds off Bataan peninsula, Lieutenant John D. Bulkeley and Ensign Anthony Akers

brought the nations a promise of victory. Governor Lehman and Justice Black spoke on behalf of the home front. Special honor and recognition were extended to the 46,000 new voters who had been invited to attend the inspiring ceremonies.

An idol of the nation's colored youth, Private Joe Louis, spoke simply and sincerely: "I am glad I am an American," he said. "I do hope that after all the fire is out we will celebrate this day all over the world."

France Speaks

A voice from the enslaved and depressed people of Europe spoke to the vast crowd. General Charles de Gaulle, leader of the Free French, spoke by radio from London. He told the gathering that millions of Frenchmen were placing their hopes of freedom in the effort of the United States. It was a stirring challenge offered to a free people who had gathered to express their appreciation for the blessings of freedom and to dedicate themselves to its preservation and extension everywhere in the world.

Thus, in thousands of American communities, great and small, "I Am an American Day" was a day of dramatic, colorful, inspiring ceremony. Each year an estimated 2,500,000 young men and women reach the age of twenty-one and share fully the blessings and responsibilities of American citizenship. Hence, Citizenship Day should each year have increasing significance, and to an increasing extent the event should be a fitting climax to an educational program—one of help to old voters as well as to the new voters.

It is a challenge to educators of America to carry out the implied responsibility expressed as early as 1787—the responsibility of training our citizens for their proper place in the electorate.

Contributors in Review

THE FOUR authors of *We Can't All Shoot But*—**Albert Gailord Hart**, who prepared the manuscript, **C. Arnold Anderson**, **Bryce Ryan**, and **W. H. Stacy**—are all teaching at Iowa State College where they have taken an active part in organization for civilian defense. Dr. Hart, formerly at the University of Chicago, was director of research for the Committee of Debt Adjustment of the Twentieth Century Fund in 1937-38. He is author of *Debts and Recovery* (1938), *Economic Policy for the Rearmament Period* (1940), and co-author of *Paying for Defense* (1941). Dr. Anderson is a sociologist at Iowa State, teaching formerly at the University of Minnesota, and Harvard and Rutgers Universities. He has published numerous articles in sociology journals and is co-author, with Dr. Ryan, of *War Came to the Iowa Community*. Dr. Ryan is also a sociologist. He has been a social worker in Austin, Texas, and research supervisor in WPA in Washington, D. C. Dr. Stacy has been interested in extension work in rural organization since 1922. He is author of *Integration of Adult Education*.

AN ACTIVE leader in the first county-wide program that set the pattern of "I Am an American Day" celebrations, **Jerome Mahlberg** (*The Nation's Citizenship Day*) was president of Manitowoc County (Wisconsin) New Voters of 1939. He had been out of school for several years and had started to work his way up in a small bank. His thrilling experience in organizing the new voters of his county and in helping them develop an outstanding program of effective civic betterment, led him to see the vast opportunities that public administration offers today. He determined to prepare himself for this field of service and has completed two years at the University of Wisconsin where he is recognized as an outstanding student.

THE MONTH of June brings us, as in recent years, **Rosina Mohaupt's** *Bonded Debt of U. S. Cities*. In addition to titles we have listed formerly, Miss Mohaupt, statistician for the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, has a new publication to her credit: *Cost of Living Salary Plans for Municipal Employees*, with J. M. Leonard as co-author.

THIRTY years' experience in governmental research may be chalked up to **C. E. Rightor** (*State and Local Government After the War*) in Dayton, Detroit, and elsewhere, including the Division of State and Local Government of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, where he is specialist on city statistics. A frequent contributor to governmental literature, Mr. Rightor was chosen to represent the United States at the Second Inter-American Congress of Municipalities at Santiago de Chile last fall. **Hugh D. Ingersoll** has collaborated with Mr. Rightor in the past. A "Syracuse boy," meaning that he attended the graduate course in public administration in the Maxwell School of Citizenship at Syracuse University, Mr. Ingersoll has been with the Division of State and Local Government for the past two and a half years. This post he left late in May to become a private in the U. S. Army. He has prepared several articles on the subject of state aid.

AFTER receiving graduate degrees in political science and law from Western Reserve University, **George A. Warp** (*Can the 'King' Do No Wrong?*) taught

(Continued on Page 339)

On the Local Front

Trailer—modern covered wagon—houses industrial workers; recreation at prices to fit soldiers' and sailors' pocketbooks.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

TODAY, as America fights to retain the great country won in pioneer days, covered wagons still move on—covered wagons propelled by motors.

The 1942 brand of American is fighting, not Indians, but a more ruthless would-be invader. Thousands of modern Americans are flocking to defense plants to turn out weapons to repel the enemy.

Faced with housing shortages everywhere the defense worker and his family make the covered wagon—now called a trailer—home, as did the winners of the west.

Trailer towns have sprung up overnight, making urgent demands on communities for recreation, schools, hospitals, sanitary, and other emergency facilities. Into the Recreation Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services of the Federal Security Agency have come many reports telling how situations are being met.

In **Erie, Pennsylvania**, a camp of 200 trailers is located across from the entrance to the General Electric plant, about two miles from the center of town. The camp has two permanent buildings with showers, lavatories, and laundries. The manager of the trailer camp, anxious to provide for social as well as shelter needs, last summer borrowed playground apparatus and made a playground for the children. This summer he is planning two playgrounds, closer to the mothers and within sight of the two laundry units in the utilities building.

Nearby Erie and the beautiful lake-park out on the point provide recreational facilities for the adults.

In **Nashville, Tennessee**, the trailer housing unit for defense workers at the Vultee Aircraft Corporation is located three-quarters of a mile outside the city limits. On April 1 there were 300 trailers, each accommodating a family of two adults and two children.

A grade school is located three-quarters of a mile from the camp and a high school is three miles away.

There is space available for tennis courts, badminton, croquet, and horse-shoes. Nearby land is suitable for the development of other recreational facilities.

A trailer camp of over 100 has been established at **Wilmington, Illinois**, on Island Park and has the supervision of city officials under a zoning ordinance. The city furnishes electricity for a nominal fee. There is space for family picnics and the children wade and swim in the river nearby.

The City Council of **Wahoo, Nebraska**, has established a trailer camp on the county fair grounds at the edge of the town, and trailers are moving in rapidly. The ground is well lighted and is policed. The Council has made available a large, centrally located building with a concrete floor and sanitary facilities. Group gatherings, crafts, and other social activities are held there.

In **Ravenna, Ohio**, there is a trailer-camp of 237 units. In addition a new trailer park with 150 home units has

been proposed by the Farm Security Administration at Clingman Field on the Ravenna-Newton Falls Road. The USO-YWCA program at **Newton Falls** includes the trailer camp residents.

The city of **Burlington, Iowa**, and the town of **West Burlington** have passed model trailer ordinances. Under prevailing conditions, however, these ordinances are not easily enforced. City leaders there say it would be a great help if property owners where trailers are admitted would keep a register of the occupants containing the former residence of the occupants, present employment, marital status, and number of children.

At **Charlestown, Indiana**, it is estimated that about 1,800 people are living in trailers. The County Board of Education has applied for a new building as a defense project. Some children cannot be admitted to school because of overcrowded conditions. There are 536 trailers within the city limits of Charlestown with a total trailer population of 1,626 of whom 219 are under fifteen.

The local residents, in planning for a Defense Recreation Committee, expressed a hope that the "trailerites" could be brought into the picture and suggested that trailer camps be called subdivisions of Charlestown rather than trailer camps.

Representatives of the trailer camps expressed the opinion that each trailer camp subdivision should be represented on a community council.

Play schools for the children and community-wide activities for families in the evening have been set up.

The Episcopal Church through its missionary fund has assigned a worker to Charlestown although there is no church of that denomination in the community. This worker has been visiting among the trailer families and

has promised a building, forty by eighty, for services and recreational activities. The Lions Club has purchased a downtown piece of property it is ready to lease to the church at a dollar per year.

The Adult Education Division of Indiana University has promised speakers and entertainers for out-of-door meetings this summer.

Alabama Cities Act

In **Sylacauga, Alabama**, the City Council has set apart definite areas for trailer camps. There are now two trailer camps, each accommodating 100 trailers in town, and one five miles away. A full-time recreation director, under the Park and Recreation Board, works with the management of the trailer camps in providing suitable recreational activities.

Three clubs, consisting of girls of from twelve to fourteen years of age, have been formed from the trailer camps. There are twenty-five girls in each group. Meetings are held in the new federal building which is operated by the city with WPA assistance.

Forty-eight women from the trailer camps volunteered their services as hostesses in the building for the first week.

In a community in the same state—**Huntsville, Alabama**—there are eight privately owned trailer camps, one government-owned, and two more being constructed.

The Health Department conducted a trailer-to-trailer survey to ascertain the number of individuals occupying the trailers; the number of children, ages, and school status; the health of the people and sanitary conditions in the trailers.

Schools became so crowded some of the boys and girls ceased attending. Juvenile delinquency increased, especial-

ly in congested West Huntsville where there are few recreational facilities.

Despite an excellent county-wide WPA recreation program, there is still a need for urban recreation centers, especially for boys in the Huntsville area.

A women's social club has been formed at the Farm Security Administration trailer camp. The first monthly meeting was held in a recreational room belonging to the Merrimack Textile Mill. A local resident gave a talk on present conditions and what women can do to help solve the problems. Huntsville people furnished the entertainment. The club is under the supervision of the WPA recreational director.

Using the community hall as a dining room women in one of the privately owned trailer camps entertain visiting soldiers each Sunday at dinner.

Many suggestions for the absorption of the trailer residents into the normal life of the community are being put into effect. Radio publicity with special emphasis upon the duty of the old-time residents toward their new neighbors has been featured. One of the largest trailers at the Farm Security Administration Camp was made available for a recreation center and was staffed with a full-time WPA director.

A library was established in the recreation trailer. A committee of ten women has charge. Two first-aid classes have been started. Two "covered dish luncheons" and an evening party for adults were held.

A Trailer Council was organized. Thirty women met in one of the utility houses and organized the council which announced as its main objective the raising of money to equip a playground.

Childersburg, Alabama, is a town of 550 normal population which leaped to more than 6,000 in nine months because of the influx of workers at the powder

plant of the Dupont-Alabama Ordnance Works. The plant employs some 23,000 workers, 70 per cent of whom pass through the streets of Childersburg daily.

The streets are clay and have been cut into deep holes. Boots are the popular footgear for men and women. Places of amusement are crowded. Childersburg looks like a boom town of the gold rush era.

Many live in trailers.

The enrollment of the well equipped consolidated school has increased 250 per cent. The gymnasium was divided into classrooms.

The need for all forms of wholesome amusement is obvious.

On Tuesdays and Thursdays WPA conducts a family life education group in the Methodist Church which is well attended. Women from the trailer groups have assisted in the nursery school, bought linoleum for the lunch room and play room.

A new federal recreation room was dedicated February 11, and is being used extensively.

Recreation Plans for Soldiers and Sailors

Railroad officials, theatre and baseball managements, and directors of recreation centers throughout the nation are combining their efforts to make life more pleasant for the men of the armed forces and reduce prices to fit their pocketbooks, Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director of Defense Health and Welfare Services, has announced.

The Recreation Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Mr. McNutt explained, is responsible for working with community officials to help them solve emergency problems of providing wholesome recreation for members of the armed forces stationed

in nearby army and navy centers and for workers in war production plants.

Men in uniform who are on furlough may buy round-trip railroad tickets at a special rate of one and one-quarter cents per mile. "It was suggested to the railroads that this would be a helpful gesture and they agreed," explained Mr. McNutt. "The railroads voluntarily filed a tariff with the Interstate Commerce Commission, requesting approval for this special discount."

Baseball, favorite sport of many service men, will be available gratis in numerous cities during the coming season. More than 600,000 members of the armed forces are expected as guests in the three major league parks of New York and Brooklyn alone. J. G. Taylor Spink, publisher of *The Sporting News*, is sending out thousands of copies of his publication to army camps and recreational centers throughout the nation.

Theatre managements are making generous contributions to the entertainment of soldiers, sailors, and marines. Men in uniform are admitted to motion picture theatres at reduced prices in virtually all cities.

Boston's Committee on Entertainment has arranged many theatre par-

ties for the men of the armed forces. The Shubert interests and members of the casts put on special matinees for service men at the Wilbur and Plymouth Theatres.

The **Syracuse** Defense Council has made arrangements with fifteen local hotels to cut their rates to service men in half.

President Roosevelt has turned over his private reception room in the Washington Union Station for the use of soldiers, sailors, and marines. Heretofore the President greeted distinguished visitors in this room and used it himself when leaving or entering Washington.

Troops passing through **Eugene, Oregon**, know they have struck a "good" town. The program for hospitality to troops in transit is jointly sponsored by the Eugene Chamber of Commerce, the City Recreation Commission, and the county authorities. In a recent two-week period 3,000 men stopped overnight or longer. On one week-end, 859 enlisted men and 30 officers were provided with sleeping quarters and entertained. Dances, home hospitality, free motion picture tickets, and sports were provided. The Elks Club in Eugene holds open house at all times.

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 335)

for a time at the University of Minnesota, then joined the staff of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Virginia. His fields of special competence are public administration and public law. He has written several treatises, including *Municipal Tort Liability in Virginia*, published last year by the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration, and has also contributed numerous articles on these subjects to various publications.

—Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps—

The Researcher's Digest: June

Asking the man in the street; Detroit harvests reports; finance in Michigan; administration in Alabama; private life of a research bureau.

A NEW idea in planning is embodied in *Urban Planning and Public Opinion*, subtitled A Pilot Study, by the **Bureau of Urban Research of Princeton University**. Using that useful—and too seldom used—social research technique, the public opinion poll, the Bureau asked 246 people in a Middle Atlantic industrial town what kinds of major changes in their town they would approve. The results show that the man-in-the-street approves plenty. He's willing to fall in with drastic no-parking regulations, to clear up a bad traffic situation, and he says *sure*, he'd move away from his home if there were to be complete rebuilding for the good of the town.

To be sure, the surveyors found there are differences among people's willingness to uproot themselves for the sake of planning. The propertied, better educated aren't quite so willing to walk blocks from their parked cars to the business district. They aren't quite so ready to leave their homes while the neighborhood is being reconstructed. They are somewhat more attached to the *status quo*.

And further, the report relates that educated and uneducated alike were pretty hazy about what planning is, anyhow, and they didn't know whether or not their town had a planning commission, and even if it did, what in the world a planning commission would do. Education on local government, says the report, is the answer to that.

The study, it is clearly indicated, is intended merely as a guidepost and as an indication of the uses of the polling technique. Planners need public back-

ing as well as city councils. Why not find out what the people want before you try to give it to them? The public opinion poll, the report maintains, is the best way yet devised to do the finding out.

—and Cabbages and Kings

Busy as ever turning out research is the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**. The newest harvest is a rich one. The Bureau has again brought up to date its classic *The Growth of a City Government*, first published in 1922 and revised several times since then. Detroit is the guinea pig for this tabulation and commentary upon how city services change qualitatively and quantitatively, and what happens to the financial situation in the meantime. The year 1824 is the starting point; the study runs right into 1942.

Detroit also contributes another discussion of *Cost-of-Living Salary Plans for Municipal Employees*, distinguished not only by the usual thoroughness of this Bureau's work, but also by a unique, chatty table of contents which describes each chapter in some detail. Included are the reasons for salary plans, analysis of the Dearborn and the St. Paul plans, as well as of other plans, criticism of the Detroit salary policy, a critique of cost-of-living indices, and an outline of the basic essentials of a cost-of-living plan.

The same Bureau also has a recent report on *Population Decentralization 1930-40 and Housing 1940—Greater Detroit Area*—a statistical study. Finally, mention should be made of a handsome double-page pictorial chart in the *Just A Minute* discussion of Detroit's wartime budget. This chart takes the

curse off pictorial charts by being emphatically large enough to see. The drawings are nice too.

All About Finance

Finance takes the spotlight in the two latest reports of the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan**. Robert S. Ford and Albert Waxman have written a 213-page book over the imprint of the Bureau on *Financing Government in Michigan*. This is a painstakingly assembled analysis of the considerable changes in governmental expenditures and financing since 1913, based upon a pioneering classification of expenditures and revenues.

State Supervision of Local Borrowing, also from the Michigan Bureau, is a study of the enormous amount of municipally defaulted debt during the depression. The aim of the Bureau was to study various systems whereby state control could help prevent future recurrence of such a situation. A debt limit linked to the level of municipal tax collections, the Bureau concludes, might be the advisable remedy. A statutory debt limit is advocated, with the total debt permissible in any county for all purposes linked to property tax collections for three prior years or to the property tax levy for the two preceding years.

How Alabama Grew

Along lines not dissimilar from the Detroit Bureau's *The Growth of a City*, is a study of state administrative growth: *The Growth of State Administration in Alabama*, by Roscoe C. Martin, published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama**. Since 1820, the author finds, the state has passed through two "periods." At first it was concentrated on the protective functions of general government and the "police state." But in the past fifty years has come

the "service state," to Alabama as to the rest of the world. But the lateness of Alabama's development is noted, as well as the reasons for it, and its specific characteristics.

Those interested in the operation of the poll tax will find a dispassionate and statistically bulwarked examination of *The Electorate in an Alabama Community*, another recent study by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama. "In 1939 and 1940, 718 persons registered. Almost half of these were twenty-one or twenty-two years old. All but four of them belonged to the white race." The study is by no means confined to this aspect of the electorate, but the quotation is, perhaps, one of the most striking.

For the Record

Research bureaus are forever—and rightly—reminding us that their work is not necessarily at its most impressive when confined between paper covers or set down in cold type or black print. Hence it is well, on occasion, to review the annual reports of the governmental research bureaus, for there is the only public record of those behind-the-scenes missionary jobs which the bureaus accomplish so competently. A case in point is the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia**, which has just issued its *Service Report for 1941*. A seven-million-dollar saving of interest was made possible for the city of Philadelphia because it adopted three oft-repeated financial recommendations of the Bureau, one of them urged as long ago as 1921. Subjects on which the Bureau was active in gathering data included finance, water metering, street cleaning and refuse collection and disposal, civil service rules and several other aspects of the merit system, city charter subjects, parking and traffic.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Administration

The Growth of a City Government. By Lent D. Upson; charts by Robert D. Fleischer. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, April 1942. 28 pp. processed.

The Growth of State Administration in Alabama. By Roscoe C. Martin. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, 1942. 96 pp.

Assessment

Assessing As an Outstanding Economy and Public Administrative Issue in New York State. New York Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Albany, 1942. 24 pp.

The Assessment of Money, Notes, and Bonds in Missouri—1891 vs. 1939. St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, *Mind Your Business*, April 7, 1942. 7 pp.

Debt

Debt of the City of Boston. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, March 1942. 17 pp. mimeo.

State Supervision of Local Borrowing. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1942. 41 pp.

Finance

Financing Government in Michigan. By Robert S. Ford and Albert Waxman. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1942. 213 pp.

Pertinent Financial Data City of Baltimore As at January 1, 1942. Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1942. 15 pp.

Housing

Population Decentralization 1930-41 and Housing 1940—Greater Detroit

Area. Edited by Stuart E. Walker. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, April 1942. 8 pp. processed.

Planning

Urban Planning and Public Opinion: A Pilot Study. Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. February 1942. 36 pp.

Police

The St. Louis Police Survey. St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, 1942. 133 pp.

Research Bureaus

Twenty-eighth Annual Report, Year Ended February 28, 1942. Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research, 1942. 12 pp.

Service Report for 1941. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, 1942. 6 pp.

Salaries

Cost of Living Salary Plans for Municipal Employees. By J. M. Leonard and Rosina Mohaupt. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, February 1942. 51 pp. mimeo.

Schools

Kansas City School Finances—A Review. Kansas City (Mo.) Civic Research Institute, February 1942. 40 pp. processed.

Taxation

Waiving Collections of Penalties on Delinquent Taxes. Schenectady (N. Y.) Bureau of Municipal Research, January 1942. 7 pp. mimeo.

Voting

The Electorate in an Alabama Community. By Charles W. Smith, Jr. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, 1942. 31 pp.

News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

New Jersey Commission on Constitutional Revision Reports *Places Revised Document Before Legislature*

THE Commission on Revision of the New Jersey constitution submitted its report and a revised constitution to the legislature on May 18. With this action the struggle for a modern constitution to replace New Jersey's 1844 model moved into a new phase. The report of the commission is remarkable both for its proposed constitution and for the novel method by which it hopes to secure the adoption of the constitution.

Repeated attempts to call a constitutional convention have been defeated because of the unwillingness of the Senate, representing counties rather than people, to risk being reformed or abolished. This has been regarded by many as an insuperable obstacle to a convention. On the other hand, the amending method, provided in article IX of the constitution, is no solution. The commission remarks: "The great number of interdependent changes which under this article would have to be submitted to the people separately should not be torn apart by piecemeal acceptance if we are to have a workable constitution."

The commission's plan is neither the amendment method nor the convention method as ordinarily understood. It suggests that the legislature, at the September primary, "request authority from the people to submit a revised constitution at the general election of

November 1942," and act in accordance with their verdict. It is "the unanimous opinion of the commission" that "the only feasible alternative to this method is a constitutional convention."

The legislature received and filed the constitution and adjourned to meet June 15. The adjournment is a tip-off to the people interested in constitutional revision that if they want action they must let the legislature know it in no uncertain terms.

The commission's plan may provide precedent for other states where legislatures are reluctant to throw constitutional revision in the lap of an uncontrolled convention. Actually, it embraces important elements of the convention method. The proposed constitution would be open to change by the legislature until September. It is to be presumed that a committee would receive proposals from interested citizens and perhaps hold hearings. Thus, the people would have practically the same opportunity for participation which a convention would offer, except that of selecting delegates. Furthermore, it is argued that a favorable vote on primary day would legally constitute the legislature as a convention and overcome the objection which was successfully raised in Indiana, where an attempt by the legislature to submit a revised constitution, without prior authorization, was enjoined.

Specific Changes

The commission disclaims that it produced "a model constitution"; it attempted rather to correct demonstrated defects in the working constitution of New Jersey. It therefore did an especially thorough job on the courts. "New Jersey has the most complicated scheme of courts existing in any English-speaking state." The commission

proposes to replace the present part-time Court of Errors and Appeals of sixteen members with a full-time seven-member Supreme Court. Furthermore, "a single statewide court with law and equity sections, for the trial of all civil and criminal cases, called the Superior Court, replaces nine different existing courts." Three-man appellate divisions of the Superior Court are established, and the chief justice is to act as "the administrative head of all the courts in the state."

The commission's constitution requires that the functions of "more than ninety agencies" be reallocated to "nine major departments" by executive order, subject within thirty days to legislative veto. Appointment by "joint meeting," the New Jersey substitute for popular election of administrators, is limited to the treasurer and the comptroller. All other department heads, and "all councils, boards, and commissions" shall be appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate. The terms of department heads are at the governor's pleasure. The commission hopes to alleviate one of the worst cases of "senatorial courtesy" in the country by providing that any nomination not acted on in thirty days shall be treated as confirmed. Members of the legislature will be ineligible for appointments for one year after their terms.

These changes are designed both to strengthen the executive and to improve the quality of legislative action by relieving the legislature of "executive functions" which divert it from its principal business. Other helps toward an independent legislature include: (1) extension of terms of assemblymen to two years and of senators from three to four years, elections to be in odd years; (2) increased annual pay for legislators—\$500 to \$1,500; (3) a legisla-

tive council consisting of the governor, senate president, assembly speaker, and majority and minority leaders of both houses; (4) restrictions on lobbyists; (5) restoration of investigatory power, mutilated in recent years by court decisions.

A regular legislative session of not over ninety days every two years is provided. The governor's term is to be four years instead of three, but without any right to re-election, whereas the present provision simply forbids self-succession.

Other changes abolish dedicated funds, curb supplementary appropriations, strengthen the item veto by requiring a two-thirds vote to override it, put the merit system for state and local units in the constitution, establish the right of excess condemnation, guarantee the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, establish a commission to administer paroles and advise the governor on pardons, give the governor effective command of the militia, require a regular procedure for administrative regulations, and empower any citizen "to restrain any violation of the constitution."

Whether the commission, by focusing attention on a concrete plan, will win more friends than enemies for the cause of revision, remains to be seen. Already, telegrams, letters, and delegations of the fearful and aggrieved are descending on the legislators.

It took Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City only two days to discover that the commission's whole "scheme is fraught with trickery and deception," designed by the "railroad lobby" to give the governor an opportunity to appoint a "hand-picked" court "to pass on the pending railroad tax litigation." Objection of a different sort will doubtless come from persons interested in good government who are disturbed at

the prospect of elimination of the boards controlling such departments as agriculture and institutions and agencies, although the constitution would permit the legislature to specify plural heads for some departments.

On the other hand, the executive committee of the New Jersey Committee on Constitutional Convention met the day after the commission reported, and authorized its chairman, Spencer Miller, Jr., to announce its tentative support. The statement added that most of the committee, especially labor members, were not satisfied with the proposed method of submitting amendments, which substitutes a two-thirds vote of one legislature for the present requirement of a majority vote of two legislatures. They felt that either method "excessively restricts the right of the people to amend their basic charter." The legislature is therefore asked to prepare a constitution permitting one legislature to submit amendments by majority vote, and requiring a periodical vote on the calling of a convention.

JOHN BEBOUT

University of Newark

Missouri Citizens Work for Unicameral Legislature

Initiative petitions for an amendment to the Missouri constitution to provide for a unicameral legislature are being circulated in various parts of the state with the hope that the amendment will be voted upon at the November election. The Crusaders, an organization of business men, has been active in preparing the amendment and petitions and making arrangements for circulating them.

The amendment would substitute a single-chamber legislature, similar to that of Nebraska but with fifty to seventy-five members, for the present

legislature of two houses and 184 members. The exact number of members of the new body would be determined by the latter, within the limits set. Salaries would be in a \$1,200-\$1,800 range, depending on the number of members—total salaries being limited to \$90,000 annually. Each member would also receive six dollars a day for expenses during seventy days of a regular session each year and twenty days of a special session. Redistricting every ten years is called for.

A state legislative council is also provided by the amendment; it would be composed of from three to five legislators who would make a continuous study of state problems and prepare a legislative program; they would give full time and receive additional compensation. No law could be passed by the legislature until it had been submitted to the legislative council for advice. The council would have power to appoint a trained research director.

There also is a strong movement for a constitutional convention sponsored by the Missouri League of Women Voters and many other civic groups, and for which a statewide organization has recently been completed.

Michigan Seeks Reapportionment Again

Undaunted by past defeats the advocates of legislative reapportionment in Michigan are again actively circulating initiative petitions in behalf of a constitutional amendment redistributing the memberships of their Senate and House of Representatives.

It has been pointed out previously by the author of this note,¹ that the fixing of the maximum membership of

¹See "Reapportionment: A Chronic Problem," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February, 1941, pp. 73-79.

the House of Representatives at one hundred seats made impossible the strict application of the existing apportionment formula.

To meet that difficulty, a variable membership is suggested. It is to be achieved by using as the ratio of representation in the future a figure equal to one-hundredth part of the population of the state as determined by the last federal decennial census. This scheme would result in a House of Representatives with a membership of 109 upon the basis of the 1940 census.

Five confusing local situations are also dealt with satisfactorily by this would-be amendment so far as House apportionment is concerned. Thus wherever there exists a county which itself is not entitled to a representative, but is surrounded by others possessing representatives, it would henceforth be requisite that such a county be joined to that one of the adjacent areas which would result in the closest approximation of a full quota or quotas.

Wayne County would get its full quota of thirty-eight seats which the fixed maximum of one hundred would prevent it from securing under the present status. Other counties which would gain are few in number.

In the case of the Senate, the amendment if adopted would likewise work certain changes. Membership would be retained at the present thirty-two. However, a partial clarification of status would result from the decision to make each senatorial district approximate as nearly as possible one-thirty-second part of the population of the state.

Both branches of the legislature would follow the rule of single-member districts throughout their entire memberships under the proposed amendment. The innovation here lies in the permission thenceforth to be granted and required that cities be divided in

the formation of representative districts whenever equitably entitled to two or more places in the House. The areas affected by this innovation would be Detroit, Grand Rapids, and probably Pontiac and Flint. These divisions of municipalities into representative seats of a single-member character are to be made by the Election Commission or comparable agencies and are to be executed upon the basis of federal census tracts instead of ward or precinct lines.

The proposed amendment would also permit the single division of counties entitled to two or more seats in the Senate, and the transfer of such population surpluses to contiguous territory in order to form another senatorial district. This too is new.

The other notable feature of the proposed amendment lies in the attempt to secure an automatic application of the process every decade. This is sought by investing the secretary of state with the power of apportionment, rather than the governor, as in Maryland, or by the more usual creation of an apportionment commission, as in California, Arkansas, and Ohio. The motive here was twofold—to avoid the creation of an ex-officio commission and to find some assumedly non-political officer who could be made specifically subject to mandamus and other applicable legal process.

The Senate still presents the opportunity for the gerrymander supreme. Despite the specific character of the detailed provisions relating to the allocation of senatorial seats, it appears from a cursory attempt to apply these provisions that there are several ways of forming the districts. The importance of area and of the wisdom of decision and high judgment here involved becomes crucial if any betterment is to come.

The least satisfactory part of the scheme seems to inhere in the selection of the secretary of state as the apportioning agent, upon the somewhat peculiar ground that he is less political than the governor.

While wishing the amendment good speed, one can only regret the rise of the curtain on the same old act when logic, circumstance, and strategy seemingly dictated a bolder attack in the new arena of unicameralism.

CHARLES W. SHULL

Wayne University, Detroit

Virginia the Twentieth Merit System State

On July 1 Virginia will join the ranks of states operating under merit system laws, bringing the number to twenty. The Virginia civil service act, adopted by the 1942 legislature,¹ differs in various ways from other civil service laws, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. Responsibility for administration is placed with the governor rather than with a citizen commission or board, as is more usual. Provisions of the law include:

1. Appointments, promotions, and tenure, based upon merit and fitness, will be on a competitive basis.

2. The governor, as chief personnel officer, is responsible for execution of the act, but he may appoint a deputy personnel officer, who will be known as the "director of personnel," and other personnel assistants.

3. The governor may appoint an unpaid advisory committee on personnel administration composed of members of the Virginia General Assembly and other persons.

4. Department heads are to be "agency personnel officers," but they

may delegate personnel duties to certain employees. The governor has authority to appoint only a few specified employees.

5. The governor is to establish and maintain central personnel records, classification, pay and service report plans, and a register of persons seeking employment with the state. In addition, departmental personnel records will be kept by the agency personnel officers.

New Jersey State Water Authority Created

A state water authority set up for New Jersey by its 1942 legislature will help meet the increased demand for water supply to cities and towns in war-industry areas. The American Public Works Association states that the authority is the first of its kind. It will study possibilities of existing water supplies and bring about their interconnection where practicable. It is estimated that the combined capacity of the interconnected systems would be sufficient to meet all demands without construction of new facilities. A \$300,000 revolving fund has been set up to establish the authority.

Council-Manager Plan News

Circulation of petitions calling for a special election on adoption of the council-manager plan in **Houston, Texas**, was started on May 2 by a group of citizens headed by former Mayor R. H. Fonville, with aid from the League of Women Voters. A meeting of some 150 members of the League's Better Health Through Better Government group, on April 24, decided to join in circulating petitions and divided the city into five districts, each with a chairman and two assistants in charge of petitions. Thirty other key women were later chosen for each district.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for April 1942, p. 223.

More than 10,000 signatures will be sought to compel the city commission to hold a special election, probably in July. The Houston Council of Church Women have also endorsed the movement.

A committee headed by Mr. Fonville appeared before the city commission on April 20 in an effort to have the commission order a special election on the manager plan, but without success. On April 22 a mass meeting in the council chamber heard the manager plan opposed by former Mayor Lewis Fisher, by the secretary of the Houston Labor and Trade Council, and by a former member of the 1938 charter commission which presented a manager plan that failed of adoption. Besides the usual attacks on the plan as "dictatorial" the war was invoked as an argument against a change in the governmental form. The *Houston Press* has run a series of articles on the advantages and success of the manager plan as a means of making democratic government more efficient.

The plan as proposed in Houston contemplates an elected mayor and a council of eight with two-year terms; five of these would be elected from districts and three at large; the council to select a city manager as the administrative head, subject to dismissal by a majority vote of the council.

A home rule charter is being prepared for submission to the voters, by direction of the new city commission of **University Park, Texas**, a suburb of Dallas where the inauguration of a council-manager government eleven years ago was celebrated on May 1.

Interest in the manager plan for **Paris, Texas**, is being shown by the Chamber of Commerce.

In **El Cerrito, California**, the Chamber of Commerce advocates the manager plan and has authorized appointment of a committee to study ways for

bringing it about.

Citizens of **Corona Del Mar, California**, are interested in securing the manager plan.

The Board of Commissioners of **Petroleum County, Montana**, recently passed a resolution placing the question of the adoption of the manager plan on the ballot for July 21.

A special committee of the **Laramie, Wyoming**, Chamber of Commerce, appointed to study municipal problems, has recommended adoption of the manager plan with a council elected at large.

The city commission of **Ludington, Michigan**, recently adopted an ordinance providing for appointment of a city manager who began his duties June 1.

A study of the manager plan, with the possibility of placing it before the voters of **Mansfield, Ohio**, next fall, is being made by the Richland County League of Women Voters.

The borough councils of **Springdale and West View, Pennsylvania**, have recently passed ordinances creating the position of borough manager.

The voters of **Newark, New Jersey**, defeated a manager plan proposal submitted at a special election held May 26.

The citizens' committee in **Concord, New Hampshire**, which has been working on charter revision for some months, expects to make its completed document public in the near future.

Postwar Public Works for New York City

A huge program of postwar public works, aggregating \$628,005,182, was made public on May 6 by the City Planning Commission of New York City. Detailed planning and designing, to take somewhat less than 3½ per cent of the total, is to be spread over a future period, with the expectation that it will be ready whenever postwar un-

employment presents a problem and when the city is prepared to build.

The program includes \$117,180,793 for the Board of Education, \$78,527,082 for the city college system, \$34,849,925 for parks and playgrounds, \$83,285,800 for completion of sewage disposal system, \$89,380,000 for improvements to the municipal transit system, \$78,527,082 for the hospitals, and various other improvements in the five boroughs of the city. The 1942 capital budget is to be expanded to include some of the necessary planning funds.

Summer Institute for Social Progress

During the week of July 4-11 the Wellesley College Summer Institute for Social Progress will meet at Wellesley, Massachusetts, to study "What can we do to win the war and prepare for peace?"

Open forum sessions and small round tables will take up both wartime and postwar political and economic problems, under leaders including Mordecai Ezekiel, economist, Margaret Bondfield of the British Labor party, Henry Simon Bloch of the University of Chicago Institute of Military Studies, Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Meiklejohn, Laurens H. Seelye, faculty chairman, and others.

New York Police Ban on Interstate Buses Void

Efforts of Police Commissioner Valentine of New York City¹ to prohibit interstate buses from the congested center of Manhattan have been nullified by the Court of Appeals, highest court of the state. The police orders were said to transcend police authority; the court suggested that remedial power should be sought from the legislature.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March 1941, p. 169.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Citizen Campaign Boosts Vote 810 Per Cent

***House-to-House Canvass
Builds Interest, Brings
Out Voters***

LOCAL elections usually turn out well if there is a large vote. It is only when there is a small vote that selfish, well organized groups can dominate. The first step toward bad local government is taken when the individual feels his vote will make no difference, after all, in the result. The solution of the problem is to show people they can make themselves felt comparatively easily in their own community affairs."

The paragraph above, from an editorial entitled "On Being Self-Conscious" in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for April 1941, impressed me greatly. A review of the votes cast in the Sylvan Lake (Michigan) annual elections for village president and two trustees during the preceding six years, for example, disclosed that in four of these six years there were no opposition candidates. Votes cast were 10 in 1936, 10 in 1937, 49 in 1940, and 46 in 1941. In 1938 opposition women candidates received 31 out of a total of 284 votes, and in 1939 opposition candidates for trustees received 60 votes out of a total of 184 votes. Sylvan Village now has approximately 650 qualified electors and there has been no great increase during the years mentioned.

Two types of answers were received to inquiries as to why voters did not vote on election day: (1) with only one candidate he would be elected whether they voted or not; (2) they didn't know much about village affairs, but they

thought the Board of Trustees was doing a pretty good job.

Since it has been the custom for incumbents to select and sponsor candidates for the offices of president and trustees, the initial advantage enjoyed by a candidate so sponsored has made it difficult, if not impossible, for other candidates to conduct a successful campaign without support of an organized citizens' group.

It was evident that without a contest, however, we could not hope to create the interest necessary to get voters to the polls. Objections were raised against the **Civic Association's** support of candidates since it was a non-partisan and non-political organization. Therefore, we organized a **Citizens' Committee** for campaign purposes, made up of just ordinary citizens who had no previous experience in the conduct of campaigns or the selection of candidates. The committee obtained from the National Municipal League a copy of *The Cincinnati Plan*, describing citizen organization for political activity, and followed the plan to the letter in so far as it applied to our situation.

Candidates were selected outside the Civic Association and the Citizens' Committee. Candidates chosen were outstanding citizens who could be elected with a minimum of campaign effort. The man selected for village president was a "natural" for that office, both in his personal character and his general business training and experience. The fact that he had never before been approached on the subject was just another indication that there was something wrong in the method of selecting candidates.

Having selected candidates, a pamphlet was printed, showing the eight points in our platform, pictures of candidates, and a brief biography of each. The platform was our answer for the constructive development of a

representative local government—centered around dissemination of information on village affairs, greater citizen participation in local government, adherence to the village charter, and efficient, economical government.

In the conduct of the campaign, we were again guided by *The Cincinnati Plan*. Lists were prepared by streets and house numbers, showing residents' names and telephone numbers. This information was first used for the purpose of reaching unregistered electors and encouraging them to register before the closing date. Response was gratifying and a service was thereby rendered to the community.

Each worker was furnished a list of the residents in the block or district for which he was made responsible. Progress was recorded on a master list maintained to show territory assignments. After the initial house-to-house call each voter was classified as "OK," "opposition," or "doubtful." The latter two classes were concentrated upon. An excellent approach to persons with whom we were unacquainted, or to those who might favor the opposition, was found in the personal recommendation of friends or the assignment of friends to make the contact.

House-to-house canvassing unquestionably played a large part in our success. At the same time it presented an opportunity for the voters to become acquainted with our candidates and workers. We were probably better informed by election time as to what the voters were thinking about than the trustees who had been on the job for years.

The campaign was based on the theme "Democracy at Work." Anyone who believed in our cause was welcomed to our meetings and given a job to do. There were no political bosses to give orders. We all enjoyed the fellowship of working together for a common cause

and experienced as great a thrill in the contest as in any game.

There were 418 votes cast, the largest number in the history of Sylvan Lake and an increase of 810 per cent over the previous year. The election, of course, received considerable publicity in the local paper. Our candidate for president received 254 votes, against 156 for the opposition, and our candidates for trustee received 247 and 238 votes respectively as compared with 170 and 157 for the opposition.

To quote from *The Cincinnati Plan*: "The people proved conclusively that the ordinary citizen is sufficiently interested in politics to give time, money, and work to the cause of bettering municipal government provided he feels that his work is accomplishing something and that he is not subject to the suspicion of making personal profit."

Our program for the future is well expressed in the statement by Murray Seasongood, as taken from *The Cincinnati Plan*. It is epitomized in these words: Nomination and election are not enough. Between elections there should be constant education and notice of what is being done by the administration. There should be a club or other open forum for the discussion of local public matters, in order that objections, if any, to the administration may be made publicly and accusations refuted, if possible, in such a way as to reach large numbers of persons.

GEORGE R. JARVIS, *President*
Sylvan Lake Civic Association

New York City Is Civic Laboratory for Hunter College

Much of the vitality of the college community as a training ground for active citizenship is lost where the college campus is located in a large city.

To compensate for this the greater community offers unlimited resources which aid in the understanding and

evaluation of complex social environments if the college will use them. Hunter College of the City of New York, with an enrollment of seven thousand day session students, is constantly tapping these resources.

The Division of Coördination and Research of the Department of Investigation of the City of New York is one important resource. Under New York City's charter this agency has independent investigatory powers. It may originate investigations of any city department or any local problem.

Through its research division it carries on projects for honor students in colleges of the metropolis. Upper classmen and candidates for the master's degree who are outstanding in the social sciences are regularly appointed as student research associates of the department. Each of them studies a governmental problem for which the city needs a solution.

Projects for Hunter College students have ranged from "The Price Spread on Long Island Potatoes from Producer to Consumer" to "Does New York City Need a Court of Claims?"

Guidance is given under the joint auspices of the faculty of the various colleges and this city department. Students participating come to know the inside of city offices; they learn the technique of an interview; they become familiar with available governmental sources; they acquire first-hand experience with the application of theory to the solution of a practical problem.

In addition they have the incentive of knowing that if the solutions offered in their reports are usable, they are likely to form the basis for future action.

And of course students obtain knowledge of possible governmental careers—for some research associates the ex-

perience has led to a crystallization of their thinking about a life work.

Knowing the Local Community

Participation in the solution of local problems is the method used, for example, in training students specializing in sociology at Hunter College.

Recently the students have helped to solve a neighborhood housing problem. Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, a community settlement house, has five or six inquiries daily for low rental apartments. There was no city vacancy-listing service. Within the last year fifty-five students from a course in housing have prepared a vacancy file, and at the same time obtained exact information on other aspects of housing in the area investigated.

Methods used by the Department of Welfare of the City of New York to arrive at budgets for families on relief also are studied in the classroom. Students have opportunity to find out through personal interviews how some families on relief spend the money granted by the Welfare Department and to discover the marked contrasts between planned and actual budgets. This was done through coöperation with Greenwich House, a settlement house on the lower west side of Manhattan.

Certain seniors specializing in political science were assigned to work with the New York Legislative Service on its study of the sources of bills introduced in the New York State legislature. Local legislators were interviewed as to the pre-legislative origin of current bills. Students became aware of the sequence of practical steps essential in molding diverse group desires into law.

Experience with the use of New York City as a laboratory for the social sciences, of which the examples above

represent a few selected illustrations, has demonstrated the need for extension of this program. In order to use the urban laboratory effectively it would seem advisable to, recommend that at each urban college a person thoroughly familiar with community resources be appointed to the staff. The sole function of this appointee would be to make arrangements for securing the coöperation of governmental and social agencies in a program of community training through the colleges.

ROSALIND TOUGH

RUTH G. WEINTRAUB

Hunter College, New York City

California Tax Group States Aims and Work Program

Its seventeenth year of service was launched by **California Taxpayers' Association** at its sixteenth annual meeting held recently in Los Angeles.

Organized in 1926 and continuously active since that time, the Association has worked steadily to promote efficiency and economy in all levels of government in California. It is limited by its constitution and by-laws to activity in the field of governmental expenditures and administration—a field in which all taxpayers can agree—and this limitation has fortunately kept it out of discussions of revenue raising and burden shifting measures.

Today, with a staff of twenty-seven, the Association aim, in coöperation with public officials, representatives of the people, the press, citizens, and citizen groups, is to help make those readjustments in government activities and spending which must be made if the cost of government in time of war is not to destroy the American way of life. The aim of the Association has always been to eliminate waste, extravag-

agance, and inefficiency in government in California.

State Work: The major job of the Association on the state level involves analyses of departmental expenditures and operations. These analyses, built up year after year and throughout each year, are used by legislators and citizens as guide posts for constructive action in considering the state budget. In addition, during each legislative session analyses are made of all bills of interest to taxpayers.

After making general surveys of all departments and expenditures, detailed surveys are undertaken. Constitutional provisions, pertinent laws, and purposes to be served are analyzed. The past history of expenditures is compiled; work loads and units of measurement are calculated. Studies of the flow of work, use of modern equipment, and analysis of administrative procedures give frequent opportunities to make suggestions to responsible officials for cutting red tape, eliminating lost motion, reducing personnel, and applying the best business standards. Administrative analyses often are immediately effective as officials put suggestions into practice without legislative action. The facts are at all times available to legislators, and are put to good use.

Local Work: Last year the Association's work on local budgets covered fifty-seven of the fifty-eight counties in California. During the last budget cycle (which for the Association's staff begins each year immediately after the tax rate for the preceding budget has been set) the members of the field staff worked with approximately a thousand local officials of counties, school districts, cities, and special districts, and travelled 100,252 miles on their year-round job. Field work for the Association is divided into six areas, with headquarters in Los Angeles, Fresno,

and Sacramento. The field man in each area, so far as time and distance permit, works with all local government officials in the area—county, city, school district, and other special districts—as well as with local citizens and citizen groups.

Specialized Work: Each year cost analyses are made of the larger school districts in the state—the 201 elementary districts with more than 450 pupils in average daily attendance and the 175 high school districts having 300 or more in average daily attendance, as well as the seventeen junior college districts. These studies show per pupil costs for teachers' salaries, auxiliary expenses, other current expenditures, and total current expenditures. In addition more extensive analyses of teacher assignments, enrollment, teaching load, and costs were made in seventeen of the larger high schools. Estimates of population and school enrollment for future years are also carefully worked out.

Coöperation with Citizen Groups: Recognizing that the solid backing of informed, substantial citizen groups is necessary if government costs are to be reduced, coöperation with existing statewide and local groups is constantly being expanded. Two developments of this program include the Woman's Tax Study Group¹ and the Los Angeles County Citizens' Budget Committee.²

Publicity: Good and economical government is impossible without intelligent citizen demand. The Association's publicity is aimed at providing the people with the facts so that they can hold the expenditures of their tax money to a minimum consistent with their requirements. This educational

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March 1942, pp. 177-8.

²See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1942, pp. 285-6.

program involves a great many activities including a monthly magazine, *The Tax Digest*, factual releases to the press and to trade publications, and a widespread speaking program. Without the wholehearted coöperation of the press, evidenced by 33,000 column inches of space in the year just finished, the facts could not be carried to the people as they are.

Program for the Future: Recognizing the dire need in California, as well as in the rest of the country, for sound thought and courageous action, the Association proposes this program for all state and local governments for the duration:

1. Avoid new nondefense activities;
2. Curtail or eliminate existing governmental activities wherever possible without damaging essential community services;
3. Deny increases in salaries and wages where such increases are designed to avoid the sacrifices all must share;
4. Avoid replacement of personnel wherever possible;
5. Postpone building projects;
6. Seek substitutes for necessary supplies and equipment.

JESSIE K. GRANT, *Editor*

The Tax Digest

California Taxpayers' Association

Roundup—

Have you seen the series of broadsides which the **National League of Women Voters** has been issuing recently dealing with aspects of the war which are of concern to every citizen? They are single sheets, printed on colored paper, which contain in simple language the pertinent information under such headings as "Why Buy Defense Bonds?", "This Is Rationing" and "Bigger Taxes Are Better Taxes." The broadsides, which are distributed from

the League's Washington headquarters' at a cost of seventy-five cents for one hundred copies, are all a part of that organization's current campaign to reach an ever increasing public with vital information about the war and its effect on civilians.

In **Port Huron, Michigan**, the **Citizens League** and the city manager form of government came into being simultaneously, the former to uphold the latter and help make it work. It must, therefore, be extremely gratifying to the editors of *The Citizen*, the League's monthly bulletin, to have been able to carry in their April issue excerpts from the city manager's report to the council in which he states that, despite salary and wage increases to city employees of \$22,000, city operating expenses are \$21,000 below those of last year, leading to a tax reduction of fifty cents per \$1,000.

Citizens who are considering the establishment of a coördinating council or community council in their own communities, as well as members of councils already functioning, would do well to stop right now and get hold of a copy of *A Guide to Community Coördination*, published by **Coordinating Councils, Inc.**,² price twenty-five cents. This booklet, which is directed particularly to communities with a population of 25,000 or under, contains much helpful information about form of organization and projects with which such organizations might well concern themselves.

In its final issue before the summer vacation, *Greater Cleveland*, publication of the Citizens League of Cleveland, asks a number of question of its readers. Each of the subjects to which the League has devoted attention during the year is outlined briefly followed

¹726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

²145 West 12th Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

by a blank space in which the reader is asked to write his opinion of the stand taken by the organization or to suggest a better solution to the problem. Strikes us that more civic organizations ought to find out what their members are thinking about important questions on the civic as well as the war front.

R. M. W.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Montana County to Vote on Manager Plan

Petroleum County Board Calls for Referendum

THE Board of Commissioners of Petroleum County, Montana, met recently in special session to consider adoption of the manager form of government. The concluding statement of the resolution adopted by the board declared: "Therefore, be it resolved that the matter of adopting the county manager form of government be submitted to a vote of the electors by referendum on the same day as the general primary election in said county, to wit: July 21, 1942, and during the same hours of voting."

Nebraska County Budget Law a Success

The *Nebraska Taxpayer* reports that although many people had grave misgivings about the Nebraska county budget law when it was enacted in 1937, investigation now reveals it to be a striking success. The success is due primarily to the enthusiastic efforts of county officials, the state auditor's office, and the attorney-general's office.

The report states well over half the counties are doing a commendable job at least in form and procedure and the remaining counties are making progress.

Although the budget law generally has eliminated recurring deficits, the greatest difficulty now lies in the tendency to pad estimates of proposed expenditures thus justifying the levy of a higher tax rate than actually necessary.

Governor Vetoes Westchester Weighted Vote Plan

The weighted vote plan of representation on the Westchester County, New York, Board of Supervisors, which had been passed by the board and both houses of the state legislature, was vetoed by Governor Lehman with the following observation: "Apart from the merits of this bill, a proposal which makes such a fundamental change in the basic law of Westchester County should be submitted to a referendum of the voters of that county. The bill is therefore disapproved."

County "Disaster" Units in Ohio and Michigan

The county "disaster" unit of the Ohio Department of Highways recently had its first test, according to *Better Roads*, when fire broke out in a Jackson County game-preserve forest. This organization, one of the first of its kind in the country, has been built up on a statewide basis to serve counties in the event of air raids or other emergencies.

Wayne County, Michigan, likewise is on the alert. Its County Road Commission has created a disaster organization composed of fifteen emergency crews of eleven handpicked men each, provided with necessary tools and first-aid equipment.

Ohio contains many war industries within its borders and Wayne County, within which is situated the city of Detroit, "is one of the most concentrated regions of war production in the nation," says *Better Roads*, which commends these examples to road departments everywhere.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Arizona Supreme Court Holds Local Bonds

Callable

Opens Way for Widespread Refunding under Old Statute

RULING on a law enacted shortly after Arizona attained statehood, the Arizona Supreme Court, on May 5, 1942, handed down a decision which makes all county, city, town, and school bonds in the state issued since 1912 subject to call at the option of the local governing bodies, regardless of whether or not the bonds were issued with this right recited on their face.

The ruling is interesting both because it opens the way for rather widespread refunding by local units in Arizona and because of the statute on which it is based.

So far as the writer is aware the statute is unique. Briefly, Title 52, enacted at the first special session of the first Arizona legislature and now Chapter 10 of the Arizona Revised Code of 1939, provides, among other things, for the establishment of a State Loan Commission which, on the demand of the governing bodies of counties, "municipalities," and school districts, shall issue state refunding bonds to refund outstanding obligations of the eligible local units.

The law provides in detail that the amount necessary to meet annual charges on the state refunding bonds shall be certified by the state to the local unit for which the bonds are issued and that such unit shall levy, collect, and remit to the state treasurer the necessary amount, which is then paid to the bondholders by the state treasurer. The statute specifically states

that: "Such bonds shall be issued upon the faith and credit of the state only to the extent that it will cause to be levied and collected taxes for the payment of the principal and interest of such bonds, and pay the same when such bonds have been issued."

Statute Seldom Used

The statute appears to have been enacted to permit the rehabilitation of local debt at the time of the change from territorial to state status. Evidently, however, it was not extensively used. The report of the state auditor for June 30, 1940, shows \$1,165,275 of "territorial" funding and refunding bonds outstanding, mostly county railroad bonds taken over by the state, but the only issue of state refunding bonds outstanding was \$42,000 of Yuma County issued in 1934. The Yuma County bonds are noted specifically to have been issued pursuant to Chapter 10, and they were joined in December 1941 by \$160,000 state refunding bonds issued for the city of Nogales and in January 1942 by \$330,000 state refunding bonds issued for the town of Miami. Both the Nogales and Miami obligations which were refunded with Chapter 10 bonds are known to have contained provisions making them callable ahead of maturity, and there is evidence that the Yuma County bonds contained the same clause.

Recent interest in the statute aroused the attention of the officials of Maricopa County, in which is located Phoenix, the state capital. In the summer of last year the County Board of Supervisors served a formal demand on the State Loan Commission requesting the issuance of state refunding bonds to take up two issues of county road bonds. The commission refused on the grounds that it had no authority to refund the bonds since they were due serially and contained no callable provision. It was

also contended that sale of the bonds would place the state over its \$350,000 debt limit. In January 1942 the county applied to the State Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus to compel the commission to refund the county bonds, and it is the final ruling on this action which has now been made.

Bonds Ruled Callable

The court ruled¹ that, since Chapter 10 (or Title 52 and its successors) was in force when the bonds were issued, it formed a part of the contract with bondholders, and that the bonds were necessarily callable even though this fact was not recited in so many words on their face—provided, of course, that the local governing body followed the procedure set up in the law. In regard to the commission's contention that sale of the bonds would place the state over its debt limit, the court observed that the state did not pledge its full faith and credit, but that "the state becomes in effect merely the agent of the bondholders" to see that taxes are levied and collected. The court issued a peremptory writ of mandamus in favor of the county, which it is said will be appealed to the federal courts.

The Maricopa County Road bonds which are to be refunded under the decision total \$4,900,000, and are due serially through 1951. In all, it is estimated that upwards of \$50,000,000 of county, city, town, and school bonds might be refunded under the statute. Special district debt appears to be ineligible for such refunding since irrigation, water conservation, and like units are not included in the list of local governments for which state refunding bonds may be issued.

While the Arizona court's decision caused considerable consternation in

bond circles throughout the country, there is precedent for the ruling. As early as 1887 the Federal Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York ruled² in a case involving the city of St. Joseph, Missouri, that a charter provision making all city bonds callable at the option of the mayor and council was a part of the bond contract whether it appeared on the face of the bonds or not, and as recently as 1937 the same principle was upheld in a North Dakota case. In this situation the state had, in June 1936, called certain bonds for payment under a 1919 statute which provided that certain state bonds should be callable any time after five years from their issuance. A bondholder contested the call and the North Dakota Supreme Court ruled that, notwithstanding the lack of any recitation on the face of the bonds to the effect that they were callable, the law was a part of the contract since the bonds had been issued subsequent to its enactment and while it was in effect.³ The U. S. Supreme Court declined to take jurisdiction, so that the state court ruling stands.

Tax Foreclosures by Proceedings in Rem

Dunkirk, New York, restored more than \$250,000 of assessed value to its tax rolls, collected over \$75,000 in delinquent taxes, and stimulated current tax collections as a result of tax sales begun early in 1940, according to the Municipal Finance Officers' Association. Foreclosure was by procedure *in rem*.

Foreclosure by procedures *in rem*—that is, by legal action against the delinquent property—is recommended as standard procedure in the National

¹*National Bank vs. St. Joseph*, 31 Fed. 216.

²*Catholic Order of Foresters vs. State of North Dakota*, 67 N. D. 228 (Also 271 N. W. 670 and 109 A. L. R. 979).

³*Maricopa County vs. State Loan Commission*, Arizona Supreme Court, May 5, 1942.

Municipal League's *Model Tax Collection Law*. The alternative to such procedure is an action *in personam*, in which ordinarily suit must be brought against the delinquent taxpayer, the amount due reduced to judgment, and the judgment sold. This is often a slow, cumbersome, and costly process, whereas proceedings *in rem* may be expeditious and inexpensive, particularly in communities where there is a sizeable amount of absentee-ownership of delinquent property.

New York Enacts Bond Section of New Local Finance Law

Acting pursuant to amendments to the New York State Constitution, adopted by the voters in November 1938, the 1942 New York legislature has enacted the first of the statutes implementing the local finance section, Article VIII of the constitution. The statute, titled the Local Finance Law, is Chapter 33-A of the Consolidated Laws, and covers local debt.

An interesting feature of Article VIII,¹ it will be recalled, was its provision that the term for which bonded obligations might be outstanding was to be limited to the period of probable usefulness of the object for which the bond money was spent. The new statute is extremely voluminous in setting up periods of probable usefulness for various purposes for which bonds may be issued, but also covers the manner in which the incurring of debt may be authorized and the types of debt which may be contracted. The law, while pertaining chiefly to debt, also bears in some aspects on local budgeting: one section provides, for example, that not more than 40 per cent of the

cost of home relief in any one year may be funded through the sale of bonds.

The bill was first introduced in 1941 by a temporary state commission for the revision and codification of laws relating to municipal finance. Still to be introduced and enacted is a comprehensive statute repealing those parts of the old law not incorporated in Chapter 33-a. The repealer is expected to be prepared in time for the 1943 legislature.

Another "Popular" Bronxville Budget

The village of Bronxville, New York, residential suburb near New York City in suburban Westchester County, has prepared its second popularized budget document. Last year the village fathers made their initial attempt to prepare a budget for distribution to city voters, and the budget for the new year contains many refinements as a result of last year's experience.

The village's fiscal year begins June 1. Last year the budget contained estimates only for the fiscal year 1941-42. This year there are shown 1942-43 estimates, the budget for 1941-42, and "probable" revenue and expenditures for 1941-42, the latter estimates for the current year based on ten months' actual experience plus estimated results for the final two months of the year. In another year village authorities hope to present full comparative data, in the shape of actual revenues and expenditures for the last completed year, preliminary estimates for the year in progress at the time the budget is prepared, and, of course, the budget estimates for the budget year under review.

An interesting feature of the 1942-43 budget is that it contains an itemized schedule of "defense" expenditures up to the time the budget was prepared,

¹See "New Municipal Finance Provisions of New York State Constitution," by Henry J. Amy. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1938, page 592.

and which must be levied for on a deficiency basis for 1942-43.

The budget was again prepared under the direction of Ralph B. Maltby, chairman of the Committee on Finance and Budget of the Village Board. On May 17, 1942, Mr. Maltby became acting mayor of Bronxville following the resignation of Mayor F. L. Devereux to devote his full time to work as head of the Westchester County Defense Council.

Coral Gables Forces Holdout Creditors in Line

The report of the special master in the proceedings of Coral Gables, Florida, against a handful of holdout creditors brings to a near settlement perhaps the most spectacular of municipal defaults.

On January 1, 1937, this little city (8,294 in 1940) had a total debt, including principal and accumulated interest, of \$11,182,584.19. As of that date the city offered a plan of composition which proved acceptable to the holders of all but \$659,815.64 of that amount.

The plan provided for exchange of their holdings by the creditors for new bonds to the amount of 50 per cent of the principal outstanding and for tax participation certificates for the remainder of the principal and interest due. The bonds, which mature July 1, 1977, bear interest on a sliding scale ranging from 2½ per cent for the first three years to 5 per cent for the last fourteen. Provision is made for mandatory tax levies to be paid into a fund from which interest and principal on the bonds is to be paid first and the remainder applied to the tax participation certificates which bear no interest and any portion of which, unpaid by December 31, 1977, is to be cancelled.

The minority stubbornly refused to accept the plan of composition, and in the spring of 1940 the city took advan-

tage of sub-section J of the Municipal Bankruptcy Act to force their acceptance. In the subsequent proceeding one group of minority creditors contended that as holders of coupons only they were discriminated against as compared with the holders of bonds. It appears from the report of the special master, however, that they came into possession of these coupons in 1940 just prior to the filing of the city's petition in bankruptcy and with full knowledge of the terms of the plan of composition.

Another small group claimed special consideration because of the fact that the city had entered into agreements with them involving a reduction in principal and interest of their claims and a promise on their part not to proceed against the city. In consideration of these terms the city agreed it would not resort to bankruptcy, but if the city should resort to bankruptcy the claims of these creditors would revert to *status quo ante*.

The master, however, held that an agreement not to resort to bankruptcy is futile and unenforceable, that the claims of these creditors should be restored to their original status, and that they should participate in the re-funding operation as if no special agreement had been made between themselves and the city.

On all general points raised by the dissenting creditors the master decided in favor of the city, giving the city a clean bill of health as to its dealings with creditors and its present financial administration. Unless the findings of the master are reversed on appeal, which seems unlikely, the city of Coral Gables can go ahead on an assured financial basis in the development of its municipal resources.

DORIS D. REED

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

*(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)*

P. R. Figures in New York Veto

Governor Blocks New Law for Home Rule Advance

ON MAY 14 Governor Herbert H. Lehman unexpectedly vetoed one of the most important bills of this year's New York legislative session, a bill sponsored by Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh and Assemblyman Harold Armstrong of Schenectady, chairmen of the Senate and Assembly Committees on Cities, to permit new city charters to be put on the ballot by petition.

He did so with a message that he was in sympathy with the purpose of the bill but thought it should have a provision, similar to that in the statutory provision governing city charter commissions, requiring proportional representation to be submitted as a separate question if it is submitted at all.

Such a restriction seems definitely undesirable, since there are often questions which should be combined. For example under some political conditions a reform group may want the city manager plan only if it can also be sure of proportional representation in the election of the council which is to select and control the manager.

The restriction was first introduced in the special charter commission bills for New York City in 1935 to reassure Tammany politicians that the much feared P. R., which Judge Samuel Seabury had recommended in his final report to the legislative investigating committee, would not be dragged in on the tail of a new charter kite. Actually the restriction that P. R. had to be submitted separately if at all facilitated

its submission by the charter commission in 1936 and the separate P. R. proposal received a larger majority than did the new charter itself. In spite of this Democratic legislators insisted on carrying over the restriction into the city home rule law when the bill to permit charter commissions to be created by petition and popular vote was enacted in 1938, and it was to this provision that the Governor referred in his veto message.

There is no similar restriction in the optional county government law, enacted in 1937, which specifically authorizes counties outside New York City to adopt P. R. by petition and popular vote in connection with any one of several alternative forms of county government, with which it may be combined in one question or submitted separately as the petitioners choose.

There is likewise no similar restriction in the provision of the city home rule law, also adopted in 1937, under which charter amendments may be submitted by petition and popular vote. In fact the city of Yonkers did adopt P. R. and the city manager plan together on one question submitted by petition in 1938.

When the right to adopt charter amendments in this way was first secured, it was thought the way was open for any charter revision, however extensive, to be put on the ballot as an amendment by petition. In fact the bill grew out of a legislative conference of the New York State Committee of the National Municipal League which had particularly in mind the extensive and fundamental revisions secured by similar machinery in Cleveland and Cincinnati.

But two years ago, when a group of citizens in Johnstown, New York, sought to submit by petition an extensive P. R.-manager charter revision prepared by the National Municipal

League on the basis of its Model City Charter, involving changes, in accepted amendment form, at frequent intervals throughout the existing Johnstown charter but leaving a good half of it intact, the courts ruled that this was not an amendment but a new charter and could not be put on the ballot by petition.

Thereupon Senator Desmond and Assemblyman Armstrong, who had sponsored the original law, introduced a new bill to restore its original intention by providing that even a new charter could be submitted by petition. The bill passed the Senate last year but was not reported in the Assembly.

This year Senator Desmond sent letters on its behalf to every mayor, corporation counsel, and city attorney in the state and secured much encouraging support. The New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials endorsed it, the New York Citizens Union put it high on its special legislative program, and it passed both houses without a dissenting vote.

Since Governor Lehman had up to that point a consistent record of support for sound principles of home rule, it was thought that New York was about to take its place once more in the vanguard of states where any sort of charter revision can be easily secured by the people themselves, whether their legislators will coöperate with them or not.

The veto, on grounds that had not previously been suggested, was a major disappointment. It will not, of course, prevent another attempt next year. Since Governor Lehman has announced that he plans to retire at the end of his present term on December 31, 1942, a new executive will pass on the bill's merits next time if it once more passes the Senate and Assembly.

P. R. Repealer Reintroduced in N. Y. Council

On May 1 Councilman Louis Cohen of the Bronx introduced again his proposed amendment of the New York City charter to repeal P. R. and substitute majority election in State Senate districts, with a few members from boroughs at large to correct inequalities in the representation of boroughs, but not of districts, until the legislature gets around to changing the present Senate districts drawn in 1917.

The proposal is identical with the one which was defeated by the voters as recently as November 1940 by 782,768 votes to 565,879. It was introduced again last fall and passed the Council with the votes only of the Democratic organization majority, after which it died in committee in the Board of Estimate. Charter amendments affecting the method of election must either pass the Council and Board of Estimate and be signed by the mayor before going to referendum or be put on the ballot directly by petition as the proposed repealer was in 1940.

Although the petition procedure makes it possible for the Democratic organization to re-submit the question whenever it wishes, there is no clear indication yet as to whether it plans to do so this year.

The Citizens Union wrote recently to members of the Council committee that it and the other friends of P. R. were prepared if necessary to campaign as vigorously against the repeal as in 1940. It suggested, however, that "this is no time to divide our people by bitter local controversies or to take representation away from any group of American citizens whether you agree to the justice of the election method by which they secured it or not. We can resume such controversies if necessary after the war."

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Municipal Administration. By Stuart A. MacCorkle. New York City, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. viii, 406 pp. Trade \$1.40; schools \$1.05.

There are textbooks on municipal administration which are quite suitable for the serious layman. But because they are called textbooks and have the usual mechanics of such books they are used only in classrooms. This textbook, however, because of the easy way in which it is written and the interesting manner of its arrangement, is very suitable for reading by those beyond school years.

Part I is composed of two chapters that provide a background to the subject which is novel yet thoroughly satisfying. It is a discussion of the principles of management as they apply to any large undertaking and particularly to municipal administration. One finds Fayol, Gulick, Urwick, and Follett referred to again and again; it is time that the work of such experts as these was brought to the attention of wider circles, particularly to those who as taxpayers want to know how to judge better the work local governments do.

The "consumers" viewpoint is held so consistently that even the last words of the book read: "If we who pay bills are competently to pass upon how efficiently they spend our money it is incumbent upon us to perfect our standards of measurement and appraisal." We cannot have good municipal politics until most of us have consciously set up our standards as to what we should get, and measure what we do get by them.

If laymen will read this book, with its novel but basic approach, they will

have standards they can confidently and proudly justify.

W. J. M.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Assessments

Organization for Kentucky Local Tax Assessments. By James W. Martin and Glenn D. Morrow. Lexington, The Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, 1941. v, 85 pp.

Blighted Areas

Blighted Areas and the Defense Program 1941. Seminar sponsored by the Citizens' Planning and Housing Association of Baltimore and Curriculum in Fine Arts of Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1941. iv, 100 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Some 1941 References on Rehabilitation of Blighted Areas. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1941. 4 pp. mimeo.

Child Welfare

Receiving Home for Children. Dependent, Neglected, Delinquent, and Defective Children as Institutional Problems; Possible Receiving Home for Diagnosis, Preliminary Treatment, and Placement; Experience of Other States. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1942. 47 pp. mimeo.

Federal-State Relations

Federal Cooperation with the States

under the Commerce Clause. By Joseph E. Kallenbach. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1942. viii, 428 pp. \$4.00.

Housing

The First Five Years. New York City, Citizens' Housing Council of New York, Inc., 1942. 23 pp.

The Rehabilitation of Southwest Washington as a War Housing Measure. By Arthur Goodwillie. Washington, D. C., Home Owners Loan Corporation, 1942. 39 pp. mimeo.

Local Government

Proceedings of the Second Annual Southern Institute of Local Government, Knoxville, October 17-18, 1941. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1941. 64 pp.

Motor Vehicles

Automobile Trailer and Tourist Camps—Legal and Administrative Problems of Municipal Regulation with an Annotated Model Ordinance. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1941. 34 pp. \$2.

Periodic Inspection of Motor Vehicles. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1942. 24 pp. mimeo.

Municipal Law Departments

The Administration of Municipal Legal Services: The Chicago Law Department. By Robert W. Siebensschuh. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. vi, 58 pp. \$1.50.

Chicago's Law Year 1941. Report of the City of Chicago Law Department. By Barnet Hodes, Corporation Counsel. Chicago, 1942. 110 pp.

Municipalities and the Law in Action. Proceedings of the 1941 Annual Meeting of the National Institute of Munic-

ipal Law Officers. Edited by Charles S. Rhyne. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1942. 693 pp. \$7.50.

Personnel

Government Personnel. "The Public Service as a Career." Papers Presented at the Sixth Annual Conference on Current Governmental Problems October 31—November 1, 1941. Edited by Charles J. Rohr. Amherst, Bureau of Public Administration, Massachusetts State College, 1942. 94 pp. mimeo.

Wartime Policies of the United States Civil Service Commission. With Comments by Leonard D. White and Arthur S. Flemming. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1942. 10 pp. offset. 25 cents.

Training Municipal Employees, New York City 1940-41. A Review and a Forecast. By John J. Furia. New York City, Bureau of Training, Civil Service Commission, 1942. Variously paged.

Politics

Political Handbook of the World 1942. Parliaments, Parties and Press. Edited by Walter H. Mallory. New York City, Harper & Brothers, for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1942. v, 202 pp. \$2.50.

Pressure Groups

Government under Pressure. By Donald C. Blaisdell. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1942. 32 pp. Ten cents.

Public Works

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EDITORIAL

(Continued from Page 299)

ing traffic and conducting safety campaigns; growing and canning food, making furniture, mattresses, clothing; doing all kinds of repair work for the community.

Those who engage in these projects are learning about democracy by living it, not by reading about it or discussing it.

Every community, big or little, suffers from the individual's lack of a sense of personal responsibility for the general welfare. If everyone had something constructive to do for his home town, from earliest childhood on, we'd automatically have participating citizens who would vote in municipal elections. Predatory political machines and spoils politics would cease to exist.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Editorial

Public L.
Kansas City

To Strengthen Municipal Finance

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Rosalind Tough and Ruth G. Weintraub

Home Rule for Wayne County?

Arthur W. Bromage

Manager Cities After Twenty Years

Cleveland Heights — *Robert H. Clifford*

Escanaba, Michigan — *Leo Coan*

July 1942

Vol. XXXI, No.

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 7

Total Number 313

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

New Publication Date for REVIEW

In view of increased costs and in order to make possible a change of publication date from the middle of the month to the first, there will be no August issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

The September issue will, in effect, be the August-September issue and will include the articles, book reviews, and other material which would have appeared in August. The September REVIEW will be mailed to members of the League and to subscribers on or about September 1.

In the future, material offered for publication in the REVIEW should be received by the editors not later than the first of the month before the month of publication.

League's Vice-President Elected

The League's Council announces the election of Dr. George H. Gallup, founder and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and originator of the "Gallup poll," as vice-president of the League. Dr. Gallup was elected to the League's Council in 1941. He is a member of the steering committee appointed by League President Winant to act for him during his absences from the country as Ambassador to Britain.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Cities During Wartime

THIS is a time when non-essentials will have to be curtailed or omitted entirely; but good city government is not a non-essential in the present emergency. It is, in fact, more essential now than ever. This means that citizen interest in city government, citizen watchfulness over its affairs, and citizen coöperation with its officials are more necessary than ever. So while our attention is naturally focused at this time upon the federal government, let us not forget our immediate responsibility for seeing that the city government of Philadelphia, too, performs well its appointed task in the great national effort of the hour. *Citizens' Business*, BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, Philadelphia.

RACKETS similar to those uncovered in Atlantic City are still permitted to exist, in some degree, in many communities where citizens are not alert to their civic duties.

Such rackets, which divert a shocking proportion of a community's income into the hands of racketeers, are an intolerable drain upon the financial lifeblood of the nation's gigantic war effort. HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., *Secretary of the Treasury*, as quoted in READER'S DIGEST, May 1942, in connection with article "That's How They Got Nucky Johnson," by Jack Alexander.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Jobs for the "Faithful"

THE recent fight in Congress to require confirmation by the Senate of all appointments in the Office of Price Administration to positions paying more than \$4,000 a year smells (we use the verb designedly) like a bad, old-fashioned patronage grab.

It is difficult to believe the claims that such confirmation would "safeguard" us against excessive authority in the hands of bureaucrats and the loading of payrolls according to ideological slants. Nor is it a proper exercise of the historic power over the purse to threaten OPA with a decreased budget for failure to listen to wire-pullers in the making of appointments.

Not only Congressmen but all of us might well be concerned over the recurrent waves of popular indignation and the growing evidence that the prestige of some of our legislative bodies is waning.

Perhaps our legislators are no worse than they have always been and perhaps their apparent willingness to endanger important government activities by intruding with the spoils system is nothing new. Our disapproval may be due largely to the fact that, when we are engaged in a life and death struggle, we are less tolerant of the failure of our representatives to mirror our war-borne idealism and willingness to sacrifice self and selfishness.

The astute and thoughtful League of Women Voters implements the de-

sires of vast numbers of less articulate people when it seeks to devise ways and means to insure the election of members of a Congress who are "capable of dealing with the problems it will face, particularly those of postwar organization for peace." Under the circumstances it is no overstatement to say that "upon this next Congress may well hang the fate of that kind of civilization for which we are now pledging our all."¹

More frequent visits to the home districts and testing of public sentiment should convince members of Congress that the people have outgrown the old spoils idea. It is a safe bet that, if the Gallup poll of several years ago were repeated today, there would be even more than the 88 per cent then found to be in favor of the merit system.

The shock and surprise over the patronage struggle tends, meanwhile, to submerge the earnest but comparatively quiet conflict—of which this is really a part—over centralization versus decentralization. Perhaps, when and if a decision is reached that policy forming and rule making should be centralized while administration is decentralized, with full use of existing state and local facilities, the spoils angle will be forgotten, as it should be.

¹See "What Kind of Congressmen Do We Need in Wartime?" by Virginia Moorhead Mannon, pp. 376-378 this issue.

Cities Can Meet Scrap Shortage

WE face a shortage of steel—not because of a lack of manufacturing capacity but because, of all things, there is a supposed lack of scrap which is essential in the process. We may well regret the thousands of tons sold the Japanese in recent years, which unfortunately we are now getting back in the form of bombs and shells. But to say there is a shortage of scrap is clearly not in accord with the facts.

Every large city in the United States has its so-called blighted areas. These areas are pock-marked with antiquated, useless, abandoned buildings in which no one has cared to live for years. Most of these buildings have scrap iron in and on them in the form of fire escapes, girders, boilers, steam pipes.

In New York alone there are thousands of four- to six-story abandoned or semi-abandoned tenements. They add no beauty to the city as they are and they would be scarcely less attractive as parking lots or playgrounds.

Perhaps it is not practical now, when labor is needed for production,

to embark on a program of complete house-wrecking, but removing old fire escapes which will never again serve as anything but a temptation to small boys should bring a high yield in proportion to the labor involved.

Immediately after the war our cities will face many problems, including that created by the continuing dispersion of population. The escape to suburban areas, temporarily slowed by the rubber shortage, is sure to be accelerated. Transportation facilities will continue to develop. Yet many owners of obsolete properties leave them as they are, not that they expect ever again to use the buildings themselves, but in the hope that some impossible miracle will restore lost land values.

Let the government—local, state, or national—act boldly and at once to make use of all scrap iron and steel from these ruined relics. We will thus help satisfy an urgent and immediate need and at the same time insure the ultimate elimination of architectural eyesores which should never again be used.

Politicians will cry that war is no time for stirring up agitation for civic reform. . . . But they are wrong. Never were there more urgent reasons for thorough-going civic reform. . . . Local home rule is a fundamental part of the American constitutional system. . . . While America fights to preserve liberal government our municipalities owe it to America's future to preserve themselves and prove their stability in a changing world. For, in saving themselves, they will preserve the essential balance of power, the deep individual self-reliance, which constitute the very foundation of American freedom. DEWITT H. JOHN, "Now is the Time for Civic Reform," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 20, 1942.

To Strengthen Municipal Finance

We cannot win on the world battle front and lose on the local government financial front; the qualities that make us strong in battle should preserve democratic government at home.

By CARL H. CHATTERS, Executive Director
Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada

THE only sermon I remember from my childhood days was entitled "Be sure your sins will find you out." Whether remembrance of the theme hinges on the truth of the statement or the novelty of the expression is not clear nor important to me. The general thesis of the sermon was that an individual does not go to pieces morally all of a sudden. Influences which have long been undermining his character are brought to the surface at last by some unforeseen and perhaps insignificant event.

Now in just the same way the cities of the United States are confronted by a series of problems seeming to emanate from the present state of war. But any municipal difficulties which are coming on the scene now are rather likely to be the result of circumstances long existing. The war has merely served to bring to the surface for immediate notice many questions that could have remained unsettled for a decade or two under normal economic and political conditions. The growing inequities in our local government revenue system, the top-heavy service structure of these units, and the *laissez-faire* attitude of one governmental level toward another are underlying causes of many present municipal problems.

The overgrown municipal service structure is out of harmony with an

undeveloped and rigid revenue scheme. For comparison, picture a boy of seventeen with the responsibilities of coming manhood, trying to get along on the meager financial allowance his parents provided at the age of twelve when his wants were simple and women had not yet entered his life.

Municipalities once were simple coöperative organizations devoted to the protection of life and property. Now they are supposed to cater to every human need. Governments record your birth, conduct clinics for newly born children, take the responsibility once assumed by parents during childhood and adolescence, provide state colleges and universities, assist in obtaining employment, conduct adult education classes, through the collection of garbage and trash they remove some of your manly duties at home, they support municipal hospitals, care for temporarily or permanently unemployed, grant pensions to those who can no longer work, and finally maintain municipal cemeteries where the body of the citizen weary of supporting *his* government at last finds rest. How different from the simple public function of keeping law and order! But how unchanged is the kind of revenue system used by local governments!

The conflict between the overde-

veloped service structure and the inflexible local government revenue structure may be stated in more tangible terms. We seem to assume that the benefits which local governments confer upon their *citizens*, are likewise conferred on *property*, particularly real estate, in proportion to the value of the property. Proper recognition has not been given to the fact that government protects and gives value to intangible wealth as well as to real estate. Likewise, in devising—or in tolerating—a revenue scheme for local governments, the decreasing relative importance of real estate as part of our national wealth has been overlooked. Furthermore, the revenue scheme has not taken into account the fact that taxes, and local government debts as well, must be paid from community income and not from the capital value of tangible property.

The principal source of local government revenue—real estate taxes—has remained fairly constant while the services of government have grown in every direction. When our local governments were formed they devoted their principal energies to the simple tasks of repairing dirt streets, keeping domestic animals off the highways, locking up the village drunk, and providing courts for the collecting of debts and performing other legal processes which today appear simple.

The coming of the automobile constituted a complete revolution in local government as applied to streets, traffic control, criminal investigation, juvenile delinquency, court cases, and the use of real estate but the automobile owner has

never contributed substantially, and in most cases only meagerly, to local revenues. Likewise the growing social responsibilities of government, which culminated in the federal Social Security Act, were not the outgrowth of local conditions, and the assumption of these new social obligations was not accompanied by new types of revenues for local governments.

Who Benefits

Why should the municipal debt incurred for general purposes be payable ultimately from unlimited taxes levied against real estate? Do not the owners of intangible wealth benefit from the schools, the sewers, the pavements, or the water plants for which the debts were incurred? Can there be any just reason why all forms of wealth and all sources of income should not contribute to the payment of local debts? "The notion that a city has unlimited taxing power is, of course, an illusion," said the United States Supreme Court¹ on June 1, 1942. And the court went on to say: "Indeed, so far as the federal constitution is concerned, the taxing power of a municipality is not even within its own control; it is wholly subordinate to the unrestrained power of the state over political subdivisions of its own creation."

And why do state governments which control the local revenue systems sit back with equanimity and let their local governments flounder in a sea of debt? Non-resident owners of real estate and non-resi-

¹*Faitoute Iron & Steel Company vs. City of Asbury Park*. For further information on this decision see p. 412.

dent owners of corporate shares in local industry profit from the local community's services and from the things for which it incurred debt. Why should local tenants and resident owners of real estate be solely responsible for debts whose proceeds benefit a far wider group? The answer to many of these questions may be that intangible wealth is easily hidden and easily moved. That is all the more reason for devoting some ingenuity to discovering and using forms of taxation that will distribute the cost of local government more equitably.

Major Problems

Still more concrete manifestations of local difficulties may be demanded. Have the courage then to look into the realm of urban decentralization. Next, if your strength remains, study the whole range of property tax exemptions. Then you may examine the many inequities and losses found in the assessment of property, the collection of taxes, and use of urban and suburban land.

While these investigations are going on, remember that the complicated relationships between federal, state, and local governments have developed without any pre-determined plans. The lack of a planned relationship between the levels of government applies to the revenue system as well as to the service structure but perhaps the most adverse effects are seen in the latter. Each new service imposed, each new source of wealth or income untaxed, each public want satisfied has contributed another strand to the web that has caught the munici-

palities. And in many respects the municipality, like the fly caught by the spider's web, did not contribute to the weaving of the trap. But the municipality has a better chance than the fly.

More needs to be said here about urban decentralization, tax exemptions, and population shifts. There are in the United States 140 metropolitan districts each having a central city or cities of 50,000 population or more. The metropolitan district includes this central city or cities and the surrounding territory having a density of population of 150 or more per square mile. These 140 districts contain 62,956,773 out of 131,669,275 persons in the continental United States. Between 1930 and 1940 the central city in thirty-four of these 140 areas *decreased* in population while the surrounding territory outside the city *increased* in population. In two cases both the central city and its surrounding territory decreased in population. In eighty-eight more the area outside the city increased at a more rapid rate than the central city, but in twenty-one of these eighty-eight the central city, while growing slightly, remained practically static while the surrounding area increased.

When individuals and industries desert the center of a city it looks pretty bare. Values fall, rents decrease, buildings deteriorate, stores and factories are vacant, and slums develop. Private investment in property and public investment in public facilities suffer. Assessed values fall, taxes become delinquent, and municipal revenues go down. Millions invested in streets, pave-

ments, schools, and public transportation serve little useful purpose. Walk through the areas just outside the central business districts of Boston, Chicago, or Philadelphia and you will know what "urban blight" means.

Tax Exemptions

Before solving revenue problems we must look at the destructive effect of exemptions from local real estate taxes. They have long existed—they have recently been aggravated. There are exemptions for homesteads, for widows, for veterans, for religious institutions. Exemptions are offered to attract new industries. The most unwarranted exemptions go to those whose property is under-assessed or not assessed through unintentional errors or through political pull.

The growing amount of publicly owned property creates difficulties when the property is owned by the state or federal government but requires local public services. The exemption of federally financed war plants throws a disproportionate part of the war cost on the communities containing such exempt industries. It would be more equitable to assess the property, add it to the war cost, and spread it over the entire nation.

The valuation of exempt real estate in New York State in 1940 constituted 26.8 per cent of all real estate and had increased from \$1,389,353,411 in 1905 to \$6,855,652,815 in 1940.² In cities like Madi-

son, Wisconsin, and Ann Arbor, Michigan, where state universities and their student bodies constitute a large part of the property and population and yet contribute little in taxes, there is the necessity for a high tax rate accompanied by high rents. Someone must pay for the services. The same situation of a far more extreme character exists in cities where homestead exemptions throw a disproportionate share of the cost of government on business or on investment property.

But still, you may ask, what are the new problems faced by municipalities as a result of the war and how are they related to conditions that preceded the war? That is a fair question.

The present war and the defense program immediately before it have presented local governments with some difficulties. They are caught between the lower millstone of inflexible revenues and the upper millstone of rising expenditures. Salaries and wages paid by municipalities have been substantially increased to compete with private industry and to compensate for the rising cost of living. Public facilities have been greatly expanded in areas where defense plants or military establishments are located. Local government property and private property taxed by local governments have been taken for military purposes and have become tax-exempt. Local revenues are going to get a severe jolt directly and indirectly from curtailment of automobiles, rationing of consumer goods, and the imposition of heavier federal taxes.

²From the Annual Reports of the New York State Tax Commission as quoted in "Decrease of the Property Tax Base Due to Exemptions," by Carl W. Tiller and Margorie Leonard, *Municipal Finance*, May 1942.

If these difficulties come to the surface now it is partly because the local revenue system does not produce money in proportion to greatly augmented tasks and it is partly due to the haphazard relationships between federal, state, and local governments in planning the appropriate tasks for each and distributing revenues in relation to needs. Cities like Norfolk, Virginia, and San Diego, California, will probably find the income of workers has doubled, municipal expenditures greatly increased, but no present means by which the municipality directly or indirectly can tap the increased income of the citizens and the local businesses.

This article is not intended as a brief in behalf of the real estate owner. Perhaps it sounds like that. Much of the urban blight or urban decentralization has taken place because the owners of income property have continued to "milk" or "bleed" the property over a long period of years. Corporate stockholders may have been hungry for dividends; trust companies may have been anxious to placate non-resident heirs to downtown real estate; short-sighted men have been penny-wise and pound-foolish. In any event, rental properties were not properly maintained or modernized. Now the owners as well as others must pay the penalty in depreciated property values.

At least two other causes are found for the inability of real estate to pay taxes. The failure of owners to modernize their business properties led to a demand for new structures which were eventually built

and took tenants from the older ill-kept buildings. Many new apartment properties were in no position to pay taxes because of fantastic fixed charges for bonds and interest. The building contractors, the real estate speculator and one species of financial middleman had conspired so that each might extract the greatest amount from each enterprise. Land prices were high, building costs were high, and financing costs exorbitant. The properties could not carry operating charges and debt service to say nothing of taxes. In the large cities this last cause was particularly prevalent.

The Remedies

What a tale of woe this seems to be! The situation is far from hopeless, however. Certainly if difficulties exist they cannot be solved until the difficulties themselves, as well as their causes, have been identified, labeled, and placed on exhibition. Under the stress of war and aroused public opinion much can be done that would be impossible in normal, apathetic periods.

The necessary steps to revitalize local government finance may be summed up in the following:

1. Leadership is essential. Local government should fight its own battle so far as it can but the state governments should formulate helpful legislation and render advisory services to the weaker local governments. While the states need not be too paternalistic, they must, by example and administrative aid, help those local units which need assistance. For example, Florida should take more aggressive steps to solve the debt problems of its localities.

Many state governments should have rendered—and still may render—immediate assistance to areas in which the national government locates industries or military bases. The assistance may be financial, or advisory, or administrative, or a combination of these three.

2. Every governmental unit must examine the services it carries on. Each activity or service should be examined to see that it benefits a substantial number of citizens and that each service is one which can best be performed by a municipality. Under the stress of war many services, which never could be dropped in normal times, may be curtailed with public consent. Put the ship of state in the dry dock, turn on the searchlights and the x-rays, and if there are any barnacles scrape them off.

3. Only by proper control of the use of land can there be a fundamental remedy for tax delinquency, over-expansion of physical facilities, and urban decentralization. When there is no immediate need for tax delinquent properties, they might better be held by the municipality than returned to a private owner to inflate the tax base and again add to delinquent tax lists.

Tax Sources

4. The sources of local government income need more careful scrutiny than any other item on this agenda. Ideally, local governments should be supported by revenues that are determined locally, collected locally, and spent locally. If national economic and social trends make this ideal unattainable, then we must ad-

mit that industrial progress has taken away part of our democracy and we must compromise on the most expedient plan that will retain the greatest degree of autonomy. While a new system of local revenues, aside from the traditional property tax, would be hard to define exactly, it should be responsive to local community income and local needs. If the local needs exceed the available income collectible from local revenue measures, then the next best expedient would be enlargement of the revenue area to a region or a state and the return of some revenues to the locality. The revenues collected by a superior government should be free from strings requiring large local expenditures or maintenance of standards of service beyond the ability, need, or customs of the community.

5. The present local tax structure should be examined to determine whether or not, at the local level, it is possible to make a more rational distribution of costs based on benefits conferred on *persons* and benefits conferred on *property*. Tenants should not be penalized for the benefit of the landlords, nor residents for the benefit of non-residents.

6. Many of the difficulties between local and state bodies and local and federal governments can be remedied by conferences between representatives of the governments concerned. Most of the minor but numerous intergovernmental irritations arise from a lack of uniform interpretation or application of state or federal regulations. For example, state laws governing the payments of local funds may be interpreted

differently by various auditors employed by the state to audit local government accounts. Or state highway systems administered by district offices may pursue diverse policies in maintaining local streets. All such questions should be possible of solution by proper dealing between representatives of the municipalities in contact with the chief administrative official of the state having jurisdiction over such general activity. In this regard, great steps have been taken by the New York State Conference of Mayors.

7. Municipal officials individually and as a group must abandon their defeatist attitude toward their problems, particularly in the field of local-state or local-federal relations. Real grievances should be met by an appeal to the highest appropriate administrative officer and if that is not adequate then joint municipal action to obtain remedial administrative or legislative redress must be undertaken.

8. Finally, it must be remembered that one of the outstanding municipal problems of the "thirties" was the clearing up of municipal debt situations. State laws need to be adequate so that state leadership may be exercised. More important, however, is the continued reduction of the bonded debt of most cities. Many have already adopted pay-as-you-go plans. Others are building up reserves. Surely this is no time to reduce local tax rates by unnecessary refunding. Some top-heavy or uneven debt structures may have to be balanced by orderly refunding but most debts should be paid as they fall due. A reduction of municipal

debt now coupled with careful planning of public works for the postwar period will provide municipalities with reserves of cash or credit that will permit them to take an important part in the physical and financial reconstruction of the postwar period.

Problem Can Be Solved

The war period presents some new questions to municipalities about their services and their revenues. They are no greater than the financial questions that have confronted the national government, the state governments, and the local governments at other periods in our national history. We do not need to look forward to the chaos that pervaded state finance following the panic of 1837 or 1893. Private enterprise expects to go forward after the war. The state governments will exist and the national government will continue. The persons who make up private business leadership are citizens of some state and citizens of the nation. Their wits and their bodies will have been strengthened by conquest of the world's greatest military machine.

Compared to the gigantic world conflict, the struggle between local revenues and the means of financing them seems trivial. Surely we cannot win on the world battle front and lose on the local government financial front. But in order to win in the local government conflict there must be the same training of persons, careful planning of attack, self-sacrifice for ideals, and courageous action. The qualities that make us strong in battle should preserve democratic government at its foundation.

What Kind of Congressmen Do We Need in Wartime?

The National League of Women Voters Answers a Vital Question

By VIRGINIA MOORHEAD MANNON

National League of Women Voters

A Congressman should have

{ Intellectual integrity
Determination to subordinate party
interest to national interest
Independent judgment
Broad background in civic affairs
Political sagacity

THERE'S been a lot of talk about Congress lately—dissatisfied, disgruntled talk. Critics have called it "Substandard!" "A lap behind public opinion." "Worse than we deserve." On seventeen counts one newspaper indicted it for hindering the defense effort.

Perhaps the fact is that this Congress has been about average. But the times are not average—they demand a high standard of performance. They demand, too, that no branch of government should expose itself to so much harsh criticism.

The National League of Women Voters presents the matter constructively. It says the next Congress must be composed of statesmen of the highest order, that run-of-the-mill Congressmen are an extravagance we cannot afford in wartime when none but the best will do.

Last January, one month after Pearl Harbor, the League began talking about the next Congress. It did not mince words:

"The League of Women Voters will devise ways and means to see that a Congress is elected in November 1942 which is capable of dealing with the problems it will face, particularly those of postwar organi-

zation for peace. For upon this next Congress may well hang the fate of that kind of civilization for which we are now pledging our all."

Beginning its preparations early for so vital an election, the League launched a campaign for capable Congressmen in March as primary elections in many states drew near. The League does not endorse candidates but members, as individuals, were urged to become active and effective in all the nominating processes.

At the same time voting records of Congressmen on important foreign policy measures and recurring domestic issues were distributed to local leagues for circulation in the Congressmen's own districts. They were distributed, however, with the warning that roll calls alone, no matter how shrewdly chosen, cannot tell the whole story, for behind the vote lies the character and calibre of the representative who cast it.

Additional campaign ammunition appeared in the form of a questionnaire for Congressional nominees, which stressed general qualifications more than specific measures.

"The time is ripe to point out that only the wisest and best are fit to

represent the American people today," Miss Marguerite M. Wells, National League president, declared in inaugurating the campaign. "In this hour of crisis the latent desire of the people for representatives capable of facing today's problems can be made conscious."

Members Polled

In April, in an effort to stimulate clear thinking about the kind of Congressmen responsible citizens should nominate and elect in 1942, the National League conducted a poll by mail. The issue was not "Whom would you support?" but "How do you determine whom you would support?"

Other questions were implicit in the League ballot: Should senators follow their mail or use their own judgment? Where does a representative's responsibility to his district end? What about party responsibility as against rugged independence? How important are promises of projects and patronage?

The ballot was circulated among 60,000 members in thirty-five states. Departing from orthodox methods of public opinion sampling, the League listed thirteen personal qualifications for candidates, invited selection of five only, in order of preference. The qualifications were:

- Political sagacity
- Intellectual integrity
- Independent judgment
- Responsiveness to constituents' opinions
- Flexibility
- Party regularity
- Subordination of party interest to national interest

Broad background in civic affairs
Former affiliations with Chamber of Commerce; educational institutions; labor, farm, and professional organizations

Responsible attitude toward making and carrying out party platform

Follower of individual rather than party platform

One who promises to get desired public projects for his district

One who promises jobs for home town boys

Ever since Pygmalion fashioned Galatea and life was breathed into her, people have been fond of devising creatures they hoped might one day come to life. The League of Women Voters is no exception. It hopes that the composite Congressman that emerged from its ballot box in May will be brought to life by the American electorate not once but four-hundred-odd times in November. He is endowed with: (1) intellectual integrity, (2) determination to subordinate party interest to national interest, (3) independent judgment, (4) broad background in civic affairs, and (5) political sagacity.

That the women voters have a remarkably uniform mental image of a capable Congressman may be deduced from the fact that three out of every four ranked "intellectual integrity" as his prime requisite. That characteristic won a sweeping victory on first-choices—ballots were counted by the Hare system of proportional representation.

Defeated immediately were "party regularity," "follower of individual rather than party platform," and

"one who promises desired public projects for his district," no first-choice votes having been cast for those "candidates." League members also turned a cold shoulder to "promises of jobs for hometown boys," a not unexpected verdict in view of the League's long campaign for the merit system of selecting public employees. "Former affiliations with Chamber of Commerce; educational institutions; labor, farm, and professional organizations" received a few scattered votes.

P. R. Count

In the P.R. count, transfer of "intellectual integrity's" surplus to the next choice expressed on each of the ballots brought about the speedy election of "subordination of party interest to national interest" and "independent judgment."

Completion of the count added "broad background in civic affairs" and "political sagacity" as the fourth and fifth "candidates" elected.

The League candidly admits that the winning qualifications are by no means all the ideal wartime Congressman should possess; they are merely the five its members judged most important in picking a Congressman in 1942.

While the poll was intended to sample members' opinions only, marginal notes indicated that some ballots represented the consensus of an entire family, and that in at least two instances the head of the house was a member of Congress himself.

Members said:

"My husband and I spent such an interesting half hour searching for the final meaning of 'integrity,' 'judgment,' and 'sagacity' that it would

be a shame not to send in the result. We gave our Congressman intellectual integrity, independent judgment, flexibility, and subordination of party interest. Then we gave him political sagacity to put the first three qualities to effective use and avoid the political consequences of the fourth."

"My choice sounds like Superman to me. Maybe the town plumber could do better, but I'd like to try him out."

"Interesting but tricky as most, since many of the terms are not mutually exclusive. And the device of asking for weighted choices in the interests of statistical summing up produces a purely illusory neatness of summation. Who can really judge the relative value of intellectual integrity and independent judgment or, for that matter, establish the hair line between them? Can subordination of party to national interest be expected except on the basis of said mental qualities, ripened without civic background, or made effective without political sagacity?"

The *Milwaukee Journal* commented: "Here it [the League] is plowing new ground too long neglected by American voters. There has been little by way of standards to judge the desirability and strength of men who suddenly announce they would like to go down to Washington."

Said the *Cleveland News*: "We recommend the questionnaire to non-League members for their use—to see how much cold logic they used at the last election, and how many incumbent public officials could pass the test."

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Housing British War Workers

From the outset England recognized the need for national rent control, compulsory billeting, closure areas, and war-damage insurance.

By ROSALIND TOUGH and RUTH G. WEINTRAUB
Hunter College of the City of New York

WAR periods have always necessitated the mobility of military personnel, but the present crisis is also creating mass movements of the civilian population. Civilian migration in Great Britain has been due both to rapid decentralization of industry and evacuation resulting from the intense bombings of 1940-41.

In the areas to which population is moving acute housing shortages are occurring. The British total war effort, therefore, of necessity includes a program of new housing construction, immediate repair of war-damaged structures, and reconditioning of vacant dwellings.

To find solutions to the multiform problems presented in attempting to house a nation at war the British Government has enacted a series of basic laws and promulgated equally fundamental statutory rules and orders. Unlike the United States, which has taken a year and a half to become reconciled to the inevitability of rent control, Parliament passed the Rent and Mortgage Interest Restrictions Act on September 1, 1939, two days before war was declared.¹ On the same day the first version of the Repair of War Damage Act became law.²

In pursuance of the Emergency

Powers Acts of 1939 and 1940³ the Government issued a series of statutory rules and orders and ministry circulars providing for compulsory billeting and reconditioning of unoccupied houses for war workers or persons rendered homeless by enemy action.⁴ In addition the various ministries concerned have embarked on a program of new housing.

Local governmental authorities have been given power to act for the central governments in the execution of the war housing objectives.⁵ Two non-profit government corporations have been set up to undertake housing management, i.e., the National Service Hostels Corporation and the London Hostels Association Limited.

The Rent and Mortgage Interest Restrictions Act is applicable to 98 per cent of the housing in Great Britain. It regulates all houses except those on which the ratable value (based on annual rentals) exceeds £100 in the metropolitan area of London, or from £75 to £90 elsewhere. Prevailing rentals or interest rates at the time the act was passed

¹2 & 3 Geo. 6 c. 62; 3 & 4 Geo. 6 cc. 20 & 45.

²S. R. & O. 1940 (No. 1684); S. R. & O. 1941 ($\frac{\text{No. 419}}{\text{S. 13}}$); S. R. & O. 1940 (No. 1441); S. R. & O. 1940 (No. 1134); S. R. & O. 1940 (No. 955); Ministry of Health Circular 1941 (No. 2242).

³S. R. & O. 1940 (No. 780).

⁴2 & 3 Geo. 6 c. 71.

⁵2 & 3 Geo. 6 cc. 73 & 74.

—September 1939—have been designated as those to be in effect for the duration of the war and for a period of six months beyond.

The Landlord and Tenant (War Damage) Act of 1939 corrected the inequities of the common law rule which provides that no relief is afforded to the tenant who has covenanted to keep the property in repair, even when it is damaged or destroyed "by the King's Enemies." Obviously, in a nation which expected to be subjected to severe bombing, the common law rule would have resulted in great hardships to tenants. In 1941 further provisions applying to war damaged housing, considered to be either fit or unfit for habitation, were set forth in the Landlord and Tenant (War Damage) Amendments.

Both the Housing (Emergency Powers) Act of 1939 and the amendment of 1941 enable local authorities to repair war damaged homes.⁶ The first version of the act made the cost of the repairs a charge against the property, although demand for repayment was not to be made until after the war. As soon as wide scale bombing began, however, it appeared to be unfair to have the loss borne by the individual property owners affected rather than by the community as a whole. As a result of the 1941 revision of that act repair costs for houses damaged through enemy action are borne by the War Damage Commission of the central government and are not charged against the property.

New construction for war workers, carried on by the various ministries, was undertaken pursuant to the Emergency Powers (Defense) Acts and the Civil Defense Act passed in the summer and autumn of 1939 and 1940. These acts set forth broad powers for the handling of the war effort.

Billeting of Workers

The rapidity with which workers were shifted from one part of the country to another for war production made it essential that housing accommodations be made available immediately. This was effected through a series of statutory rules and orders providing for compulsory billeting of workers in homes in the congested areas, and for the renovation of unoccupied houses.

Compulsory billeting powers have been granted in approximately 150 areas. In rare instances arrangements have been made for compulsory billeting of the families of workers. In areas where the shortage of housing has become acute, the Ministry of Health may declare the area to be "closed," i.e., only those persons other than residents who are needed for the war effort may remain in the district for more than three days without special permission.

Obviously, during the emergency, all new housing construction has to be geared to the war effort. It is not surprising, therefore, that several days after war was declared the Ministry of Health issued a circular which provided for the postponement of new construction under the government's low rental housing pro-

⁶2 & 3 Geo. 6 c. 73; 4 & 5 Geo. 6 c. 74;
S. R. & O. 1941 (No. 1763)
S. 50

gram until the emergency is over.⁷ At the beginning of the war in areas in which there was a housing shortage, however, local authorities were permitted to complete construction already under way. A stricter policy than this was followed with regard to private housing; only houses nearly finished when war was declared were permitted to go on and new projects were not to be commenced except with the consent of the government. On occasion this consent was given for construction in defense areas.

From September 1939 to May 1942 about 140,000 family accommodations were completed; approximately 30 per cent of these were provided by local authorities and the remainder by private enterprise. This is in marked contrast to a pre-war rate of approximately 300,000 family units per year, about one-third of which were built by local authorities.⁸

As the war progressed building materials and labor became scarce; at the same time it was necessary for large numbers of workers to enter factories located at some distance from available housing. These two conditions were responsible for a radical change in types of housing construction.

Hostels

Most of the war housing construction in Great Britain is of the hos-

tel type—dormitory accommodations for single men, single women and, in a small proportion of cases, individual family units. Hostels constructed of prefabricated materials are rapidly being built by the Ministry of Supply for Royal Ordnance Workers, by the Ministry of Works and Buildings for agricultural labor, for "bombed out" people including other than workers, for employees of aircraft factories, and for workers on admiralty jobs. Once built these projects are under the supervision of the ministry concerned with the respective group. For example, the Ministry of Health supervises temporary hostels for those who have been "bombed out" and the Ministry of Agriculture controls accommodations for rural workers needed for emergency production.

In addition to newly constructed projects, many buildings have been reconditioned and adapted to hostel purposes. These are to be found primarily in large cities. For example, the London Hostels Association Limited, a non-profit enterprise, has acquired, renovated, and equipped thirty-five buildings as hostels for persons whose homes have been broken as a result of the war.⁹ In the daily management of these houses this organization secures the coöperation of voluntary or charitable associations such as the Young Women's Christian Association.

⁷Ministry of Health Circular (No. 1866) 1939.

⁸*Wartime Housing, Rent Control and Billeting in Britain*, by Captain Richard Reiss. British Information Services, 1942; Local authorities include city and borough, urban district and rural district councils.

⁹"The Government Hostels in London," *Local Government Chronicle*, January 18, 1941, p. 65; "Housing of Workers," British Library of Information (typewritten memorandum on file); Letter May 4, 1942, from British Information Services (based on cabled information from various ministries).

The National Service Hostels Corporation Limited, a non-profit government corporation organized by the Ministry of Labor and National Service in coöperation with other government departments concerned, serves as a coördinating agency for many of the government-provided hostels for war workers. This corporation either manages the projects directly or uses the services of voluntary associations for assistance in daily operation. Accommodations are provided either in new or converted buildings. Some of these are used merely as temporary homes—clearance hostels—until permanent billets can be found. In both agricultural and industrial areas to which there have been great migrations of workers, clearance hostels are essential. Other National Service Hostels are being used as permanent accommodations for the duration of the war.

Hostels are built of two types: small units to house agricultural labor providing housing for thirty to fifty persons; large units to house industrial workers, caring for 500 to 2000 persons.

In the newly constructed hostels for agricultural workers average construction costs are £130 per occupant. An additional allowance of £15 per person is made for essential furnishings. The self-contained unit includes a central dormitory, central accommodations for bathing and laundry, and a general welfare block—dining and recreation room, kitchen, a room for persons who are ill, and a small bungalow for the manager of the hostel. Although the units

are often larger, hostels for industrial workers follow similar plans.

Division of Authority

Neither the British Government, nor the United States (except for the steps taken in the recent housing reorganization), has solved the problem of unified control of housing for war workers. Competition among government agencies, divided responsibility, dual and often triple supervision, lines of authority which overlap, all have characterized the war housing program in both countries. In England, for example, the Ministry of Works and Buildings has never been able to secure control of all building production; instead it has shared responsibility with the Ministries of Supplies, Health, and Labor.

Technicians, informed that speed is of utmost importance, do not have their morale improved when instructions from competing ministries necessitate redrawing of plans. Minor changes in specifications required by local conditions have been needlessly delayed until the orders could be cleared through dual supervisors.

From the outset England recognized the need for national rent control, compulsory billeting, closure areas, and war-damage insurance. In many of the defense areas of the United States rent control has just become effective. Although in emergency areas the need for compulsory billeting is generally recognized, thus far in Washington it has not gone beyond the discussion stage. The mechanism for war damage insurance is also in process of materialization.

Like the United States, the British

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Manager Plan Brings Amazing Debt Reduction in Cleveland Heights

By ROBERT H. CLIFFORD

Cleveland Press

IF THERE is another city operated as successfully over a corresponding length of time under the manager plan of government, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, hasn't heard about it.

Let's take a look at the record:

Debt reduction of 89.6 per cent;

Twenty-two years as the average length of service for members of the legislative branch of the government;

One city manager in two decades and the same mayor for twenty-eight years;

Percentage of debt in relation to assessed property values 65/100 of one per cent.

Sounds amazing, you think!

But that, in brief, is the story written in Cleveland Heights, big Cleveland suburb having 55,000 population, in the past twenty years.

There are not many American municipalities which can claim the continuity of service among its public servants which has marked city manager operation in Cleveland Heights. While many other cities tossed out their officials at frequent intervals and abandoned policies formulated on a basis of long-range planning, Cleveland Heights found its executives "tried and true," their foresighted programs worth while, and stuck to their guns.

This continuity of service stands

EDITOR'S NOTE.—These articles are the first of a series on cities which have completed twenty years of operation under the council-manager plan.

out as the top ranking feature in any study made of the highly successful operation of the city's government.

Cleveland Heights is unique in several other ways. It is zoned strictly for residences and retail business. It has 14,000 homes, 200 apartment buildings, and fifteen churches. It has no industrial or manufacturing plants. No railroads operate in or through the city.

Incorporated as a village in 1903 with a population of 1600, it became a city in February 1921. Within six months the electorate had adopted a charter which went into effect on January 1, 1922, and has never been changed. It provides for election of a Council of seven, a Board of Education of five, and a judge of police court. The council appoints the city manager, law director, finance director, City Planning Commission, and Civil Service Commission, all other administrators being appointed by the city manager.

The Heights, just beginning the decade of its greatest growth, had an exorbitantly high per capita tax—\$97—with a total city debt per person of \$381.

Today the average per capita debt is \$16 and the outstanding net debt is \$610,000. In 1925 it was \$6,751,000. This sensational reduction in outstanding debt was accomplished during the long depression period when real estate values slumped and tax collections dropped off at an alarming rate throughout the whole nation.

At the present rate, the Cleveland

Heights debt will be less than \$50,000 in five years, and in ten years the city will be entirely out of debt unless some major capital improvements are undertaken.

For this year the suburb's budget is \$100,000 less than anticipated income, and yet it plans to continue what is one of the best public service programs in the country.

Top executives in the administration are Manager Harry H. Canfield and Mayor Frank C. Cain. Each has been in the city's service since 1910. The type of public service which they represent is best exemplified by the twice-a-week garbage collections and the pickup of ashes, rubbish, and waste paper within twenty-four hours after calls are made to City Hall.

People in the Heights never give a thought to possible changes in their system of municipal operations. They will never have to as long as the policies which have been so successful for the last twenty years are maintained.

Residents, all but a small portion of them having moved into this sub-

urb since 1922, have no knowledge of any type of public servants or municipal services except those that are good and worthy of continuation.

When the city was still a village Mr. Cain was the mayor. When it grew into the status of a city Mr. Cain headed the commission which framed a new charter and obtained its approval by voters. Then he bowed out of the picture—or rather, he thought he did.

The people of the town paid no attention to his announcement of withdrawal after serving as their chief executive since 1910. They elected him to the Council and the Council made him mayor under the manager plan.

He suggested selection of Manager Canfield, who along with Mayor Cain has directed administration of affairs of this city ever since without a word of scandal or public misdoing.

Is it any wonder that the residents of Cleveland Heights want no part of the political spoils system which has marked maladministration in so many other cities?

Man on the Street Profits by Escanaba's Manager Plan

By LEO COAN

Escanaba Daily Press

IN Escanaba, Michigan, the man on the street, who interprets the effectiveness of his local government in terms of what it has done for him personally and for the people of the community generally, probably appreciates better than anyone how successful city manager government there has been.

Most of Escanaba's advancements have come during the five-year administration of the present city manager, George E. Bean, who, with the coöperation of a social-minded Council, has given its 15,000 citizens more public services, including a well rounded parks and recreation program, than they have ever before enjoyed, while substantially reducing utility rates and lowering taxes.

A costly and more or less inefficient water treatment plant is being replaced with an artesian well system which will reduce operating costs in the water department by an estimated \$10,000 per year. By modernizing and increasing the efficiency of the municipal gas utility, the city pocketed another \$8,000 in savings. A new central steam plant, coördinated with other city utilities, will pay for itself in less than eight years even at its present modest rate of operation. Incidentally, it was built without recourse to the use of borrowed money. Steady reduction of electric utility rates has resulted in the doubling of residential use of power in the past five years. That in itself is an accomplishment of which few communities can boast.

A program of street and sidewalk paving has modernized the city at small cost to its citizens. An improved snow removal program has done away with irritating and hazardous winter walking and driving conditions at no added cost to taxpayers.

A steadily improved zoning system has prevented the encroachment of industry into school and residential areas and permitted a long range plan of city parks and municipal beautification.

City employees work under a civil service system which has given them paid vacations, sick leave, a pension plan, a five-day work week, and complete freedom from political entanglements.

Is it costly? The city's bonded indebtedness has shrunk from \$531,000 in 1922 to \$144,500 in the current year. About 75 per cent of the debt

reduction was made during the past five years largely through increased revenue from more efficiently operated utilities. At the present rate of retirement the city's entire debt will be wiped out by 1951. An earlier debt-free status is impossible since some city bonds are non-callable.

Escanaba has a new municipal dock and a yacht basin, both built with WPA funds, and it has the finest city airport of any city its size in the state.

Its citizens enjoy free collection of garbage and rubbish most of the year and at actual hauling cost in the winter season.

A city-supervised recreational program gives both children and adults an opportunity to participate in sports the year round at no cost. A summer program of evening band concerts rounds out the recreational program.

Though the war has interrupted a park and lake-front development program which includes a new municipal bathing beach and beach house, that work will be completed as a postwar project. Judicious purchase of key properties has given the city control over practically all the lake front which borders the city on two sides, enabling a plan of public boulevards and parks, which will encircle the city, to be worked out.

Problems still remain, of course. A recent survey showed that 46 per cent of the city's homes were substandard according to the standards of the Federal Housing Administration and plans are already under way to begin correcting that evil.

Another problem—that of revising

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Home Rule for Wayne County?

Initiative petitions call for November vote on constitutional amendment permitting the electors to reorganize county's government.

By **ARTHUR W. BROMAGE**
University of Michigan

REVELATIONS of graft and waste of public money in Wayne County, Michigan, were highlighted in 1942 by a one-man grand jury investigation ordered by the Wayne County Circuit bench.

Most startling was the fact that graft and inefficiency were found in the County Board of Auditors, an elective three-man agency vested with managerial functions in budgeting, accounting, purchasing, and other technical services.

Of the three men who until the beginning of this year directed the huge finances of Wayne County, one is now serving a prison term after being removed from office for accepting bribes on county insurance policies and on a deal whereby he placed a certain cleansing fluid in use in county institutions. A second member of the three-man Board of Auditors has also been removed from office by the Governor pursuant to bribery charges, and the third has been removed on the grounds of misconduct in office.

The disclosures of graft and inefficiency raised serious questions as to the capacity of this metropolitan county to cope with the situation caused by war industries now swarming over the Detroit region.

The Chrysler tank arsenal and the Willow Run bomber plant contain the future of America on land and in the air. Although Ford's half-mile-long bomber plant lies in Washtenaw County, just over Wayne County's border, its employees live for miles around, many of them migrants without established homes. The need of thousands

of new workers for homes and community facilities involves local, state, and federal authorities throughout the metropolitan region of the motor city.

Industry's conversion and swift tooling up threw into contrast the rusty machinery of Wayne County. The cry went up: Home rule for Wayne; save the people's money.

Initiative petitions are now being circulated to place an amendment to Michigan's constitution on the November ballot, an amendment designed to permit electors to reorganize their own government. Findings of the one-man grand jury offered a springboard for this demand for home rule in the state's most populous county, but the money grafted by officials does not compare with the loss of services to taxpayers through inadequate procedures in public administration. Frittering away of the public interest over a period of years is the real loss.

Home rule for all Michigan counties seemed a fair prospect in 1934 when an earlier initiative petition placed a sweeping amendment on the ballot. When the voters rejected that proposal another attempt was made two years later. Rejection in 1936 was of no great consequence, since the proposed home rule amendment was a diluted dose of properties more sedative than remedial.¹ But popular agitation in favor of permitting a county to clean

¹See "Michigan's County Government, 1938," by J. M. Leonard. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1938, pp. 214-222.

its own house revived on the strength of the grand jury revelations in Wayne. Now, for the third time within a decade, the issue is up, this time sagaciously limited—from a political point of view—to one county alone.

The question as to whether county home rule is to be or not to be has two angles. What's wrong with government and administration in Wayne County today? Will the 1942 proposed amendment permit correction of existing defects?

What's wrong with Wayne County as it is operating now? Some of the causes are as obvious as sore thumbs: the large Board of Supervisors for instance, its poster-size ballot, partisan elections, lack of a chief executive, no merit system for employees, decentralization of operating agencies, misplaced powers.

Unwieldy Governing Board

(1) The Wayne County Board of Supervisors ranks as the largest governing council for any unit of local government in the United States. It is bigger than the Michigan legislature. If its present size of 160 members were cut to one-tenth it would be getting down to a workable, democratic, representative body within the range which has elsewhere proved conducive to economy and efficiency. Piling up of members on a large board pushes to the vanishing point individual responsibility. The larger the number, the more it dwindles till lost from sight. County Auditor James D. Friel, for example, stated in April 1942 that members of the Ways and Means Committee of the County Board of Supervisors could not explain what the "extra payroll" was, an account from which, Friel indicated, forty-four seemingly useless employees were paid.

(2) Wayne County elects a raft full

of officers. Clerk, treasurer, sheriff, prosecuting attorney, register of deeds, drain commissioner, coroners, surveyor, members of the Board of Auditors—all are chosen on a ballot which would take longer to read from start to finish than the average voter spends in the booth altogether. Popular election is the essence of democracy, but like other powerful medicines it can kill as well as cure unless administered in the right dosage. Popular election, carried to the extreme, will eat the heart out of democracy. A fundamental principle is at stake here. When you want to obtain a policy-determining official such as a legislator or a local councillor or county board member, elect. When you want to get an administrator, appoint. Top-flight administrators rarely emerge from the political mill of long ballots. A good politician is born, not made. An expert in governmental administration is made, not born.

(3) Wayne County elects all these officers on the basis of their political affiliations. The make-up of the ballot provides for a party column, a party circle, and a party emblem. An "x" in the big circle at the top takes care of the voter's preference for national, state, and county officers. For years cities have been moving over to non-partisan nominations and elections, leaving out of their local concerns the irrelevancies of national and state politics. City elections can now center around actual local needs instead of being conducted on extraneous platforms with figure-heads perched thereon. Improvements have resulted in municipal affairs. Why isn't non-partisanship worth considering for a metropolitan group of people such as resides in Wayne County?

(4) Wayne County is without a chief executive—a mayor or a manager. This runs counter to good business

practice and government today is more of a business than the family picnic it used to be. Somewhere responsibility and authority must be lodged when the county is spending millions of dollars annually and employing thousands of persons. Everybody's business becomes nobody's business. Look again at American municipalities. For sixty years or more they have been concentrating administrative responsibility in strong mayors, and for the last thirty years in city managers as well. A directing head is as necessary to Wayne County's huge administrative mechanism as it is to any local governmental authority. To prevent administrative irresponsibility in this vital region during the decisive days ahead authority must be centered in a duly constituted executive head, empowered to act as occasion demands.

(5) Wayne County is bumping along without a modern merit system. In the year 1942 this defect is conspicuous. City and state governments long ago joined the merit system band wagon to cut out graft and nepotism and to terminate bungling of the public interest. Modern personnel practices alone would work wonders for Wayne.

(6) Wayne County lacks even the semblance of integration as between its auxiliary technical services and its operating or line agencies. Out of the existing independent and semi-independent officers and agencies, a series of departments such as finance, personnel, public safety, public works, public welfare, parks and recreation can be carved. Functional activities can be rearranged into coordinated departments, each headed by a department chief appointed by and subject to removal by a chief executive.

(7) Wayne's Board of County Auditors, now elected, exercises certain auxiliary technical service functions of

an over-all, managerial nature that belong in a department of finance responsible to a chief executive. Since there was no chief executive, it may have seemed logical in the past to vest such services as accounting and purchasing in a superboard of elected guardians of the public interest. Recent events have proved, on the contrary, that elective boards of auditors, coming up through the politics of the party column, are no substitute for professional management in a finance department under a chief executive.

Home Rule Needed

Now comes the question: how did Wayne County get this way? State constitutional provisions dating from 1908 call for the election of many administrative officers in Wayne as in all the other eighty-two counties. These requirements, embalmed in the constitution, have prevented even such a metropolitan area as Wayne from establishing a county executive with authority over appointment and removal of local officers. As a consequence reliance has been placed on grand jury investigations and the removal power of the governor to enforce the public interest. Officials who should have been summarily removed by a responsible executive have been brought to book the long way by cumbersome controls outside the administrative machinery of the county proper.

Is home rule the right answer? If the petitions for home rule for Wayne County are signed by a sufficient number of registered electors to place an amendment on the November ballot, and if a majority of those voting on the question approves it, then the changes will begin. Within five months after the amendment takes effect elections for home rule charter commis-

sioners must be held. According to the amendment any charter commission for Wayne County must consist of nineteen persons, qualified electors of the county, chosen by nonpartisan primary and election. Eleven must be elected at large from Detroit; one each from Dearborn, Hamtramck, and Highland Park, and five from single districts in the remainder of the county area as arranged by the County Election Commission. The out-county communities, as well as Detroit, will have a say in the writing of any future form of government.

Under terms of the proposed amendment a home rule charter commission in Wayne County would not be bound by existing state constitutional limitations—the limitations which have perpetuated the present hodge-podge. The amendment stipulates that a charter for Wayne County shall provide for a chief executive, a legislative body of not more than twenty-one members, other necessary county officers and employers, nonpartisan nominations and elections, the merit system, the initiative and referendum, and power to contract with other governmental units for the performance of functions. In other words, the amendment is pointed directly at prevailing practices not now productive of good government.

The difficult art of writing a home rule amendment for counties which are not only units of local government but also administrative subdivisions of the state accounts for most of the technicalities in the amendment. The drafting committee handled an intricate problem with skill and discretion.

As was the case with the 1934 amendment, home rule is merely the preliminary step creating a legal oppor-

tunity long denied. The real decision as to the future administration of Wayne County rests with the voters of the county itself when they adopt or reject the charter presented to them by the charter commission authorized by constitutional amendment.

WHAT KIND OF CONGRESSMEN DO WE NEED?

(Continued from Page 378)

At the same time the poll to select desirable personal traits in Congressional candidates was in progress, the League's national convention, in May, pledged the organization to build public opinion which demands attitudes in Congressmen which will help win the war and help win the peace. It concluded that those attitudes are to be found in:

"Men whose first interest is to win the war, regardless of political, sectional, or special interest, and who recognize that there can be no compromise with Fascism.

"Men who know Fascism at home when they see it and have proved their devotion to a democratic solution of the governmental problems they face.

"Men who have demonstrated their understanding of the part this country must play in an interdependent world and the responsibility of the United States to share in building a free and stable order which will eventually include all peoples regardless of race, religion, or political persuasion."

The League of Women Voters has undertaken a large order. But this is an era of large orders.

Contributors in Review

COUNTY government is only one of the specialties of **Arthur W. Bromage** (*Home Rule for Wayne County?*). His writings have ranged over that subject and also state government and administration, the manager plan, Irish government and administration as well. Books and articles have flowed too from his experiences in the field: In Ireland in 1936 and 1939; on special investigating committees, such as the Michigan Commission of Inquiry into County, Township, and School District Government. Dr. Bromage began teaching at Harvard, now is professor of political science at the University of Michigan.

MUNICIPAL finance and the name of **Carl H. Chatters** (*To Strengthen Municipal Finance*) are by now almost synonymous. The executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada (since 1932) is also secretary of the National Committee on Municipal Accounting and in charge of the Chicago office of the National Association of State Auditors, Comptrollers and Treasurers. Besides that he teaches political science at the University of Chicago, and is responsible for two substantial books on *Local Government Debt Administration* (with A. M. Hillhouse) and on *Governmental Accounting* (with Irving Tenner).

ASKED for biographical data on herself, **Virginia Moorhead Mannon** (*What Kind of Congressmen Do We Need in Wartime?*) automatically supplied only details on the history of the twenty-two-year-old National League of Women Voters. This selfless gesture is a commentary on the fealty which the Women Voters' organization gets from both its employees and its members. Mrs. Mannon is publicity secretary for the National League as well as editor of its *Member's Magazine*, but for further information apply to the lady herself.

THE political science department and sociology department wedded their talents for the purposes of the article by **Rosalind Tough** and **Ruth G. Weintraub** (*Housing British War Workers*), always a recommended merger anyhow, according to modern theory. Dr. Tough gives a course in housing at Hunter College, where she is assistant professor of sociology; Dr. Weintraub teaches public administration at the same institution. An earlier article in this magazine by the two collaborators dealt with the housing chaos in Washington. Mrs. Weintraub is a member of the New York bar, and both have to their credit many publications in their respective fields.

ESCANABA'S MANAGER PLAN

(Continued from Page 385)

and correcting the outmoded and unequal system of property taxation in the city—is now being corrected.

The county seat of a county with a notoriously bad record of traffic deaths and injuries—for its size, one

of the worst in the state—Escanaba is faced with correction of this important problem, too.

Far better than anything it has ever had, the city manager government in Escanaba is not perfect, but if the opinion of most of its citizens is any criterion, it is better than satisfactory.

On the Local Front

President stresses importance of physical and moral fitness.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

SOME 8,500 key executives in war production plants recently received a letter from the President, transmitted to them by Paul V. McNutt, director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services and chairman of the War Man Power Commission, calling for the active encouragement of physical and moral fitness.

"To War Industry Executives:

"I am deeply concerned, as I know you are, over preventable absences of workers in war jobs. There is no question that many millions of lost work days could be saved and that needless accidents and spoilage of materials could be prevented by simple safeguards to workers' health.

"Nine times out of ten when a man is physically unfit for work, the cause, so experts say, lies in off-the-job conditions.

"One of the most menacing of these hazards is venereal disease. Intelligent attack upon this hidden enemy could reduce it to the same relative unimportance as smallpox or diphtheria.

"I am sure you will be interested in the President's recent letter to me on this problem. You will find a copy enclosed.

"More than two years ago the Army, Navy, and Public Health Service approved an eight-point program, a copy of which is also attached. Near the camps the vigorous help of the commanding officers has brought great progress. The Army venereal disease

rate is now the lowest in wartime and the lowest ever recorded except for one peacetime year.

"But Army and Navy jurisdiction and that of the federal government under the May Act does not extend to prostitution or similar conditions in industrial areas. The Social Protection Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, however, stands ready to coöperate fully in war industry communities, as in those near military posts. The assistance and guidance it has already given in many local communities speaks for its experience and effectiveness.

"In line with the President's letter, I am, therefore, asking your help in securing the repression of prostitution and in supporting local law enforcement to eliminate red-light districts and other conditions adversely affecting your man power.

Sincerely,
PAUL V. McNUTT
Director"

"Dear Mr. McNutt:

"From every quarter come evidences of our national concern for total physical and moral fitness in this war for survival, fitness for the freedom we cherish. So far as the federal government is concerned, I have reports of the recent meeting between the United States Public Health Service and the War Production Board looking to a vigorous emphasis on industrial hygiene and health education in the current war production drive. Coöpera-

tion of the Public Health Service and the Department of Labor in accident prevention has been continuous. The Interdepartmental Committee on Venereal Disease has made splendid progress in eliminating from the vicinity of camps and naval stations that major source of infection—the red-light district. The War Production Board is coöperating in the extension of that effort to industrial areas where, incidentally, a major part of military and naval infection is derived. The community facilities program is rapidly supplying the necessary sanitation, and hospital and clinic facilities in the communities surrounding camps and industrial areas. The Procurement and Assignment Service is spreading our medical man power to serve these new population centers. Our program for the rehabilitation of rejected selectees is rapidly taking form, as well as health education in our schools and other agencies.

"But this job depends ultimately upon the people themselves and their moral fibre. Increasingly state and local officials are giving leadership in public health and law enforcement. From religious leaders and responsible citizens come to me, almost daily, expressions of their concern, which they are translating into active local coöperation for total effectiveness. In fact, only good local community organization can meet many of these needs.

"I, therefore, call for the united efforts of government—federal, state, and local, of business and industry, of the medical profession, of the schools, and of the churches, in short, of all citizens, for the establishment of total physical and moral fitness. No one can doubt the objective, or fail to coöperate in the various programs when he understands them. This is one effort in which every man, woman, and child

can play his part and share in ultimate victory.

Very sincerely yours,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

To protect the moral and physical fitness of the armies in the field and in the factory, several government agencies are attacking the problem of venereal disease. The War Department and the Navy Department have responsibility for the health of their own personnel. Their job is the control of areas within military reservations and the regulation of their own forces.

Methods of Control

Should vice conditions in a community within reasonable distance of any camp get out of hand and constitute a threat to the health of military personnel, the Secretaries of War and the Navy may take action under the May Act. In that case the Department of Justice takes over local policing for the repression of prostitution. Thus far it has been necessary to invoke the act only once.

The U. S. Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency coördinates the nation-wide drive of state and local health authorities. To help states, cities, and counties do this job, the Service has a trained staff for technical consultation and material aid.

The work of the Social Protection Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services has two closely related aspects. One is the task of promoting legal repression of prostitution around army camps, naval stations, and war industries. This includes not merely regular commercial houses, but also those which mask their activities—the taverns, dance halls, honky tonks, and tourist camps.

The other task is the social problem of attacking the roots of prostitution:

finding ways to keep men from resorting to it and to prevent women and girls from becoming prostitutes.

Terms of Agreement

An agreement by the War and Navy Departments, the Federal Security Agency, and the State Health Departments on measures for the control of venereal diseases in areas where armed forces or national defense employees are concentrated outlines steps which need to be taken everywhere for an all-out national attack on venereal disease, one of the greatest threats to moral and physical fitness. This agreement states:

"It is recognized that the following services should be developed by state and local health and police authorities in coöperation with the Medical Corps of the United States Army, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the United States Navy, the United States Public Health Service, and interested voluntary organizations:

"1. Early diagnosis and adequate treatment by the Army and Navy of enlisted personnel infected with the venereal diseases.

"2. Early diagnosis and treatment of the civilian population by the local health department.

"3. When authentic information can be obtained as to the probable source of venereal disease infection of military or naval personnel,¹ the facts will be reported by medical officers of the Army or Navy to the state or local health authorities as may be required. If additional authentic information is available as to extramarital contacts with diseased military or naval personnel during the communicable stage, this should also be reported.

"4. All contacts of enlisted men with

infected civilians to be reported to the medical officers in charge of the Army and Navy by the local or state health authorities.

"5. Recalcitrant infected persons with communicable syphilis or gonorrhea to be forcibly isolated during the period of communicability; in civilian populations it is the duty of the local health authorities to obtain the assistance of the local police authorities in enforcing such isolation.

"6. Decrease as far as possible the opportunities for contacts with infected persons. The local police department is responsible for the repression of commercialized and clandestine prostitution. The local health departments, the State Health Department, the Public Health Service, the Army, and the Navy will coöperate with the local police authorities in repressing prostitution.

"7. An aggressive program of education both among enlisted personnel and the civilian population regarding the dangers of the venereal diseases, the methods for preventing these infections, and the steps which should be taken if a person suspects that he is infected.

"8. The local police and health authorities, the State Department of Health, the Public Health Service, the Army, and the Navy desire the assistance of representatives of the American Social Hygiene Association or affiliated social hygiene societies or other voluntary welfare organizations or groups in developing and stimulating public support for the above measures."

The federal government is offering these services throughout the country to help state and local governments keep the problem under control. It is up to the local government to do its part. Local communities have taken

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¹Familial contacts with naval patients will not be reported.

The Researcher's Digest: July

Counties and administrative units again; policing in Virginia; federal aid in Massachusetts; parking meters explored.

THE celebrated "dark continent" of American government turns up again in a literate mimeographed symposium prepared for the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia**. Titled *County Government in Virginia*, the collection of papers bears signatures of weight, such as that of Willard Day, former manager of Henrico County, Raymond B. Pinchbeck of the University of Richmond, in his rôle as chairman of the same county's school board, Professor George Spicer of the University of Virginia, Raymond Uhl of the sponsoring bureau, and several others of equal eminence in the field.

Burden of the papers is that Virginia county government has been considerably improved, that its improvements can and must go even further. The suggestions for this devoutly-to-be-wished-for improvement are practical and many. Not only Virginians should be interested in the product.

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia is also currently responsible for a study of *Municipal Police in Wartime Virginia* by George A. Warp. This little booklet is an advance summary of some of the aspects of a forthcoming Bureau study on police administration in Virginia. The statistics show that many cities are undermanned, that salaries tend to be too low to keep the efficient personnel so necessary in wartime, that working conditions are, in general, good. The author sketches the special problems which confront police in wartime and makes recommendations on how the department may meet those situations. This is another study which is particularly directed toward Virginia but

which must have fruitful suggestions for municipalities elsewhere.

Administrative Units Revamped

Administrative units and what to do about them is a question which can always set public administrators to arguing fiercely among themselves. A monumental contribution on this subject now comes from Dr. Kurt Wilk, under the auspices of the **Institute of Public Administration**. Distilled into some 130 mimeographed pages from a much larger body of material, *Decentralizing Governmental Work* represents conclusions from a comparative study of administrative areas. The author has brought to bear on the American problem his knowledge of European experience, and the result has a consequent significant difference from previous works on the same subject.

Divided into two parts, the first half takes up the question of the numbers, types, and layers of administrative units; the second section considers the size of areas and allocation of functions. A specific scheme is proposed, involving nine types of administrative units: metropolitan cities including all those above 100,000 population and others which are self-sufficient metropolitan areas, quasi-municipal local units that are not themselves metropolitan cities, consolidated rural units, metropolitan regional units, counties, districts intermediary between state and local governments, a greatly reduced number of special districts, general regional districts, some special authorities. The scheme would comprise one or two layers within the states, with a third in some states. Almost the whole study sets forth quotable principles many of

which will doubtless add further fuel to the ever-waging argument.

Bundles for the States

Approaching the problem of administrative units from a somewhat different angle is a report on *Federal Aid Programs in Massachusetts*, prepared for the Massachusetts Special Commission on Intergovernmental Relations by the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau**. Here the federal government enters the administrative picture bearing gifts, and effects subtle and not-so-subtle shifts in responsibility. A universally useful job has been done by the Bureau, for it describes in outline each of the programs of federal aid, giving legal citation, agencies involved, sums which have changed hands, bases of apportionment, conditions and limitations and state use of grants. The report is useful chiefly as a handbook, but there its usefulness should be extensive.

A Nickel, Please

Issued before gas rationing afflicted so many of the states, *Parking Meters in Tennessee* was prepared by Kenneth O. Warner for the **Governmental Reference Service of the University of Tennessee** to summarize the experience of six Tennessee cities. All aspects of the situation are explored, from cost of installation and amount of revenue to public attitudes and effects upon the traffic problem, with the arguments for and against and a word or two about legality. Now an interesting companion study would be, for those states with rationing, effect of "A" cards upon the parking problem.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Administrative Areas

Decentralizing Governmental Work.

By Kurt Wilk. Institute of Public Administration, New York City, 1942. 128 pp.

Counties

County Government in Virginia. A Symposium. Division of Publications of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1942. 62 pp.

Federal Aid

Federal Aid Programs in Massachusetts. Municipal Research Bureau, Boston, May 1942. 31 pp.

Police

Municipal Police in Wartime Virginia. By George A. Warp. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, April 1942. 16 pp.

Purchasing

Purchasing in Kansas City Schools. Civic Research Institute, Kansas City, Missouri, April 1942. 21 pp.

Traffic

Parking Meters in Tennessee. By Kenneth O. Warner. Governmental Reference Service, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, February 1942. 22 pp.

ON THE LOCAL FRONT

(Continued from Page 393)

positive action throughout the United States. When federal and military officials have presented local authorities with the facts, in nearly every case action has been taken. Vice areas in more than 225 communities have been closed up in the last six months as a result of such action, closed by their own authority and policed by their own local officials. Constant vigilance in the repression of prostitution and its attendant evils is necessary to protect the moral and physical fitness of our military and industrial armies.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Constitutional Revision Urged for Michigan

Governor's Study Commission Hands Down Final Report

EVERY sixteen years the people of Michigan vote on the question of holding a constitutional convention, according to the constitution of 1908. In anticipation of this event, which will fall due at the November 1942 election, Governor Murray D. Van Wagoner some months ago appointed thirty-two members to a constitutional revision study commission with State Supreme Court Justice George E. Bushnell as chairman. They represented such fields as politics, labor, agriculture, and education, and undertook to examine the constitution with an eye to the need for revision.

On January 7, 1942, the commission met and organized itself into twelve subcommittees which submitted informal reports in April.

Many changes were proposed but it was not then decided whether there were sufficient weaknesses in the present constitution to justify a 1942 call for a constitutional convention. A decision on this question and debate on the merits of the various changes submitted by each committee were left for the meeting of June 23.

Meeting in Lansing on that date, the commission, by a vote of eighteen to seven, decided to advise the people of Michigan to vote "yes" on the question of calling a constitutional convention. If the people follow this counsel delegates to a convention will be elected in the spring of 1943.

The recommendation that the constitution of Michigan is so in need of revision as to warrant summoning a convention during wartime came as a surprise to groups for whom the war serves as a convenient excuse for shelving troublesome public questions. To those who have studied the constitution in detail the advice of the commission seems eminently sound. Four years ago Governor Murphy's Commission on Reform and Modernization of Government in Michigan raised many constitutional questions which still remain unanswered. Now, the Van Wagoner study commission, while reiterating a number of these basic points, has added others for public consideration.

The Constitutional Revision Study Commission put its finger on the long ballot and the decentralized executive branch in state administration. It recommended that certain administrative officers now elected be appointed by the governor: secretary of state, treasurer, and attorney-general.

To lighten the burden on the voters, four-year terms for certain state officers were recommended instead of the present two-year tenure. Also viewed with favor was the New York plan of holding a quadrennial state election in the non-presidential, even numbered year. At the present time Michigan holds not only a general election in November of even years, but also a less important general election every other April. It was urged that the latter be abandoned and the state election be concentrated in the November balloting.

Revising existing salary scales in the constitution was recommended to make more adequate compensation for certain state officers.

The question of reapportionment has been toyed with for years by the state

legislature in defiance of a constitutional mandate. A petition for a constitutional initiative amendment to bring about sure-fire reapportionment in line with the urbanization of recent decades is now being circulated in Michigan.¹ By a close vote the commission declared in favor of reinforcing the constitution so as to make reapportionment automatic.

In the field of local government the commission reached conclusions which reaffirm views advanced as many as ten years ago by the Brucker Commission of Inquiry into County, Township and School District Government. Chief among these is the principle that counties should have home rule and the state legislature should be empowered to provide optional forms of county government. The commission went so far on the county level as to advise constitutional authorization for the legislature to merge and dissolve counties. At the township level the proposal is that justices of the peace cease to be constitutional officers. This presumably would pave the way for their ultimate abolition in favor of a streamlined minor judiciary. County government as well as reapportionment is in the limelight in Michigan because of the circulation of initiative petitions to amend the constitution to give Wayne County alone home rule.²

Taxation and finance were subjects in which the commission found certain constitutional language to be an unwarranted encumbrance. The uniformity clause is declared an unnecessary obstacle to effective tax legislation. The fifteen-mill tax limit survived the

suggested changes with some modification. Long-term financing of capital improvements by local authorities has been severely restricted by this limitation which requires that additional millage can be levied for a period of five years only, and then only after a two-thirds majority vote. It was proposed that this time limit be extended to ten years, and that a simple majority suffice to legalize levies above the fifteen-mill limit for capital improvements.

Will the voters in November follow the well considered advice of the commission or will they do as they did in 1926? At that time the voters decided that the constitution could stand as it was with such piecemeal amendments as might accrue under the constitutional initiative or by legislative proposal and popular referendum.

Whether a constitutional convention actually will be invoked or not rests this year in large measure on the vote of organized labor. Farm groups will undoubtedly stand pat on the present fundamental law as they did in 1926. The sudden growth of organized labor brings into play a factor not then in operation, thereby increasing the difficulties of any would-be prophets at this time.

A. W. BROMAGE

J. A. PERKINS

University of Michigan

New Jersey Legislature Blocks Early Constitution Vote and Anti-Hague Appointments

On June 15 the Republican-controlled New Jersey Senate, just before adjournment for the summer, acted in opposition to the recommendation of the Constitutional Commission, headed by State Treasurer Robert C. Hendrickson, former Republican candidate for governor, that the proposed new state

¹See "Michigan Seeks Reapportionment Again", by Charles W. Shull, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1942, pp. 345-7.

²See also "Home Rule for Wayne County," pp. 386-9 this issue.

constitution be passed upon by the legislature and submitted, with any changes made, for popular vote at the November 1942 election. Early action on the constitution has also been urged by Governor Edison.

The Senate voted to create a committee of four senators and four assemblymen to hold public hearings. If the demand for a new constitution seems sufficient to the Senate it will, upon reconvening in the fall, arrange to submit one to a referendum in November 1943—when Governor Edison's successor is also to be chosen. Thus the court reorganization advocated by the present governor, and fought by Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, will be left for a now unknown governor to handle. The Assembly concurred in the plan.

The Senate also failed to act on Governor Edison's nominations to the Civil Service Commission and the Board of Tax Appeals, replacing two Hague adherents. The legislators were deterred by "senatorial courtesy"—the senators for the counties from which the nominees came not being in harmony with the nominations.

Governors Emphasize State Cooperation in War Efforts

With a record-breaking attendance of thirty-eight state governors, the annual meeting of the National Governors Conference convened at Asheville, North Carolina, on June 22, for three days. War and postwar themes dominated the sessions.

At the first of these Governor Stassen of Minnesota proposed a world association, modeled upon the relationships that exist among the United States, for future peaceful and orderly world development. Governor Lehman of New York dealt with various problems associated with the main theme of the meeting—the effort of the gov-

ernors to bring about more effective state participation and greater cooperation with federal agencies in the war effort. He described civilian defense administration in his state, and urged a reserve of public and private works for postwar adjustment and reconstruction.

A round-table discussion, with Donald M. Nelson of WPB, Leon Henderson of OPA, and Robert P. Patterson, Under-Secretary of War on the urgency of gasoline and tire rationing primarily for rubber conservation, featured the second day's session.

On the concluding day resolutions were adopted protesting any national legislation to free corporations or individuals engaged in war work from state or local sales taxes or other forms of taxation, and opposing administration proposals to substitute a completely federalized system of unemployment compensation for state participation under the present system; but a further unanimous resolution praised the leadership of President Roosevelt in the war program and pledged full cooperation "to the end that the world of our children and our children's children may be a world of justice and of peace."

Governor Herbert R. O'Connor of Maryland was elected chairman for the coming year, and Frank Bane was re-elected secretary and treasurer.

Administrative Codes Published by Eight States

With the action of Kentucky this year in requiring the Secretary of State to prepare and publish a state administrative code, eight states now make it necessary that the rules and regulations of all state departments, boards, and other administrative agencies be published. The other seven states, according to the Council of State Govern-

ments, are Oregon, Kansas, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin, which provided for their codes by legislative action in 1939; and California, Ohio, and Tennessee, in 1941.

In the federal government administrative rules and regulations were put in order during 1935-38, when Congress established the Federal Register and Code of Regulations.

Kentucky's law includes a provision levying a fine of from \$500 to \$1,000 upon the Secretary of State if he fails to perform his code-compiling duties. Cost of printing is prorated among various departments.

State Postwar Planning Programs

New York's State Commission for Postwar Public Works Planning, created by a law signed by Governor Lehman in May, provides the first machinery for state postwar planning to be established by statute, according to the American Society of Planning Officials. Massachusetts and Minnesota are two other states which have made provision for postwar planning.

The commission's planning program under the New York law involves the coordination of funds and authority for keeping records and specifications on all state planning projects hitherto handled separately by various state departments. The commission is to prepare and maintain progress reports on postwar plans of municipalities in the state, and to maintain connections with federal officials and agencies concerned with postwar planning. It will consist of the director of the State Bureau of Planning, representatives of other state departments, and chairmen of several legislative committees.

In setting up the commission, the legislature appropriated \$450,000 to be spent in preparing plans for postwar construction, and authorized creation

of a building reserve fund of about \$320,000,000 through sale of state highway, grade crossing and housing bonds.

Minnesota's program, under an executive order of the Governor, includes a \$10,000,000 fund—to be built up during the war period—for constructing highways, schools, and small-unit housing.

Massachusetts' Post-Defense Readjustment Committee, composed of economists, manufacturers, workers, and planning authorities, is concerned mainly with planning for postwar employment of war industry workers.

Zoning Extended in Georgia

Since the passage of extensive additions to the zoning laws of Georgia last year and in 1939, the percentage of the urban population of that state living in municipalities and counties having zoned areas has risen to 55.

Zoning in Georgia may be divided into three periods starting in 1921 with the approval of a zoning amendment to the charter of Atlanta. During the first period, from 1921 to 1926, zoning was granted by the legislature to the various cities desiring it by approving amendments of the city charters, but although fifteen municipalities had their charters amended, only Atlanta and Macon established zoned areas before 1926.

The State Supreme Court in 1926, by its decisions in three Atlanta cases, showed itself to be critical of the zoning ordinances in the municipalities. In the next year the legislature passed a constitutional amendment which would grant to it full power to authorize zoning by the authorities of cities having a population of 25,000 or more inhabitants. Adoption of the amendment marked the beginning of the second period of zoning, from 1927 to 1936. Thirty-seven cities and eighteen unin-

corporated communities were zoned, and Glynn County set up zoned areas. The Georgia courts since 1927 have upheld the zoning amendment as reasonable. Several decisions aided greatly in permitting Georgia cities to enjoy zoning and its benefits.

The third period was marked by more extensive zoning laws, passed by the legislature in the regular session of 1937, the special session of 1937-38, and the regular sessions of 1939 and 1941 respectively. Not only were ten new cities added to those covered by the zoning amendment of 1927, but more zoning power was given to certain authorities of seven counties throughout the state by lowering the population requirements of the original act. At least ten Georgia counties have seen the good results that can come from zoning. The courts have continued to uphold zoning regulations so long as they are reasonable.

LYNWOOD M. HOLLAND

University of Illinois

Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact

Congressional consent legislation approving the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact, signed by President Roosevelt in May, clears the way for development of a fourteen-state cooperative program for conservation of fish and preservation of fishing industries along the eastern seaboard.

This climaxes seven years of effort toward preserving their fish and fishing industries by Commissions on Interstate Cooperation of the nine states which thus far have agreed to participate in the compact, and of the five other Atlantic states expected to take action when their legislatures meet in 1943.

Under the compact, a commission representing participating states will be appointed to promote better utili-

zation of Atlantic fisheries through development of a joint program for conservation, promotion, and protection. Emphasis during the war will be placed also on prevention of any kind of waste.

City Managers Meet in October

The twenty-eighth annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will run for five days, October 11-15, at the French Lick Springs Hotel, French Lick, Indiana—almost at the population center of the nation. A large attendance of managers from the United States and elsewhere is anticipated, particularly in view of the opportunity to discuss wartime problems of municipalities with leading authorities.

Council-Manager Plan News

The City Commission of **Houston, Texas**, has set August 15 as the date of a special election on the question of council-manager government. A petition bearing 16,129 names, which has been circulated by a group led by former Mayor R. H. Fonville and others, impelled the Commission to call an election. The August 15 date falls between the primary and the "run-off" primary of August 22. A second group has complicated the situation by calling for a vote on a modification of the commission plan, the present commission of five to be enlarged to seven. The Commission is including this proposal in the election called for August 15. Nine charter amendments will be submitted—four instituting the manager plan and five to revise the present commission plan and make certain changes in civil service administration.

The Civic Club of **West University Place**, a suburb of Houston, is making a study of the manager plan.

A manager charter for **Concord, New**

Hampshire, has been submitted to the sixty-two members of a volunteer charter committee by the subcommittee that has worked on the document since last autumn. A nine-member council is provided for, and the merit system in city employment is prescribed. A publicity campaign is contemplated to pave the way for presentation of the proposed charter at the coming session of the state legislature.

Petitions for a referendum on Plan E—the manager plan with proportional representation—are being circulated in **Lowell, Massachusetts**. It is planned to place the question on the ballot at the November elections if sufficient signatures are secured.

In the state of **Washington**, where there are now no council-manager cities and where only the seven cities of the first class can frame their own charters (others being restricted to mayor-council and commission forms), the Association of Washington Cities reports interest in the manager plan by officials of various cities.

Battle Creek, Michigan, and **Columbus, Ohio**, are showing interest in the manager plan.

An amendment to **Cleveland's** city charter, introduced in Council by Councilman Richard W. Zingler, calling for the manager plan with a nineteen-man council, has been tabled "for the duration of the war" by the Councils' legislative committee.

In **Minneapolis, Minnesota**, a council-manager charter is advocated by the Council-Manager Charter Association, which hopes to obtain a popular vote in November. The proposed charter calls for a council of eleven, five of whom would be chosen at large for four-year terms, and six by wards every two years. It has been submitted to the Charter Commission, and referred by the latter to its research committee for study and report.

The charter could be submitted to the voters at either the primary election on September 7, or the general election November 3. If the Charter Commission approves the proposal and submits it any time after August 8, the charter would be voted upon at the November election. Eight votes of the Commission's fifteen members are required for favorable action. Otherwise, a petition signed by 5 per cent of the voters at the last election (7,814), and presented to the City Council, would make it mandatory for the Council to place the charter proposal on the ballot.

To be ratified the proposal must have four-sevenths of the total vote cast on the proposal.

The proposed manager plan for **Berkley, Michigan**, was defeated on June 2 by a vote of 577 to 277.

New York State Mayors Meet

The annual meeting of the New York State Conference of Mayors and other Municipal Officials was held in Syracuse, June 8, 9, and 10. A training school for city and village clerks and the annual meetings of the organizations of assessors, planning boards, and municipal engineers were also held. On June 8 there was a luncheon for all present, under the auspices of the City and Village Clerks Association, with Civil Service Commissioner Howard P. Jones as speaker; a breakfast conference was held on June 9 by city and village managers and planning officials; on the same day the Federation of Official Planning Boards sponsored a luncheon, with an address by Assembly Speaker Oswald D. Heck. The sessions on June 10 were devoted to municipal war activities and civilian protection.

Model Ordinance Committee for Maine

In order to assist the Maine Munic-

ipal Association in the issuance of model ordinances and forms, a committee consisting of the counsel for the Association and three city solicitors has been created. Drafts of model ordinances of current interest to municipalities are to be prepared by the association office and submitted to the committee.

Model Ordinance Provides Suspension of Building Codes

A model ordinance authorizing the emergency suspension of city building, electrical, and plumbing codes because of shortage of materials essential to war efforts, has been prepared by the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers and adopted by various cities.

Regional Planning for Detroit Defense Area

Expansion of wartime industry in the Detroit defense area and the resultant migration of workers have impelled the Mayor of Detroit to appoint a Regional Planning Committee as a fact-finding, advisory, and coördinating agency, according to the American Society of Planning Officials. The State Planning Commission and the City Planning Commissions of Detroit and Dearborn are represented on the committee, along with the Engineering Society of Detroit, Citizens Housing and Planning Council, Huron-Clinton Parkway Authority, Federal Housing Authority, Wayne County Bureau of Taxation, and the cities of Pleasant Ridge, Ferndale, Highland Park, Grosse Pointe, Trenton, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, and Romulus.

A technical staff was formed of personnel lent by the various agencies holding membership on the committee, and studies of housing, transportation, and utility needs in the area now are under way, with a first report on immediate needs completed.

Among other war-induced problems which will be studied are legal con-

trols for rural and urban developments, recreation, educational and cultural facilities, and evacuation problems for the metropolitan area.

Regional Conferences of Civil Service Assembly

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada held three well attended regional conferences in May and June—western, in Oakland, California, on May 5-6; central, in Chicago, Illinois, May 14-16; and eastern, in Albany, New York, June 5-6. All stressed wartime problems of public personnel agencies.

Continuation was urged for the co-operative personnel recruitment survey, a project carried on during the past year under the joint sponsorship of the Assembly and the Federal Civil Service Commission to develop methods of coöperation between local public personnel agencies and the federal government.

Because of the drain of civil service man power due to war, emphasis was placed on employment of women for various types of work hitherto performed by men. Other suggestions for overcoming civil personnel shortages included the positive use of transfers, re-examination and possible lowering of minimum qualifications, use of related registers, and pre-entry and in-service training programs.

Institute for New York Fire Chiefs

In connection with the meeting of the New York State Association of Fire Chiefs in Albany May 18, 19, and 20, an educational institute with emphasis on war problems of municipalities was conducted. In addition to a full schedule of lectures there were demonstrations throughout one afternoon. There was a record attendance of more than 200, with 158 enrolled.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Missouri Campaigns for New Constitution

Statewide Committee Set Up for Educational Program — Local Committees Forming

AT the forty-seventh Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, held in St. Louis November 1941, Missouri's Secretary of State announced it was mandatory for him to place a proposal for a state constitutional convention on the November 1942 ballot. In Missouri this question must be decided by the voters every twenty years.

At a special session of the League's conference devoted to Missouri's constitutional problems, State Senator Allen McReynolds was elected temporary chairman, with power to appoint a committee of ten to consider methods of public education to secure a favorable vote on the revision issue.

Before the committee of ten had been appointed Pearl Harbor focused attention on the national and international scene. But on January 8 of this year Senator McReynolds called the new committee, together with other interested leaders, to meet in Jefferson City.

The committee voted unanimously to push for favorable action in the belief that it is doubly necessary for citizens on the home front to perfect governmental machinery while the boys are fighting on foreign fronts, thus making for a more workable democracy when they return. The committee felt that because of the high cost of winning the war citizens could no longer afford the luxury of expen-

sive state and municipal governments with unnecessary wastes and overlapping jurisdictions which the present outmoded constitution encouraged.

At a second meeting, held April 11, the chairman was empowered to appoint to the state campaign committee one delegate and one alternate from each of the state's thirty-four senatorial districts. At the same time it was decided that a statewide women's organization should be set up on the same basis; both groups to be combined into one statewide organization. Hence the state committee has 136 representatives and alternates plus a number of delegates at large, these to include one representative from the American Federation of Labor, one from the C. I. O., and one from the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers, as well as representatives of other groups which may be added, making a total committee membership of approximately 150.

The entire committee met on May 21 at Jefferson City to outline a campaign program and assign functions. The meeting was addressed by Isidor Loeb, former dean of the School of Business and Public Administration at Washington University and long an authority and writer on constitutional government in Missouri and the man requested by the first meeting of citizens to appoint a temporary chairman for the committee of ten.

The Committee on Permanent Organization presented its report at the meeting and nominated the following statewide officers who were elected: president, Senator Allen McReynolds, Carthage; first vice-president, Rev. Oscar Johnson, St. Louis; second vice-president, Mrs. Roscoe Anderson, Webster Groves; third vice-president, Father John C. Friedl, Kansas City; fourth vice-president, G. L. Zwick, St. Louis; secretary, Mrs. John A. Harris,

Columbia; and treasurer, Stratford Lee Morton, St. Louis.

On his election the president was authorized to appoint a steering committee with power to select an executive director for the campaign and the following standing committees: press, radio, finance, speakers and meetings, research and publications, relations with other organizations.

The committee on resolutions, appointed prior to the permanent organization, also presented its report at the May 21 meeting, excerpts from which follow:

"It is a matter of common knowledge that propositions appearing on the ballot for consideration of the voters are almost uniformly rejected in the absence of an educational campaign to inform the voter of the purpose and nature of the proposal. It will be the purpose of this organization to conduct an educational campaign to fully inform the voter upon the merits and desirability of calling a constitutional convention. In submitting information upon this subject this organization will avoid the advocacy of any particular proposals or theories, since all questions of that type will be properly determined when a constitutional convention is called.

"Our present constitution was drafted to meet conditions quite different from those found at present. Life in Missouri in 1875 was very different from what it is today. . . .

"The agricultural character of the state is shown by the fact that 97 per cent of the state government's revenues came from property taxes. Today the state receives only 6 per cent of its revenue from property taxes. The total cost expenditures of the Missouri state government increased from \$5,254,780 in 1873-4 to \$170,726,224 in 1939-40—an increase of 3,149 per cent. . . .

"Democratic government on a national or world scale demands efficient, democratic government in state and local affairs. The democratic spirit must not be allowed to lapse in a democratic country merely because that country is at war. Inefficiency and waste cannot be tolerated in Missouri when every dollar is needed for

defense at home and war abroad. . . .

"When the war is ended our state and local governments will doubtless face even greater postwar problems than we have known in the past two decades. The magnitude and variety of the governmental problems that will arise in the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy will be such as to test the capacity of even the best constitution that can be devised for our state. We shall not be prepared for these postwar problems if we continue to operate under a constitution which has definitely demonstrated its inherent weaknesses under present and possible postwar conditions."

Plan of Action

Committee headquarters will be opened at Jefferson City. Through the statewide committee membership local organizations will be established in each senatorial district to carry forward the general committee's program. The organization for St. Louis City and County, already completed, was designated to carry on the work for its senatorial district.

The state committee will raise funds immediately by forming large committees and getting supporting resolutions passed by the hundreds of organizations in the state, many of them already on record in favor of the project. Literature will be published and distributed, speakers will be sent before service clubs, luncheon meetings, citizen and employee meetings, and all organizations will be asked to appoint committees to cooperate with the statewide committee. This has already been done by the League of Women Voters, which is 100 per cent behind the program, and the Missouri Teachers' Organization, which has set up an educational committee for its own group and instituted an instruction program for pupils in the public schools. Similar organizations have been formed by all labor groups.

Radio and press will be used along with speakers and the distribution of

printed literature to carry the story for positive action in November to all corners of the state.

STRATFORD LEE MORTON, *Treasurer*
State-Wide Committee for the
Revision of the Missouri Constitution

Citizens Back Manager in Teaneck Election Fight

In a city manager government who is boss in those departments over which the law says the manager shall have authority—the council elected by the voters, or the manager appointed by the council?

That question was the paramount issue in the municipal election held May 12 in Teaneck, New Jersey, to elect five councilmen for a term of four years. The citizens of Teaneck, by a goodly majority, decided in favor of the manager by electing four of five candidates placed in nomination by the **Teaneck Taxpayers League**. All five had pledged themselves to retain in office Township Manager Paul A. Völcker, whose administration since 1930 has proved eminently satisfactory and advantageous to the taxpayers.

About 6,500 votes were cast, and the League's fifth candidate, of high character and ability but not widely known among Teaneck voters, was beaten by only nineteen votes.

How the Issue Was Created

For eight or ten months prior to the election three councilmen had made persistent attempts to usurp the authority of the Manager in departments for which he is responsible. Two of the three were elected in 1938 on a ticket nominated by a political organization opposed to Teaneck Taxpayers League. The third was elected with the League's endorsement, but had deserted his League associates in the Council when they firmly opposed his efforts to inter-

fere in the administration of the police and other departments over which the Manager has authority.

The first open defiance of the Manager's authority took the form of a resolution passed by this somewhat incongruous majority ordering the Manager to appoint to a vacant captaincy one of two police lieutenants who had established eligibility ratings by taking a state civil service examination. The Manager refused to make the appointment and reported to the Council sound reasons for his refusal. Thereupon the majority passed a resolution making the appointment over the Manager's head.

Teaneck voters some years ago adopted by referendum the provisions of the State Civil Service Act which provides that all municipal payrolls must be approved by the local Civil Service Commission before salaries can be paid. The Commission refused approval, due to the item showing an increase in the salary of the man appointed, on the ground that appointment by the Council was not legal. For a time that delayed payment of salary to any township employee.

This situation the majority had not foreseen, and to get around it they adopted the crab's method of locomotion. They crawled sidewise by voting to hold the appointment in abeyance until the courts decided the issue of authority. At the expense of taxpayers they engaged special counsel to secure adjudication of the matter by any means he might choose. He promptly secured a writ of mandamus against the Manager to compel him to make the appointment, although in a recent case involving the fire department of Cape May the New Jersey Supreme Court had ruled that the manager, not the council, had power to appoint or dismiss.

That at least two of the majority of

three would be candidates to succeed themselves was already determined, and they were diligently hunting for any issue, big or little, that might prove useful in the campaign. The police appointment matter had boomeranged. They next tried to make trouble for the Manager over the use of gasoline from the township pump by the Tax Collector, an appointee of the Manager, on business relating to the work of the Collector's office.

Last November the Collector took from the pump gasoline that had cost the township \$3.31. The Manager had authorized him to have it, and he signed a ticket for it. He explained in writing to the Council how he had used the gasoline on township business.

Not satisfied with the Collector's explanation and the Manager's assurance that the gasoline was taken with his knowledge and approval, the majority ordered the Manager to dismiss the Collector forthwith. He refused. The majority did not then know, but learned later, that a law had been passed some years before giving all tax collectors in the state tenure of four years from date of last appointment, unless tried and convicted on some specific charge.

Nevertheless the majority charged the Manager with insubordination in defiance of Council's orders and voted to suspend payment of salary to both Manager and Collector, whom they accused of using township gasoline for his private ends, until the Collector explained how he had used all gasoline he had drawn from the township pump since his appointment in 1938.

In taking this action the majority unwittingly jumped out of the frying pan into the fire. Manager Volcker is personally well liked; he has won wide public approval by his efficient administration of Teaneck's affairs for twelve years. Petitions quickly circu-

lated by Teaneck Taxpayers League, asking the Council to reinstate Mr. Volcker immediately, were presented with more than 1,200 signatures.

Election was drawing near and the majority saw a great light. They crawled again, this time straight backward, by voting to restore payment of salary to the Manager effective from the date it was suspended. The gasoline issue had backfired.

But the majority soon found an issue that looked promising. The township had just made an emergency purchase of some 2,800 feet of fire hose, most of it at the request of Teaneck Defense Council to give ample fire protection during the war emergency. The majority claimed it was not legal to make so large a purchase without advertising for bids, also that the price paid was too high. They were at once shown that the law permits emergency purchases without bids, that hose was scarce due to the rubber shortage, that the price paid was the same as that paid in 1941, and that the seller had offered to buy back the hose and pay ten cents a foot more for it than the price at which he sold it.

The majority crawled again, and at the next meeting voted to pay for the hose. Another issue sizzled out.

Using Surplus in the Budget

But the majority already had one issue they believed was a sure winner. Months before they had forced the use of \$105,000 from the township surplus as revenue in the 1942 budget over the protests of the Manager and the two minority Councilmen, who argued that not more than \$50,000 from surplus should be so used. Teaneck had received in 1941 \$105,000 as its share of certain public utility taxes which had been held in escrow by the state until legal knots were untied. In the two years when these taxes could not be

used as anticipated revenue, sums aggregating that amount had been taken from surplus, and used as revenue. Accordingly, when the money was finally received from the state, the Manager put it back into surplus.

Already the election was in the offing, and the majority said all that money belonged to the taxpayers and must be "given back to them immediately." So the 1941 tax rate of \$5.30 was reduced this year to \$4.86. And the pet campaign slogan of the majority was "We gave you a big tax reduction."

But that slogan didn't snare many votes in the election. All five of the candidates on a political organization ticket opposing the five nominated by Teaneck Taxpayers League were busy throughout the campaign protesting their belief in the manager form of government, which two of their number in the Council had been fighting to undermine and destroy. Then, after the petition to reinstate the Manager, they began vehemently to deny that, if elected, they intended to dismiss him.

During the battle a bill was introduced in the state legislature to amend the Municipal Manager Act so that a manager could be dismissed by a bare majority at any time without public hearing. It was introduced by a member of the legislature from a county in which no municipality has manager government, a close party associate of the lawyer who brought suit for mandamus against Teaneck's Manager in the police appointment case. And that lawyer is county boss of his party.

The coincidence didn't prove anything, but the voters of Teaneck didn't like the smell of it.

Teaneck is fortunate in having citizens of high average intelligence rating. It is strictly a residential town with no industries, where professional men, business executives, engineers, accountants, and white collar workers

have their homes. They are proud of its attractiveness and its good government. In the last twelve years they have seen great improvements—better fire, police, and health services and several new parks, among other things. They know they are paying less, in tax rate or in actual total, than they paid before 1930 for inferior services. So they pay their tax bills cheerfully and promptly—more than 89 per cent of the 1941 taxes were paid in that year.

Teaneck's population from 1930 to 1940 increased from a little over 16,000 to more than 25,000, or 52.7 per cent, creating demand for more school buildings and more teachers, bringing the financial growing pains suffered by every fast-growing town. For 1941 the township government got only 31.7 cents of each tax dollar, the school district more than 51 cents, state and county the rest.

Teaneck likes municipal manager government as administered in Teaneck by Mr. Volcker. The election in May shows it intends to keep them both.

SAMUEL S. PAQUIN

Councilman, Teaneck, New Jersey.

Ohio County Citizen Groups Solve War Industry Problem

Every community has a large volume of social assets in its civic groups. In peacetime these units usually operate in their individual fields. When these forces are unified, however, they become a great and necessary force in the social crisis which war produces.

In December 1940, Portage County, Ohio, faced such a crisis caused by the location of the largest arsenal in the world within its boundaries.

In February 1941 the first group of construction workers arrived. The sudden influx of thousands of strangers into this agricultural community raised

innumerable questions. Inaction would mean chaos.

Recognizing the seriousness of the situation, an outstanding local judge called a meeting of leading citizens and laid a tentative plan of organization before them. He suggested an assimilation of the strangers by a social reconstruction of the community. To do it he proposed to establish a coordinating rather than a policy-making agency to organize into functional divisions all the social assets available in the county under a qualified director.

This plan met with general approval and was adopted. The governing body consisted of the judge who had presented the plan as president, the usual officers, an assembly, an executive committee of sixteen representative citizens, and an executive secretary, working as the **Social Federation of Portage County** (Ravenna, Ohio).

Immediate needs were determined and a division pertaining to each "need" was set up with a director, operating on a practical basis.

The first need was housing, so a *Housing Division* was set up. Within it a Homes Registration Office was established. Through newspapers the citizenry was asked to list with the Office any vacant sleeping rooms, light housekeeping, or dwelling units. The newcomers were then asked to apply to the Office for accommodations.

Today the Office staff consists of six clerks and two inspectors. Over 8,000 people have been placed throughout the county in various types of dwelling units. A dormitory for 488 girls built under a federal grant is nearing completion. Recently 4,050 federal housing units were assigned to this district through the efforts of our Housing Division.

The *Law Enforcement Division* is under the direction of the county

sheriff. It has a unique subdivision composed of the retail liquor dealers who organized for self-enforcement of liquor laws. This group agreed on its own constitution and by-laws, adopted a code by which members agreed to abide by local and state liquor laws, to refuse liquor to intoxicated persons, and whenever possible to take the keys of an automobile from such persons and see that they reached home by other means. They will not tolerate brawls or obscene language in their establishments. Much credit is due them for the lack of lawlessness in this overcrowded area.

The *Health Division* obtained federal grants for adequate sewerage, for an addition to the only hospital in the county, to meet the health menace of trailer camps and the health hazards of crowded living conditions.

The *Education Division* obtained a bookmobile to serve rural schools, girls' dormitory, and sections of the county without library facilities. It also found funds to meet increased enrollment and personnel requirements in the schools, as well as funds for vocational training and equipment.

Space will not permit description and accomplishments of the other divisions: *Welfare, Citizenship, Agricultural Relations, Government, Religion, Consumers, Safety, Aid to Industry, Recreation, Labor Relations*, and last but not least, the *T. N. T. Division*.

The objective of this latter division is to blast a somewhat complacent public to a full realization of the problems confronting the county, as well as the nation. Draftees leaving the area are given a royal send-off by the T. N. T. Division and leave with a firm conviction that their sacrifice is appreciated by the "folks back home."

When this period of turmoil and chaos is ended, the community will profit by having a competent and a

well seasoned organization with years of experience to meet the problems of readjustment that are bound to follow.

GERALDINE ADAMS,
Executive Secretary

Social Federation of Portage County

Roundup—

WITH the coming of the vacation season most citizen organization publications are filled with summaries of activities of the past year. A survey of these indicates that a large majority are gradually expanding their programs and correlating them as closely as possible with the national war effort. . . . One of the most ambitious and effective jobs along this line is an eight-page pamphlet entitled *Kiwanis Reviews the War Effort*, telling in words and pictures how "Kiwanis peacetime work is being converted to meet important war needs on home and battle fronts." It contains a number of ideas which would undoubtedly be helpful to smaller organizations still searching for their place in the present picture.

The **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs**, in the June issue of its publication *Independent Women*, sets forth an excellent program for local clubs. Under the general title "Our War Program," the federation lists four "battle fronts" with a series of projects to match. Helpful suggestions on the conduct of programs and projects are included.

Other excellent suggestions for wartime activities of citizen groups are contained in a challenging article entitled "There Is a Job for Everyone," by Harrison M. Sayre, which appears in the March-April issue of *Community Coordination*. Mr. Sayre outlines an admirable eight-point program of civilian mobilization which covers the field thoroughly.

If you feel, as many do, that your

local government is not handling the civilian protection problem adequately, your organization might stir it into action by following the example of the **Grand Rapids, Michigan, League of Women Voters**. That group issued a broadside asking the question: "What would you do in an air raid?" and then listed the telephone numbers of the city officials who were responsible and who should be called for directions and information. The resulting telephone calls were so numerous that the City Manager was forced to announce publicly that the air-raid protection organization had not yet been set up—but within a week concrete action had been taken to remedy the situation.

In another Michigan city, Royal Oak, the administration has taken its responsibilities much more seriously and has even issued a small illustrated leaflet on the control of fire bombs. In communities where this has not been done, a citizen organization might well take upon itself the task of preparing a similar leaflet in coöperation with the local defense council. Such a leaflet might deal with the same subject, or any one of the numerous others related to defense on which the public needs and wants enlightenment.

All too frequently, we think, citizen groups maintain for themselves and advocate for others a complete hands-off policy so far as participation in politics is concerned. So long as our present political system exists, such an attitude fails to get at the heart of many of our governmental ills, and the **League of Women Voters** has long recognized this fact. Though as an organization it does not take part directly in politics, it constantly urges on its members and the public in general participation in party affairs. . . . One illustration is a broadside issued by the **Wethersfield, Massachusetts, League** prior to the town meeting last April, which has only recently come to our

attention. Dates of registration are set forth, the reasons for becoming affiliated with one of the parties are listed, and information is given about the party caucuses. The whole thing ends up with a three-fold slogan: "Become a Voter—Join a Party—and Vote."

Too often because school affairs are administered separately from the rest of our city government, we are inclined to assume that they are untouched by politics and let it go at that. The June issue of *The Citizen*, published by the **Citizens League of Port Huron, Michigan**, presents convincing evidence that this is not always the case and a strong argument for greater public interest in the election of school board members and the administration of the schools generally. When you think of it from a long-range point of view there is probably no more constructive purpose toward which a citizen group concerned about the future of its community could devote its attention.

R. M. W.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Los Angeles County Defense Develops Worthy Model

THE role that counties must play in civilian defense has been made more graphic recently by the program developed in Los Angeles County, California. Forty-five incorporated cities and the villages and rural districts of the county are organized for civilian defense on a county-wide basis. The County Defense Council has seventy-one paid employees and a budget for the current fiscal year of more

than \$300,000. Although the county had refused requests of other government departments for more than \$1,500,000 for defense purposes, \$1,000,000 has been appropriated as a general reserve for emergency purposes. An additional sum of \$600,000 is provided for in an "unappropriated reserve" for defense or other emergency.

The Defense Council is composed of one hundred members which include the County Board of Supervisors, one representative from each of the forty-five cities, heads of twenty-two county departments, the chairman of each local council of defense, and others appointed by the supervisors.

Under the Defense Council is the Civilian Air Raid Warning Service, which is in constant contact with the U. S. Army Fourth Interceptor Command and the Army Information Center. Also there is a district warning center and civilian control room which through an elaborate county-wide telephone hook-up can work immediately with the sheriff's staff, the police and fire departments of each community, the public works and public utilities officials, the emergency medical corps, and the Red Cross organizations of every locality in the county. A county program for training auxiliary police is under direction of the sheriff, and so far thirty-eight cities have sent men to the school, while forty-one cities have provided air raid warning instruction.

County Reorganization in Oregon

A constitutional amendment is being advocated in the state of Oregon in order to permit reorganization of county government. The movement has the active support of the Oregon League of Women Voters.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith***State Aid Is Important
Local Revenue****30% of 1941 State Revenues
Went to Local Governments.**

A RECENT study of the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census shows that in 1941 state aid took 29.5 per cent of the revenues of the forty-eight states and amounted to 24.3 per cent of the total revenues of local governments.¹

The relative importance of state aid to local government varied widely from state to state, however, ranging from a low in Oregon, where only 5.9 per cent of state revenues were turned over to the localities and accounted for only 6.1 per cent of all local revenues, to a high in Colorado, where state aid took 44.5 per cent of all state revenues and accounted for 36.6 per cent of all local revenues. In Delaware state aid accounted for the highest percentage of local revenues—48.8 per cent, but it represented only 33 per cent of the state's revenues.

In all, the study shows, state aid to local governments amounted to \$1,697,814,000. Counties received 35.7 per cent of this, municipalities 30.4 per cent, school districts 33.9 per cent, and a negligible amount went to special districts. All told, 43 per cent of the total went for education, 24 per cent for public assistance, and 20 per cent for highways, with the remainder largely available for general purposes.

Especially significant, in view of the fact that numerous revenues of both

state and local governments will be reduced sharply for the duration of the war, is the fact that 54.5 per cent of the total state aid was returned to the localities in proportion, or in substantial proportion, to the amount collected therein.

Since motor fuel taxes and motor vehicle licenses were respectively the first and second most important sources of state-distributed funds, the close relationship between state aid and its distribution on a collection basis is especially important. Collections of these taxes have already started to decline, and very sharp reductions are prospective as the effects of tire and gasoline rationing and restrictions on the sales of new vehicles become more pronounced. In many states, in fact, the program of state aid can be very severely crippled by the decline in these collections, the only alleviating factor being that gasoline taxes are quite generally dedicated to highway uses, often for purposes which can be deferred without too serious consequences to the municipality or county.

For the states themselves the decline in gasoline taxes and motor vehicle license collections means problems of varying seriousness, depending largely on the state's own setup in regard to the dedication and use of these revenues. States in which gasoline taxes are needed largely for fixed charges before they may be used for general purposes will be especially hard hit, of course.

Federal aid, according to the study, amounted to \$851,005,000 in 1941, \$744,166,000 of this going to the states and \$95,850,000 directly to local governments, while \$10,989,000 went to the territories. More than half the federal aid was for public assistance and PWA, with highways accounting for the second largest payments. Federal aid was of direct importance to local government only in the shape of PWA grants,

¹*Federal and State Aid: 1941. State and Local Government Special Study No. 19, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. April 1942*

amounts going directly for other purposes being negligible although of course a sizeable portion of federal grants to the states actually found its way to the local level. There is also a negligible amount of locally collected revenue which goes to the states, \$41,192,000 in 1941, but this is chiefly pension system contributions, etc., and seems improperly classified as an inter-governmental aid.

U. S. Supreme Court Upholds New Jersey Municipal Finance Commission Law

One of the most constructive pieces of local finance legislation to grow out of the economic depression of the 1930's was upheld by the United States Supreme Court on June 1, 1942. In a decision by Mr. Justice Frankfurter the court ruled against a dissident creditor of the city of Asbury Park who sought to have set aside that city's debt readjustment program as approved by the state courts under the law.¹

The decision was of course of immediate importance to the city, since it ended litigation which threatened successful adherence to the city's debt composition and refunding plan, but it was more important in holding intact the state's system of fiscal supervision. Moreover, the sweeping language of the court was of especial interest to all those interested in local finance. Said the court, in part:

"The principal asset of a municipality is its taxing power and that, unlike an asset of a private corporation, cannot be available for distribution. An unsecured municipal security [i.e., a so-called general obligation or full faith and credit obligation—Ed.] is therefore merely a draft on the good faith of a

municipality in exercising its taxing power. The notion that a city has unlimited taxing power is, of course, an illusion. . . . In effect, therefore, the practical value of an unsecured claim against the city is inseparable from reliance upon the effectiveness of the city's taxing power. The only remedy for the enforcement of such a claim is a mandamus to compel the levying of authorized taxes. The experience of the two modern periods of municipal defaults . . . shows that the right to enforce claims against the city through mandamus is the empty right to litigate.

"How, then, can claims against a financially embarrassed city be enforced? Experience shows that three conditions are essential if the municipality is to be kept going as a political community and, at the same time, the utmost for the benefit of the creditors is to be realized: impartial, outside control over the finances of the city; concerted action by all the creditors to avoid destructive action by individuals; and ratable distribution."

The court pointed out that the New Jersey statute provided for just such essentials, and finally and firmly disposed of the objection that the law contravened the contract clause of the federal constitution as follows:

"Here we have . . . no security whatever except the effective taxing power of the municipality; the effective taxing power of the municipality prostrate without state intervention to revive the famished finances of the city; state intervention, carefully devised, worked out with scrupulous regard to the interests of all creditors, and scrutinized to that end by the state judiciary with the result that that which was a most depreciated claim of little value has, by the very scheme complained of, been saved and transmuted into substantial value. To call a law so

¹*Faitout Iron & Steel Company, et al. vs. City of Asbury Park. U. S. Supreme Court, No. 896, October Term, 1941. June 1, 1942.*

beneficial in its consequences on behalf of the creditor who, having had so much restored to him, now insists on standing on the paper rights that were merely paper before this resuscitating scheme, an impairment of the obligation of contract is indeed to make of the constitution a code of lifeless forms instead of an enduring framework of government for a dynamic society."

North Carolina Voids Special Assessments Under Statute of Limitations

An interesting footnote to this column's recent comments on foreclosure of property tax liens by proceedings *in rem* now comes from North Carolina, where the State Supreme Court has held¹ that because all actions to collect special assessments for local governments are *in rem* such assessments are subject to the state's ten-year statute of limitations.

The court held that the right to levy special assessments on property specially benefited by a local improvement is a right separate and distinct from the right to levy taxes, and that the sovereigns' immunity from the statute of limitations did not apply.

Local officials estimate that the decision may mean the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars in uncollected delinquent special assessments.

State and Local Government Debt Reported

Among the recent publications of the Bureau of the Census is the summary of state and local debt for 1941.² It shows gross state debt of \$3,370,000,000 and gross local debt of \$16,813,000,000,

figures respectively \$135,000,000 less and \$93,000,000 more than was reported for 1940. State and local debt combined in 1941 equalled 29.2 per cent of the total federal, state, and local debt of \$69,162,000,000. A year earlier state and local debt accounted for 32 per cent of the total public debt of \$63,196,000,000.

The report contains as usual considerable comparative data and tables on the individual states for long- and short-term obligations and for gross debt and gross debt less sinking funds. A disappointment to those interested in any realistic analysis of local debt, however, is the omission this year of any attempt to segregate that part of the local debt accounted for by obligations incurred for public service enterprises. Last year public service enterprise debt was segregated for a group of the larger municipalities, and since the annual publications on *Financial Statistics of State and Local Governments* now make this segregation it had been hoped that the debt publication might follow suit. The difficulties are admittedly considerable, but they must be surmounted if local government debt statistics are to be made meaningful.

A table in this year's publication relating public debt to national income is a striking example of the misleading results growing out of the use of gross figures which include public service enterprises; either local debt incurred for such proprietary enterprises as water plants, light and power systems, and municipal street railways must be excluded from the net public debt figures for cities having such enterprises, or else the debt incurred by private corporations for these enterprises should be included for the cities where private utilities provide this type of service. If adjustment is not made one way or the other, the figures are nothing more than fodder for the computing machines.

¹*Charlotte vs. Kavanaugh*. North Carolina Supreme Court, May 6, 1942.

²*State and Local Government Debt: 1941*. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce. April 1942.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

Cambridge Goes Forward under P. R. and Manager

*Attack in Yonkers
Greetings from Britain*

THE *Christian Science Monitor* for May 15 carried interviews on the first four months of P.R.-city manager government in Cambridge with City Manager John B. Atkinson and Mayor John H. Corcoran, both appointed by the proportionally-elected City Council.

Robert R. Mullen, who interviewed the city manager, referred to Mr. Atkinson's earlier responsibilities as American representative of the great Czechoslovak Bata shoe concern, as a major with the Yankee division during the first World War, and as a colonel in the National Guard afterward, and then continued:

"In Cambridge he stepped into a tough spot. City affairs had been deteriorating for some time, with the usual pattern of ascending taxes and descending valuations; that there had been graft and such was a matter of record. A mayor even had gone to jail.

"Even before affairs had reached this nadir of degradation, the people had determined to clean things up. They had adopted the so-called Plan E form of government, under which a council is elected at large by means of proportional representation. The council, in turn, chooses the city manager to administer the government. . . .

"It is a plan generally favored as the most logical available by students of government, by the National Municipal League, and similar organizations. It is the plan which has gained such

wide notice in Cincinnati and several other communities.

"Obviously, the key to the whole success lies in having a competent city manager and a council that will back him up. The responsibility that rests upon the Manager and Council in Cambridge is considerable. It extends far beyond the city's limits, because there are a great many American communities verging on the same plight as Cambridge, and if the thing can be worked out in Cambridge, it will give direction and purpose to those wishing to improve matters in their own towns. . . .

"During his first three months in office, Mr. Atkinson reports he was able to get 800 families off the city's welfare rolls and onto private pay rolls. The net saving to the city is in the vicinity of \$50,000 a month.

"Of course," Mr. Atkinson concedes, 'this could not have been done except that war made the jobs. Even so, there were some hurdles to get over. Some personnel men didn't want to hire people who had been on relief. They claimed, and possibly with some justice, that years on relief worked a change in people. But I pointed out that industry clamored for lower taxes, and that relief represented about \$10 in the tax rate, so it was up to them as a matter of civic duty to take the people on and help solve our problem as well as theirs. I spent a great deal of time making speeches along this line. We have found that once people get back on a private job and start getting a pay check, they drop the old relief viewpoint soon enough.'"

After discussing the complicated but necessary reclassification of the civil service that is under way to give equal pay for equal work, Mr. Mullen concludes:

"Mr. Atkinson is confident that the long trend of upward moving taxes can be reversed, that good business methods

can be successfully installed, and Cambridge made a happier place in which to live. Four months on the job have made him more confident than before. He likes the plan better the more he sees it.

"Especially does he like the proportional representation system of voting. 'You never would have gotten a real functioning Council such as we have without it,' he says."

The interview with Mayor Corcoran says that "As proprietor of the city's largest department store, he had long been dissatisfied with the way Cambridge politics had been slowly sinking. And doubtless his experience as campaign manager for Paul A. Dever, when he was running for attorney-general, and for John B. Lynch when he sought the Cambridge mayoralty post,¹ encouraged Mr. Corcoran to try to inject a few business ideas into Cambridge politics.

"At any rate, he was one of the nine councilmen named in the university city's proportional representation election. And, in turn, he was promptly selected as their chairman—Mayor of Cambridge.

"During the short period they have been working together, there have been some differences of opinion, but none so marked but that all problems have been harmoniously ironed out, Mr. Corcoran said:

"The morale of the citizens and of the city employees was pretty low last year, due to a series of unfortunate incidents. Taxes had been mounting every year.

"I think now, after four and a half months as head of the City Council, that there is a great deal more confidence in our municipal government than has existed for some years past.

I gather this from letters I receive almost daily to that effect.

"I don't for a moment claim that it is due to my own efforts, but rather to the type of work that has been done by the Council, the School Committee,² and the City Manager.

"There are no miracles to be performed, and I hope no one expects any. To my mind, it is just a plain business proposition, where everybody is trying faithfully, with no firings or pay cuts to be expected.

"Everybody thought that Cambridge was run down at the heels. The chief thing that has been accomplished so far, in my opinion, is the improvement in the morale of the citizens and the city workers.

"Industrial activity, largely because of the war, has been stepped up tremendously, and retail business has been very good. It has been the result of a general coöperative movement throughout the city, with everyone trying to do what he can to right the situation which so long existed here."

"Although Plan E did not win by a majority in the last election, there are four Plan E men on the nine-man City Council and all—whether Plan E men or not—are working together harmoniously to bring about a bigger and better Cambridge, according to Mayor Corcoran."

Two Repeal Proposals in Yonkers

On June 8 the Republican and Democratic party organizations in Yonkers, New York, filed petitions for competing city charter amendments to repeal the present system of nonpartisan council elections under P.R. Both petitions were accepted as sufficient and on June 23 the Council ordered both proposals

¹Former Mayor Lynch is also a member of the present Cambridge Council, elected with Mayor Corcoran on the Plan E Committee ticket.

²Elected also by proportional representation.

submitted to the voters at the general election on November 3. The City Manager League, which led the successful campaign for the adoption of P.R. and the city manager plan in 1938, and the city's principal newspaper, the *Yonkers Herald Statesman*, are opposing the repeal strenuously and a hot fight is anticipated.

The Republican proposal follows the outline of a plan submitted by former Mayor William J. Wallin. It provides for a council of nine, three elected at large and six from districts consisting of two of the old wards each, all elected by partisan majority vote after party primaries. The members at large would have two votes each.

The Democratic plan is similar in general but has a different arrangement of wards that would be more favorable to the Democrats in the makeup of the six districts and calls for five members at large with one vote each.

The *Herald Statesman* of March 7 greeted the announcement of the Republican attack on P.R. with an editorial entitled "War on P.R. during War upon the Axis," which read in part as follows:

"The Republican party—as represented by the City Committee's Executive Committee—steps forward with a declaration of war upon proportional representation and upon other features in the city manager charter. . . .

"One may reasonably expect that the Democratic party will not be long in coming forward as a powerful ally, and that the army of anti-P.R. will attract to its forces every machine-minded political figure in and out of office, even the strong Yonkers Lawyers' Association, which lent itself (perhaps innocently) to the launching of the present movement.

"Thus the community finds a new war declared—one which advocates of

good government cannot but line up to fight with vigor greater than that of the charter foes.

"Politically and psychologically, P.R. foes have picked 'a good time' to press their fight, for they well know that the community's mind is not at this time on normal government problems but on how to help win the war, how to defend our city from air raids or invasion, how to keep industrial wheels turning.

"Under such general war conditions, sabotage of the amended city charter becomes easier than when those conditions do not exist. . . .

"So the Republicans take their place in the arena and utter their cry of 'war to the death' on P.R.

"For our part, we'd rather have public attention continue riveted upon 'war to the death' of the Nazis and the Japs and other Axis cohorts, but certain very important parties in Yonkers are opening this new front, to serve their own purposes.

"Good government advocates can give but one answer. They must fight and win not only against the Axis but against the political machines."

A Message from London

On June 5 the following welcome radiogram was received by the Proportional Representation League from John H. Humphreys, veteran secretary of the British P.R. Society:

"Proportional Representation Society annual meeting, third June, sends cordial greetings to fellow reformers in America. Justice, for which so many are making the supreme sacrifice, should be the foundation stone of all elections in a democratic postwar world.

HUMPHREYS

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

The Road We Are Traveling, 1914-1942. By Stuart Chase. New York City, Twentieth Century Fund, 1942. 106 pp. \$1.

In this brief economic and social interpretation of recent history Stuart Chase performs a function that Harold D. Lasswell considers vital to the democratic process—that of “clarifier.”¹

Mr. Chase untangles the confused pattern of the last quarter century and outlines in clear, compact, vivid style the important economic and social trends that will bear upon the organization of the postwar world.

This is the first of several brief books to be published by the Twentieth Century Fund in which Mr. Chase is given a free hand “to lay out, as clearly as can be done, what the economic problems of the peace are likely to be,” says A. A. Berle, Jr., in the Foreword.

To this reviewer it is not particularly important that some economists will disagree with Mr. Chase’s interpretations. It is of real importance that this kind of introduction to the problems of the postwar world is most likely to stimulate discussion among free peoples out of which solutions eventually will come.

In fifty pages Mr. Chase outlines not bare facts but important conclusions to be drawn from the “Pattern of Change, 1914-1942.” Out of a brief review of an amazingly complex period of transition Mr. Chase pulls “eleven great economic trends of our age”: The advance of technology, the halting curve of population, the closing frontier in the United States, growing interdependence, the gathering threat of unemployment, the decline in private investment oppor-

tunities, the decline of the free market, the growth in propaganda, the advance in mechanized warfare, the growing domination of central government, and the advance of autarchy (national self-sufficiency).

Against this background of causes and effects Mr. Chase sets up a series of postwar goals for America. They include security and an end of the paradox of plenty; employment for all, at useful work rather than leaf raking; giving the individual a sense of belonging and taking part in a community, a deep-lying satisfaction uprooted in many cases by mass production; fulfilling the general desire for physical comforts now available through mass production; providing leisure time enjoyment and educational advantages; guaranteeing freedom to select jobs, homes, and goods; guarding democratic elections, free speech.

Mr. Chase sees plenty of problems ahead in reaching these goals. He believes we may have to face a postwar ground-swell for a return to “normalcy,” but he does not think that demand will make sense and he does not think it will overcome the fact that we live in a new world where familiar terminology like “capitalism” and “collectivism” will be meaningless.

He concludes that whether we like it or not a planned economy is on the way, but for later clarification he leaves the most difficult problems of how we can work out the solutions to recent democracy-shaking trends which will be necessary to reach the postwar goals he sees for free individuals.

And in another prediction he senses the future like this:

If you hold your ear close to the ground, you can hear a muffled roar echoing around the whole world.

¹*Democracy Through Public Opinion*, New York, George Banta Publishing Co., 1941.

It does not come from bombs, or thunder on the Russian front. It is the voice of the people demanding security and an end to the paradox of plenty. It is the revolt of the masses asking for the food which farmers let rot upon the ground or dump into the streams. This subterranean roar is the most powerful force in the world today. Statesmen who listen to it will be upheld. Statesmen who shut their ears will be buried, no matter how lofty their sentiments about freedom and initiative.

His language makes it an anti-climax to say that every individual, every local and state government, as well as the national government, must prepare now to contribute positively toward the postwar age in the making. To wait will be too late. As Mr. Chase observes: "We are more likely to win the war if we have a clear idea of goals for the peace. Men fight better when they know for what they are fighting."

E. N. T.

The Municipal Year Book 1942.

Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1942. x, 685 pp. \$8.50.

It becomes somewhat repetitious to describe *The Municipal Year Book* each year as "indispensable" but the fact is that no volume in the National Municipal League's library is referred to as regularly and as frequently as is this one. Indeed, it is never sufficiently at rest to find its way to a shelf in the library until it is a year old and a new issue has come to take its place.

Since the *Year Book* first was published in 1934, it has contained a wealth of vital information about municipal government which is found nowhere else between two covers and much of which is not obtainable elsewhere without considerable effort and study. It definitely is indispensable to the city

official, the student of government, and to the citizen who is interested in knowing how his own city's operations compare with others.

Considerable new material of a timely nature has been added to this year's *Year Book*, including data on defense councils, on kind and extent of salary and wage increases for municipal employees, on city planning agencies, on parking lots and parking meters, and on governmental units in the 140 metropolitan districts in the United States.

Much of the essential data and detailed statistics which are frequently referred to are repeated, brought up to date, from previous issues. There is also a highly useful index which includes references to material which appeared in the eight preceding issues but is not repeated in the 1942 edition.

A. W.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Functional and Cost Accounting in Baltimore. By Irving Tenner. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1942. 24 pp. 50 cents.

Assessments

Assessment Organization and Personnel. Report of the Committee on Assessment Organization and Personnel. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1941. xvi, 429 pp. \$3.75.

A System for County-wide Assessment of Property. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1942. 24 pp. 10 cents.

City Clerks

A Manual for City and Village Clerks

in Wisconsin. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1942. 144 pp. \$1.

Defense

A Civilian Defense Volunteer Office—An Official Arm of the Local Defense Council. What It Is. How to Organize It. What It Does. Washington, D. C., United States Office of Civilian Defense, 1942. iv, 24 pp.

Non-Government Sources of Information on National Defense (Preliminary Edition). Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, U. S. Office of Education, 1942. xi, 44 pp.

Democracy

How You Can Make Democracy Work. By Eugene T. Lies. New York City, Association Press, 1942. x, 131 pp. \$1.75.

Self-Government under War Pressure. Proceedings of the Citizens' Conference on Government Management, Estes Park, Colorado, June 25-28, 1941. Edited by A. D. H. Kaplan. Denver, School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, University of Denver, 1942. ix, 304 pp. \$3.

Highways

The State Highway Commission of Indiana—A Study of Organization and Functions. By Lawrence H. Wendrich. Bloomington, Indiana University, Department of Government, The Institute of Politics. iii, 40 pp. 25 cents.

Housing

A Program for Housing Workers in War Industries. Recommendations of the National Committee on the Housing Emergency. New York City, National Committee on the Housing Emergency, 1942. 30 pp. 10 cents.

Municipal Government

Recent Trends in Municipal Government in the United States. By A. D.

H. Kaplan. Toronto, Dalhousie University, 1941. 19 pp.

Small Town Manual. Part I—How You Can Win the War at Home; Part II—How You Can Improve Business in Your Town. Washington, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1942. 86 pp.

Ordinances

Indexing Borough Ordinances. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1942. 15 pp. 10 cents.

Personnel

History of the Federal Civil Service 1789 to the Present. By United States Civil Service Commission. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. x, 162 pp. 25 cents.

Planning

Better Cities. By Charles S. Ascher. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1942. 22 pp.

Budget for Los Angeles City Planning. A Report by The Planning Section Prepared by Gordon Whitnall and John D. Hackstaff. Los Angeles, Town Hall, 1942. 4 pp.

The Elma Survey. Conducted and Prepared by the Washington State Planning Council in Coöperation with the People of the Elma Region and Assisted by Private, County, State, and Federal Agencies. Olympia, Washington State Planning Council, 1941. ix, 166 pp., maps, charts.

Master Plan of Shoreline Development, Orange County. Santa Ana, California, 1942. v, 85 pp. \$1 (Free on request to universities and to federal, state, county, and city planning departments).

Public Administration

General Appraisal Standards and Methods for Measuring Public Admin-

istration. By Douglas Clack. Bloomington, Indiana University, Department of Government, The Institute of Politics. 23 pp. 25 cents.

The Minnesota Commission of Administration and Finance 1925-1939. An Administrative History. By Lloyd M. Short and Carl W. Tiller. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1942. xiii, 160 pp. \$2.

Taxation and Finance

Federal and State Aid: 1941.¹ Patterns of Intergovernmental Fiscal Transfers; Aids by Source, Purpose, and Unit Receiving; Comparisons Among States and Functions; Definition and Classification of Types; Trend of Fiscal Aids. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1942. 51 pp.

Marriage and the Income Tax. By Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1942. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Procedure for the Receipt and Disbursement of Public Moneys. Report of the Committee on Procedure for Receipt and Disbursement of Funds. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1942. 15 pp. 35 cents.

State and Local Government Debt: 1941.² Total Public Debt, Debt Trends, Per Capita Debt, Bond Maturities, Interest Payments, Types of Liabilities, Intergovernmental Relations, Debt of States and of Specified Local Governments. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1942. vi, 52 pp.

Tax Delinquency, 1930-1941. Cities of over 50,000 Population. By Frederick L. Bird. New York City, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1942. 36 pp. \$2.

¹For a review of this publication see p. 411 this issue.

²For a review of this publication see p. 413 this issue.

Taxing Municipals by Federal Statute—The Real Issue. An Address by Austin J. Tobin. New York City, Conference on State Defense, 1941. 25 pp.

Trade Barriers

Interstate Trade Barriers and Michigan Industry 1941. By E. H. Gault and E. S. Wolaver. Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1942. iv, 42 pp. 10 cents.

HOUSING BRITISH WAR WORKERS

(Continued from Page 382)

war housing program is using prefabricated materials; thus the advantages of assembly-line production are finally being brought to housing. In both countries wide-scale decentralization of industry has occurred with too little attention to available housing in the immediate vicinity.

In Great Britain the Uthwatt Expert Committee has issued several reports with respect to "public control of the use of land."¹⁰ The Committee has been studying the problem of reconstruction and the attending difficulties of large-scale site assembly to effect re-planning for entire districts. In this connection the Government has established a National Planning Authority attached to the Ministry of Works. It is still too early, however, to know what forms community planning and rebuilding will take after the war.

¹⁰*Housing and Planning News Bulletin*, September-October 1941; *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, February 1942, p. 57.

NOTE.—The authors wish to express their appreciation to the members of the staff of the British Library of Information for their courtesy in making materials available.

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Walter J. Millard

September 1942

Vol. XXXI, No.

(August and September combined)

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 8

Total Number 314

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

48th National Conference Cancelled in Favor of Curtailed Meeting

In view of repeated requests from Washington that conferences and conventions which are not "definitely needed in furthering our war effort" be cancelled it has been decided that the National Municipal League, for the first time in its history, will hold no full-fledged national conference this year.

Instead there will be a meeting of the League Council, with the probable addition of meetings of two or more of the League's committees which are actively coping with war-connected and postwar problems.

It is tentatively planned to hold this meeting, of one day's duration instead of the usual three, in New York City. While there will be no attempt to encourage a large attendance, it is planned to have some sessions which will be open to all League members and others who find it convenient to attend. The League's Executive Committee will set the date later and make it coincide, if possible, with a time when President John G. Winant is in the United States on one of his infrequent leaves from his post as Ambassador in London.

The decision to curtail the scope of the Forty-eighth Annual National Conference on Government was reached after all members of the League's Council had been polled. Only two members advised discontinuing the conference for the duration of the war. Three favored holding the conference as usual on the grounds that the League's objectives and its history of accomplishment made the holding of the conference justifiable.

"The answer seems to me to be in the question, 'What are we fighting for?'," wrote Francis V. Keesling of San Francisco. "Nothing that may result beneficially to government should be neglected."

Urging that the conference be held if at all possible, Rev. Edward Dowling of St. Louis wrote, "The League is the best builder of civilian morale, confidence in government, and resulting vertical unity that exists. The lack of it in India is costly."

Mark Matthews, of Washington, former national president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, felt that "the conference should be held, because an intelligent interest in governmental problems is needed during war-times even more than at any other time."

The decision of the majority of the Council members to curtail the 1942 conference was made on the grounds that, while setting an example of compliance with the government's request, the League would still be able to make important contributions to the solution of war and postwar problems through the work of its committees, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and other publications, and staff assistance to local and state civic organizations and public officials.

REVIEW'S State Correspondent for Colorado Dies

It is with great regret that the REVIEW announces the death on July 19 of Dr. Don C. Sowers, state correspondent for Colorado and a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League. Dr. Sowers was secretary-treasurer of the Colorado Municipal League, for whose reorganization in 1923 he was largely responsible. He was also professor of finance at the University of Colorado and director of the University's Bureau of Business and Government Research, Extension Division.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Make America Strong

EVERYWHERE today intelligent people are asking themselves, "What can I as an individual do to help preserve democracy?" In a world where events move with breath-taking speed and where issues have become involved and complex, the individual frequently feels helpless.

Probably the greatest sense of release comes to those who go into the armed forces. Many others go into one of the civilian defense services which, if needed, will be desperately needed and which, whether finally used or not, provide opportunity for unselfish service clearly beneficial not only to the community but especially to the participating individual.

Both of these combined, however, make use of a comparatively limited portion of the people. The great bulk of the population still feels oppressed by a sense of powerful forces at work over which no ordinary citizen can have much influence.

Contemplating the national government, the average person feels overwhelmed by the vast sums handled daily and the prodigious proportions of the whole governmental process. Public opinion polls indicate pretty clearly that what is popularly desired from Washington just now are commands, strong action, and bold leadership. There is impatience with rumors and trial balloons designed to test popular sentiment.

Still the average person yearns to make some tangible direct contribution. He is told and he believes that

only by making American democracy strong can he be sure it will withstand the impact of the hostile forces and ideas which aim to destroy it.

"Make American democracy strong" is a good slogan whose weakness as well as virtue lies in the fact that it means all things to all people.

One thing it should very clearly mean is that our system, to be strong, must be strong at its roots—the thousands of communities which make up the nation. How make them "strong"? When everything has been said about efficiency, economy, honesty, merit systems, sound administrative and financial procedure, and the other integral parts of good government, it all comes back to the need for active, intelligent participation on the part of all the people.

To adapt the Biblical adjuration, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God . . . and all these things shall be added unto you," it is demonstrable that in general those communities in which there is the greatest civic interest and activity emerge with effective, satisfactory governments.

The soundness of local government is vital now, as always, not only because it is closest to the people in the services it performs and because, collectively, it makes up the whole, but also because it is the breeding ground of political organizations which control the nation—a nation which looms constantly larger in the world scene.

After we have done everything pos-

sible to support the successful prosecution of the war, the advice of Ambassador John G. Winant will remain significant: "It will not help win the war for local civic leaders and local

civic organizations to curtail their efforts at this time. Continued support of civic progress is a protection for the present and a sound investment in the future."

Consolidation Through Cooperation

ONE of the most difficult problems encountered in efforts to eliminate waste and inefficiency in the conduct of local affairs is the stubborn and sustained resistance to the idea of consolidation or even of cooperative effort.

It has been widely recognized for many years that pitifully few of our 175,000 units of government which have separate taxing and spending powers have resources large enough to permit them to organize in such a way and to hire sufficiently capable employees as to enable them to render services most efficiently.

Shall we combine several counties which between them have a smaller population than is found in one city neighborhood? Shall we consolidate the overlapping governments of a city and a county whose populations are virtually identical? Shall we even do such an obviously desirable thing as including buying for the schools in a city's centralized purchasing system?

The answers to these questions have almost invariably been "No," and it is especially disturbing to have to note that there is seldom even a pretense of basing the decision on a high resolve to preserve local self-government.

Against this background of years of discouraging failure it is therefore heartening to contemplate the

successful experience of more than one hundred units of local government in using a cooperative service organization to handle billing for electric service.¹

There have been other examples of regional, intercommunity, and city-county cooperation but most of them have been comparatively limited in scope. This piece of effective pioneering, while applied definitely to a local service, extends into five states. It has the great advantages, first, of dealing with a service which springs from a common source, and, second, of being in on the ground floor of a new venture which was completely unhampered by outdated boundaries and petty traditions.

Despite these rare conditions which saved it from the usual blight of local prides, prejudices, and political prerogatives, this experiment has succeeded so well it is likely to set a pattern which will bring about similar actions needed so desperately elsewhere. It demonstrates that local governments need not be destroyed, county seats need not be abandoned, and local traditions need not be violated in the process of bringing to rural America the sound efficiencies of large scale operation available to densely populated urban areas.

¹See "Coöperation Pays Dividends" in this issue, p. 431.

Short Rations for Local Government

Everything points to curtailment of expenditures for the operation and maintenance of our municipalities.

By **THOMAS H. REED**
Municipal Consultant

WE HAVE been consuming about \$7,000,000,000 worth of local government a year. We are going to have to consume much less, measured in service if not in dollars. It is too much to expect that business as usual should prevail at the city hall when all other peacetime activities are being curtailed. The downward course of the standard of living cannot but affect communal as well as individual spending.

This will not come about through federal rationing of local government. The OPA will not put a ceiling on real estate taxes. Inexorable forces, however, will compel curtailment. Some of these forces have long been in operation. For some years now financial demands on local government have been increasing faster than strictly local sources of revenue. From 1930 to 1939, for example, the cost of operation and maintenance in cities of 100,000 or more increased 26.36 per cent while local tax collections increased only .75 per cent and the assessed valuations on which they were based decreased 20.11 per cent.¹

Though comprehensive statistics are lacking, no well informed observer doubts that this tendency has been much accentuated by the war. A

general rise in commodity prices has affected municipal purchases. This rise has not been limited to the 15 per cent increase in the cost of living so much talked of, but is better indicated by the combined index of wholesale commodity prices which rose from 80 (based on 1926) in December 1940 to 98.8 in April 1942.² This is an increase of 24.5 per cent.

The upward movement of the cost of living has brought with it widespread increases in local government salaries. Wage increases for New York City transit workers alone aggregated \$6,500,000 in this year's budget. At the same time needs of civilian defense have created a new category of now unavoidable expense. Civilian defense expenditures are already considerable, and if destructive raids occur they will rise to critical importance. In those localities to which defense industries or military establishments have brought considerable increases in population, expenditures for ordinary local works and services have expanded enormously. Relief expenditures have shrunk but not often proportionately to the increases necessitated by war conditions in other fields.

¹Thomas H. Reed, *Federal-State-Local Fiscal Relations*, Municipal Finance Officers Association, Chicago, 1942, p. 19.

²U. S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, February 1942, p. S3, and June 1942, p. S3.

On the other side of the ledger, revenues from local sources, which in the early days of defense recovery showed a general upward trend, are now pointed sharply downward, except in the more active defense centers. "Priorities depression" from small beginnings in 1941 has spread to thousands of enterprises. The effects of the order, stopping as of June 13 use of iron and steel in the making of 400 commodities by 40,000 manufacturers, are just beginning to be felt. There is little prospect that these small manufacturers will ever be absorbed in the war effort. Their collapse has depleted and will deplete still more the revenues of thousands of cities, towns, and villages, like mighty New York and tiny Torrington, Wyoming, in which war orders have not offset the universal slackening of production for civilian needs. In the defense centers themselves expanded demand for works and services is, in general, outrunning the expansion of local sources of revenue.

Grants-in-Aid Will Decline

Down to 1941 the increasing dislocation between local financial requirements and local revenues was made up by larger and larger grants from state and national governments. From 1930 to 1939 grants increased 273.74 per cent for cities of 100,000 or more.³ In 1941 they amounted to 24.3 per cent of all local government revenues.⁴

Any municipality, however, which is relying on further increases of federal and state aid is in for a severe

shock. State revenues, which are much more responsive to business conditions than local revenues, showed substantial surpluses in 1941 but are now on the toboggan. On the average the states derive 40 per cent of their tax income from gasoline taxes and automobile licenses. Everyone knows what is happening to these sources of revenue. Another 15 per cent comes from sales taxes. Restrictions on the use of critical materials in the manufacture of hundreds of commodities is removing them from the market. At the same time payment of federal taxes and purchase of war bonds are rapidly reducing the portion of private incomes available for the purchase of consumers' goods. Receipts from income, tobacco, and liquor taxes will not be high enough to balance the loss in other sources of revenue. For the "duration" local governments must reconcile themselves to less state aid.

From Uncle Sam local governments are already receiving special forms of war aid but in amount far less than the war has augmented their expenses. The \$300,000,000 appropriated for "defense public works" by no means covers the aggregate spent by municipalities on capital improvements necessitated by war activities. Only to a minor degree has the federal government assumed current operating costs. The \$100,000,000 appropriated for civilian defense will do little more than provide part of the fire-fighting equipment and tin hats for air raid wardens. The major part of continuing civilian defense costs must be borne locally.

The payments which the federal

³Reed, *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.

⁴U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Federal and State Aid*, 1942.

government makes in lieu of taxes on its properties are invariably below the cost of servicing them. It has recently raised the lieu-payments on defense housing projects to the equivalent of local taxes on similar properties in private ownership. This is an act of simple justice but it does not prevent cities from sinking deeper in the financial mire for every unit of defense housing constructed, since the full local taxes on private homes of similar value are never sufficient to compensate for the services rendered to their occupants.

By exempting from local personal property taxes the costly machinery of plants whose construction has been financed by subsidiaries of the RFC but which are operated for profit by private enterprise, the federal government has put another obstacle in the way of local revenues ever catching up with wartime expenditures.

Finally, one customary source of federal aid, the WPA, is being rapidly curtailed. This is depriving local governments not only of help with the stubbornly persistent relief problem but of a cheap means of carrying on numerous routine activities.

The United States Conference of Mayors is behind an effort to rectify what, seen from the municipal point of view, is the injustice of the present federal attitude. Through its finance board the conference adopted a series of resolutions which called on the federal government to pay "to municipal governments amounts fairly representative of the cost of services rendered by municipal government to property in the local communities used for war purposes, whether owned or operated by or for the federal gov-

ernment or the government of any allied nation."⁵ Wishing the Conference of Mayors success, it is doubtful if any substantial change in federal policy can be brought about in the present crisis.

What Is Solution?

It seems likely, therefore, that the gap between local revenues and local requirements will rapidly widen in the years of conflict and that municipalities will be left pretty much to themselves in finding solutions for their problems. Inexorable financial pressure will force curtailment of expenditures. The alternative of raising local taxes is as economically indefensible as it is politically impossible in the face of prodigiously increased federal taxes. To divert a larger portion of the income of the American people to paying the operating expenses of local government, if otherwise feasible, is not the way to make the largest possible portion of the national income available for winning the war. Nor would it have any effect in preventing inflation because by far the greater part of the money so diverted would return to circulation immediately in the form of salaries, wages, and prices paid for commodities and services.

There is another alternative to curtailing expenses—borrowing. It is equally objectionable economically and is a more insidious danger than tax increase because it often wears the cloak of political expediency. It may take one of three forms. The first, just accumulating a deficit, is so disreputable a procedure as to call for no counter-argument. The second,

⁵*New York Times*, July 10, 1942, p. 25.

formal borrowing on long- or medium-term bonds to pay current charges, is somewhat less disreputable but equally disastrous. Happily it is forbidden by the laws of many states. The third is the most dangerous because it carries no special moral stigma and little immediate damage to credit—the refunding of outstanding bond issues as they fall due. Any one who follows financial news knows that there is not a little of it going on. It should be strictly avoided except in cases of great emergency such as arise from collapse of revenues and other unpredictable circumstances, or, sometimes, badly arranged maturities.

Borrowing to pay current expenses promotes inflation for it creates new spending power. The President was right in including in his seven-point program to defeat inflation the payment of debts. This applies especially to municipal debts, for the holders of municipal bonds when paid usually reinvest what they receive. Paying local government debts, therefore, makes available large sums for investment in war bonds. A local refunding issue, on the other hand, competes with the Treasury's offerings.

There is a further purely local reason for not borrowing to pay running expenses now—the inevitable piling up of local capital projects during the war. Priorities and the obviously inflationary character of bond issues for public works have combined to put a stop to local public improvements except when necessitated by the war effort. The effect on current expenditures has been small. On the other hand, the accumulation of things to be done, together with the obvious

intention of the national government to promote local public works as a means of cushioning postwar unemployment, makes it highly probable that after the war most cities will need every ounce of credit they can muster. Failure to reduce debts and to put their financial houses in order now may seriously cripple local governments in the postwar period. No matter what comes municipalities with low debt ratios and high credit rating will be better off than those which have squandered their resources in a time of relative plenty.

Cities Must Economize

Everything, therefore, points to a curtailment of expenditures for the operation and maintenance of local government. This calls for the exercise of a great deal of judgment in determining how and where to economize. The future of local self-government and even of democracy itself may depend on the choice that is made of the means and objects of economy.

This situation offers a unique challenge to civic intelligence. Never before in this generation, except briefly at the very depth of the depression in 1932 and 1933, have we faced the prospect of general and indiscriminate reductions in local government services. That experience demonstrated the real dangers involved in the hasty pruning of local budgets by panic-stricken local authorities.

If such dangers are to be avoided, therefore, the public will have to take local civic spirit out of the moth balls in which it has been tucked away for the duration. We cannot depend on the unaided discretion of the common

run of city councils and county boards to do a scientific job of budget pruning. They will need help—the help of disinterested citizen leadership without axes to grind. They will have to be protected from the special pleading of both employee and outside pressure groups. It is obvious that the question of cutting teachers' salaries or abolishing teachers' jobs cannot be left to the teachers to decide or the reduction of park appropriations to a park commissioner. They see only one side of the case. In a free-for-all between the beneficiaries of appropriations over the remains of curtailed revenues, survival would be not to the fittest but to the strongest organizations and sharpest tongues. To get good results there must be arbitration by an enlightened public opinion.

How Cut Expenses?

There are two ways of reducing municipal operating expenses. The first is by improving administrative machinery; the second is by curtailment or elimination of activities or services. The first is much the best method if it will suffice. There are few things which local governments now do for the public which it is not desirable they should do. The principal services, such as police, fire, and health protection, water supply, sewers, waste collection and disposal, recreation, education, and charities, are essential to the welfare and efficiency of the community. Wartime is no time to allow these services to deteriorate.

The first step, therefore, is to see how much good management can reduce the cost of rendering these ser-

vices. This is not a layman's job. It cannot be accomplished by the application of ready-made formulae alone—even by the adoption of such well tried municipal health builders as the council-manager plan or proportional representation. They are like vitamins to the human system, but they do not themselves produce economies. They only create a situation favorable to their development. Economies in administration sometimes cannot be brought about by simple self-examination by local administrators themselves. One's own faults are hard to see. Getting undiminished results for less money often can be more readily accomplished by a survey by outside experts. The facts determined by such a survey should be submitted first to the local officials to give them the chance to solve their problem and get credit for it. The present need is not to drive one set of men out of office and put another in, but to put in effect methods and practices which will cut the cost of government. Only when public officials are obdurate to suggestion should their failure to adopt better methods be brought to the attention of the press and public.

In most cases this method can be counted on to accomplish substantial economies. There is a body of administrative principles, tried, tested, and generally applicable, but which civic lethargy has allowed most communities to do without. Some of the best known principles, such as the executive budget, merit appointments, and centralized purchasing, have been widely adopted in name only, to be perverted by politicians to their own ends. There is more than sufficient

scope for reducing expenditures by administrative improvements to justify every effort to that end. War necessity, moreover, supplies an opportunity to bring to pass modernizations which have been lagging woefully in the smug times of peace.

If, however, administrative economies do not suffice to balance the budget it will be necessary to turn to the curtailment or elimination of services. Here again expert opinion will be valuable—the opinions of specialists in particular fields being carefully set off against those of experts interested in the over-all success of local government. Allowance must be made, however, this being a democracy, for what the people want their local government to do for them. The whole range of activities of each local government should be graded realistically and the least valuable should be curtailed or eliminated in sufficient number to bring about the desired balance between revenue and expenditure. To stimulate and supervise such a task the best device is a citizens' council, founded on the lines of the Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy promoted by the National Municipal League in 1932, in which all organized groups—social, civic, and economic—are represented.

What Not to Do

Finance directors, mayors, managers, and council finance committees, driven unwillingly to the amputation of activities or services, are prone to apply the knife first to appropriations for the maintenance of streets, buildings, and other structures. These inanimate objects seem incapable of re-

prisals, though in the long run they strike back terrifically. At any rate they have no vote in next fall's election. This is, of course, bad economy. They proceed next, as a rule, to the activities last created, the new things, the "frills." If the juvenile court has just got a psychologist it is likely to lose him. The new-fangled crime prevention bureau of the police department will go by the board in favor of the old "get your man" type of police work. Yet these may be in truth among the most valuable of all local activities.

On the other hand, such devices as putting the fiction supply service of the public library or the garbage collection service of the department of sanitation on a fee basis may be rejected out of hand because of their novelty. Where custom decrees that ashes are to be collected from the cellar at about double the expense of the usual collection from the sidewalk there is certainly reason for re-examination of whether the public really wants that kind of service badly enough to pay for it. The re-examination, however, is likely to be perfunctory unless there is a citizen group earnestly behind it.

The end of a long article is not the place to suggest just what service changes should take place first in a financial crisis. In fact, no pattern could be laid down that would fit all communities. Every local unit must settle these questions for itself with what expert assistance it can get. What is essential is that the re-examination be open-minded and genuine.

On the other hand, bad as indis-

(Continued on Page 447)

Cooperation Pays Dividends

Action of over a hundred local government units in establishing a cooperative service is an encouraging development worthy of consideration by other local officials.

By M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

WHILE many public administrators and students of government have long recognized the advantages of coöperative governmental action, the prevailing attitude of local governments in the United States has been, until comparatively recent years, one of complete self-sufficiency. Local governments, for the most part, have performed their functions independently of each other.¹ The results of such practices are obvious. Services are duplicated at great expense, are inefficiently rendered, or, as is often the case in the poorer units of government, the public is denied essential services.

Fortunately, isolationism appears to be weakening its hold on local government. During the past decade many new relationships have been established between various levels of government. Not only have federal-municipal relations undergone drastic

change and expansion since 1932, there have also been important changes in relationships within the units of local government. "Local officials have sought more efficient and economical administration of governmental services through voluntary coöperation or mutual agreement among themselves."² While most agreements for coöperative action involve only a few units of local government located in one state, in some instances such agreements extend beyond state boundaries.³

One of the most interesting examples of interstate coöperative governmental action is furnished in the organization of a service coöperative by the public agencies distributing power supplied by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Soon after TVA power became available in 1934 several rural coöperatives, organized as non-profit corporations under the laws of Missis-

¹As late as 1938 one writer observed that in the field of purchasing "the rule in this country is that each government, be it a town, a city, a county, a state, or the federal government, purchases without regard for the buying of the other governments." Charlton F. Chute, "Coöperative Governmental Purchasing in the Irish Free State," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1938. On the subject of coöperative purchasing, see Chute, "Coöperative Purchasing in the United States and Canada," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1938; Stuart A. McCorkle, "State-Municipal Coöperation in Purchasing," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1938.

²William Seal Carpenter, *Problems in Service Levels*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1940, p. 39.

³For an extensive treatment of intergovernmental coöperation in California, see Frank M. Stewart and Ronald M. Ketcham, "Intergovernmental Contracts in California," *Public Administration Review*, Spring 1941, pp. 242-248; see also articles by Emil F. Jarz in current issues of *Public Management*; M. H. Satterfield and Hugh W. Urban, *Municipal Government and Administration in Mississippi*, Mississippi State Planning Commission, 1940, pp. 43-61; Carpenter, *op. cit.*, Ch. 2.

issippi, were set up for the purpose of acquiring and operating electric distribution systems. At the beginning, because their operations were too small to justify separation of the accounting, billing, and collection functions, the Authority performed billing services for them on a cost basis. As the operation of the coöperatives expanded, however, and as additional coöperatives and municipalities contracted for TVA power, this service was discontinued.

For most of the municipalities and coöperatives distributing TVA power, billing was not of sufficient volume to justify purchase of machine and other modernized equipment. This meant, therefore, that they either had to return to cumbersome hand-billing methods or work out some method of coöperation. The latter course was followed, and in April 1937 a service coöperative was established.

Central Service Association is incorporated under the laws of Mississippi for a period of fifty years. It is owned, managed, and operated by the cities and coöperatives that contract for services. The association is authorized to issue common stock at one dollar per share. Each city and coöperative contracting for services agrees to hold one share of stock for each five hundred accounts. The only value of this stock is for vote control, and stock must be returned to the association when services are discontinued. On April 30, 1942, 472 shares of stock were outstanding.

Government of the association is vested in a board of directors of eleven members. Board members are chosen by the stockholders, each

stockholder being entitled to one vote for each share of stock held. Six members are elected at large for three-year overlapping terms; the remaining five are elected annually, one from each of the regions into which the operating area is divided. Board members serve without pay but receive traveling expenses for attending meetings and conducting other association business. The board elects a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer annually, who are responsible for actual management.⁴

According to its charter of incorporation, the purpose of Central Service Association is "to promote, encourage, and aid in the fullest possible development and success" of coöperatives, cities, counties, and other public bodies engaged in the distribution and sale of electric energy by rendering to such agencies central services and furnishing them with certain necessary commodities and facilities.

Service at Cost

Central Service Association is a non-profit organization and its services are furnished members "at the lowest possible cost consistent with sound economy and without profit." Excess collections are returned to members through a reduction of rates or an increase in services. The by-laws of the association provide that its gross receipts be devoted to the

⁴Mr. L. H. Allen serves as president and general manager, and Miss Mabel Jensen as operating manager and secretary-treasurer. Mr. Allen was instrumental in organizing the association, and the billing operations have been under the direction of Miss Jensen since its formation.

following purposes in the order named:

1. Operating expenses and payment of interest and principal currently due upon obligations of the corporation;
2. The setting up of such reserves for depreciation, repairs, maintenance, expansion, contingencies, and working capital as may be reasonably prescribed by the board;
3. The anticipation of the obligations of the corporation not then due;
4. The reduction of rates and charges for services.

While the association establishes standard charges for services on the nearest basis to actual cost,⁵ its operating collections each year have provided an excess which is set aside as a refund to members. By March 31, 1942, the association had accumulated a reserve of approximately \$42,000 to be refunded. This amount does not include excess collections for the years 1937 and 1938, which have been refunded.⁶

Growth of Services

The principal activities of Central Service Association relate to centralized billing and other services closely associated with the distribution of

electricity. Each month the cities and coöperatives send their meter-reading books to the association's office for servicing. The association works all meter orders, makes a record of new customers, as well as of those who have discontinued service since the last billing period, and prepares the bills and customer ledger sheets. In addition, it accumulates statistics for a monthly statistical report and prepares supporting data for the revenue journal entries.

Many of the municipalities belonging to the association that own and operate water systems also have their water bills prepared by it. The general practice is to provide separate billing service for water systems, although in a few instances the association provides combined electric and water billing. Twenty-two of the municipalities, including TVA's town of Norris, contract for centralized water billing.

The growth in services furnished by the association has been phenomenal. In 1937 it furnished services to one municipality and three coöperatives, representing fewer than 5,000 customers. By March 1942, it was providing services for sixty-two municipalities, thirty-nine coöperatives,⁷ and three counties.⁸ The Ten-

⁵Charges for electric billing, for example, are made at the rate of four cents per bill for the first 1,000 bills each month; the rate then decreases one mill for each block of 1,000 bills to a minimum of 3.6 cents per bill for all over 4,000.

⁶The association began operations in 1937, with a loan of \$4,000. By March 31, 1942, the Association owned equipment and fixtures valued at more than \$65,000; its mortgaged debt on that date was less than \$9,000.

⁷Several of the municipalities and co-operatives serve more than one unit of government. The Gibson County Electric Membership Corporation, for example, serves consumers located in fifteen incorporated towns and eight counties. See, *Central Service Association News Letter*, April 16, 1942.

⁸Legislation authorizing counties to establish and operate electric distribution systems has been passed in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Only three counties, all in Tennessee, have

nessee Valley Authority, although not a member, has contracted with the association for centralized services for the distribution areas in which the authority has direct operations. On March 31, 1942, the total number of monthly electric and water bills prepared for participating municipalities and coöperatives approximated 272,000.

Excluding the four metropolitan areas (Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, and Memphis, Tennessee), each of which performs its own billing for the 40,000 or more customers it serves, the units receiving centralized billing and related services from the association represent over 90 per cent of all the local contractors purchasing electric power from the TVA for retail distribution. They are located in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. In order to provide prompt and adequate services to these members the association has established eight service units at conveniently located places throughout the area of operation.

Services Reduce Costs

Have the centralized services provided been satisfactory? Have they resulted in savings to the municipalities? Is their quality higher than if they were performed by the individual units? A partial answer to these questions is provided by the rapid increase in the number of cities and coöperatives contracting for such services. And in no instance has any contractor failed to renew his contract for services upon expiration.

taken advantage of this legislation. See, M. H. Satterfield, "The Growth of County Functions Since 1930," *The Journal of Politics*, February 1941, pp. 76-88.

All the cities and coöperatives of whom inquiry was made expressed the opinion that the services obtained from the association are more efficiently and economically performed than they would be if undertaken by each individual unit. This is the view expressed by the manager of the electric department of one of the largest cities receiving centralized services. He also listed an additional advantage. If the city performed its own billing services, it would be necessary to have an audit made. Centralized billing by the association eliminates this necessity. The city apparently has no intention of performing its own billing services "as long as Central Service Association continues to bill at the present cost and with the present efficiency." Similarly, one of the larger coöperatives receiving the association's services expressed the opinion that it would require three additional employees as well as the purchase of additional equipment if the coöperative performed its own billing and related services. This, of course, it does not plan to do.

The comptroller of the Tennessee Valley Authority, in commenting on the work of Central Service Association, states that it "has been invaluable as an agency for developing satisfactory revenue accounting and controls among the organizations it serves. It has also assisted in standardizing the application of rate schedules, thus facilitating the prompt preparation of accurate statistical data and relieving many of the municipalities and coöperatives of cumbersome hand-billing methods."

The success of the association's billing and related services has resulted in requests to render centralized services in other fields. Centralized purchasing, for example, has become an established activity of the association. Office supplies, equipment, office furniture, and accounting and report forms and schedules are furnished to municipalities at cost. The association has established a separate supply office in order to render these services in the most efficient and satisfactory manner, and through standardization it has effected savings for municipalities and coöperatives. Another service, inaugurated at the request of members, is the provision of group life and hospitalization insurance for employees of municipalities and coöperatives.

Services Considered

Other services have been requested by members and are under consideration. One such request is for the formulation and establishment of a retirement system for employees of association members. Considerable attention has been given to this subject, and actuarial services have been employed by the association to prepare and formulate a satisfactory plan of retirement to be made available to members. It has been suggested that such a system might be expanded to include all municipal employees, rather than just those employed in electric departments.

Another interesting proposal under consideration is establishment of a business service to provide cities and coöperatives with joint employees.

This service would be particularly helpful to those units whose requirements are such that a separate staff is not warranted.

The association issues a monthly news letter which goes to all members. This news letter not only carries information of interest to member units but also serves as a forum for the discussion of the work of the association and for the consideration of new types of activities.

Conclusion

Central Service Association appears to have pioneered in applying the co-operative principle to the furnishing of certain essential services more economically and efficiently than they could have been provided by each unit of local government acting individually. Services furnished are being continually expanded as the participating cities and coöperatives realize the advantages accruing from such joint action. By making the maximum use of equipment, trained personnel, and office supplies, the association is also making a further contribution at the present time by conserving available man power and equipment.

One of the serious problems confronting many local units of government is how to provide services involving the use of expensive equipment. The action of over one hundred units of local government in establishing a coöperative service organization is an encouraging if not unique development, and is worthy of consideration by other local officials.

Wichita Maps Program to Solve War Problems

By **RUSSELL E. McCLURE**
City Manager of Wichita

WICHITA, Kansas, which skyrocketed almost overnight to a population of some 160,000—as compared with 115,000 in 1940—finds its city manager government of twenty-five years standing face to face with many new and difficult problems.

To cope with the rapid expansion brought about by construction of huge airplane factories and other war industries, Wichita is now executing a program designed to streamline its government and to familiarize its citizens, new and old, with the many advantages of the manager system.

Opening the program this spring was a "Know Your City" week, held in April in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of council-manager government in Wichita. This activity was arranged and sponsored by the Public Affairs Committee, a group representing every organization in the city.

On the first day, Sunday, April 19, local churches coöperated, with ministers discussing the importance of good local government and its effect on the religious side of community development. During the week a series of radio broadcasts presented city officials who explained the functions of their various departments.

Street signs, bus posters, and

screen announcements in motion picture theaters called Wichitans' attention to the celebration. Climax of the week was an open house held at the city building for two days and evenings, with all municipal employees on hand to explain the services of their departments and to accept suggestions from the visitors. Colorful displays were arranged depicting achievements of all divisions.

A Successful Event

Other features of "Know Your City" week included: the installation of Wichita's new mayor, O. F. Sullivan; a luncheon meeting of the combined memberships of all Wichita civic clubs in honor of the city's twenty-five successful years under council-manager government; participation by members of the Junior Statesmen's Club who took over the positions of city officials for one day; and distribution, by the Public Affairs Committee through the school system, of 10,000 pamphlets containing an explanation of Wichita's form of government as well as other highly informative material.

It was agreed that "Know Your City" week was most successful and that similar events should be planned for the future. The reasonable cost of the activity was a good investment in a public education upon which the future of good municipal government rests.

Second step in the plan to bring Wichita to greater achievement under the council-manager system is the complete streamlining of the city administration. This reorganization,

EDITOR'S NOTE.—These articles continue the series on the manager plan begun in the July issue of the REVIEW. Wichita has completed twenty-five years of manager government; Clovis, Stoughton, and Muskegon Heights, twenty years.

the first major change in twenty-five years, is being effected by the Board of City Commissioners and the city manager.

Following a thorough survey of present working procedures a twelve-point program is being initiated:

1. Coördination of related services in the existing fifteen offices and divisions under five major departments, and designation of present officials to serve in the capacity of departmental directors reporting to the manager.

New Fiscal Program

2. Development of a modern, mechanized fiscal accounting and budgetary control system, conforming to the provisions of the law on uniform accounting and reporting.

3. Development of a uniform mechanized system of timekeeping, payroll and check preparation, and control of salary payments.

4. Coördination and pooling of administrative, accounting, and fiscal services in the Department of Finance.

5. Adoption of plans for reduction in city bonded indebtedness and gradual establishment of a pay-as-you-go system for capital improvements.

6. Extension of the merit system of examinations for entrance and promotion in the civil service, and provision of a uniform classification and pay plan and working conditions to assure like pay for like work.

7. Extension of in-service training and employee relations policies through further coöperation on welfare and efficiency measures and provision for an actuarially sound contributory retirement system.

8. Consolidation of maintenance and repair services for equipment owned by the city.

9. Extension of central purchasing of supplies and materials to all city departments and establishment of a coöperative plan for central purchasing of supplies and materials by all tax-levying agencies in Sedgwick County.

10. Standardization of over 750 city forms with reduction in number of sizes, weights, and grades of paper and with increased use of duplicating services.

11. Simplification and integration of present records and departmental reports and centralization of office machine services for all city departments in connection with addressographing, duplicating, microfilming, photostating, and mailing.

Public Relations Improved

12. Further extension of public relations program through establishment of an information and service bureau, the periodic issue of informational reports on municipal activities and services, the issue of a directory or manual of municipal activities, an annual "open house" for presentation of municipal services to citizens and taxpayers, etc.

This twelve-point proposal has been thoroughly discussed by department heads, the Public Affairs Committee as a representative group of citizens, and the entire employee body, and has been approved by all. While it is recognized that it will take some time to accomplish all of the points, it is expected that most of the streamlining will be completed by the end of 1942.

A part of the design to add to the success of the council-manager system in Wichita is a postwar planning program. The City Planning Commission, with the help of planning consultants, will map out projects needed after the war. New roads, bridges, resurfacing of streets, expansion of sewage disposal facilities—these will be some of the needs of Wichita when the emergency is over. Careful planning will enable Wichita to bridge the gap between war and

a return to a normal economy.

Council-manager government in the past twenty-five years has brought a steady growth, a fine record of service, and an honest, stable administration to the city of Wichita. It is now adapting itself to lightning-like growth and war industry problems. It molds itself to the needs of the times and, with a sound plan for the future, is looking ahead to even greater accomplishments in the years to come.

Clovis Manager Plan Ousts Politics

By JACK HULL, Editor
Clovis News-Journal

THIS little city on the high plains of eastern New Mexico is rounding out its twentieth year under the city manager plan.

During that long period of time, with all the exigencies that period of changes presented, the manager form was not found lacking in any particular.

This writer, who has served in the capacity of alderman under the aldermanic form and as commissioner [councilman] under the city manager plan, believes any comparison between the two forms from the standpoints of real efficiency and of protecting the taxpayers' dollars is decidedly in favor of the manager plan.

The first essential, of course, to the success of the manager plan, is the selection of a manager who is capable of handling the job.

The success of the system here, therefore, can be attributed to the

fact that each succeeding City Commission has made it a particular point to select a manager who is capable of handling the executive matters which confront him.

The manager is directly responsible to the City Commission for the proper functioning of every department of the city. He is the official head of all departments, in an advisory and directive capacity.

Fortunately, this city's managers have been men who had the happy faculty of giving all department heads the full play of their authority so long as their departments were functioning properly and meeting public demands. But when a department failed to function he stepped in and through his authority remedied its faults. If the shortcomings could not be remedied under the directing head, a new head was appointed with the approval of the City Commission. There has been no political bickering and very little political influence has been permitted to enter into the affairs of the city.

The latter phase—the elimination of politics in city affairs—it seems to me, is one of the strongest arguments in favor of the manager form. The manager is not a political appointee hence is not subject to political influences to any extent.

I do not believe there has been a city campaign since the adoption of the city manager form of government where strictly party lines have

been drawn in an election. Issues involved in election campaigns have centered around matters of city welfare rather than politics, and this has proved a healthful condition.

I firmly believe that if the issue of abolishing the council-manager form of government were ever to be submitted to the people, the plan would be retained by an overwhelming vote.

Stoughton Unites Town Meeting and Manager

By G. LESTER GAY
Stoughton, Massachusetts

TWO decades of successful experience with the town manager plan have placed Stoughton, Massachusetts, among those New England communities which were first to unite modern ideas of municipal management with the town meeting form of government.

Before adopting town management, Stoughton watched with interest the development of the plan in the neighboring town of Norwood. Its possible merits were planted in many minds. Moreover, the rise and fall in valuations and local taxation occasioned a certain amount of skepticism in Stoughton as to the prevailing methods of town government.

For a number of years Albert A. Mead, a prominent citizen of Stoughton, made a study of town government. As a result he became convinced that there must be a better form than the old system under which the town had operated since its

founding. After discussing town management favorably with numerous citizens, Mr. Mead was made chairman of a committee appointed to study the problem.

In 1921 this committee offered a bill before the legislature to establish a town manager form of government in Stoughton. The bill subsequently was enacted, and at a special election on June 11, 1921, the plan was accepted by the town.

The enabling act required the election of five selectmen, five members of a finance commission or finance committee, and five school committeemen—all to serve without pay. These officials together with the moderator of the town meeting were the only elective officers under the new regime.

The first town manager took office on March 1, 1922. Virtually all important departments were brought under the direction of selectmen and the supervision of the town manager, including the Water, Highway, Police, and Fire Departments, as well

as the Board of Health, the Overseers of the Poor, and the Park Department.

Major officers appointed by the selectmen and remaining outside the supervision of the town manager included the town clerk and auditor, treasurer and tax collector, assessors, and Public Library trustees.

All these changes, of course, met opposition from those in office and their families and friends; but "time heals all wounds," and a large majority of the townspeople has been sold on the manager plan.

On taking office the town manager assumed the duties of purchasing agent. Except in emergency nothing can be purchased without an order from him. Here alone, it has been said, the manager earns his salary by money saved. The Water Department, a drag on the town when the change came, has been modernized and long since put on a paying basis. Stoughton's supply system has been improved and enlarged, and the town boasts one of the best water supplies in the state. Other departments have been elevated in efficiency. The town has installed a sewer system which is also on a paying basis.

When town management became a reality, Stoughton had a bonded debt of \$260,500. Today its bonded debt

is so far below \$100,000 that it could liquidate at short notice. During the past twenty years the town has built a high school and numerous public works. A new fire station and new apparatus have also been acquired.

Stoughton, however, tries to stick to the pay-as-you-go policy as far as possible. The fact that the town can and has borrowed at lower rates than the majority of towns in Massachusetts bears testimony to its good management and sound financial standing. It has been a doctrine of the town manager to keep valuations down and to let the tax rate pay the bill. Consequently, Stoughton has built no town squares, million-dollar highways, or municipal buildings. It has not tried to "keep up with the Joneses."

The town manager has also lent his talent to the promotion of civic and community projects, and Stoughton people have eliminated waste, political chicanery, and discontent by having selected the right man to manage town affairs under the manager form of government. Stoughton's experience demonstrates that much depends upon the man chosen for manager. Once the manager wins the confidence and coöperation of town officials and department heads, the plan will have clear sailing.

Muskegon Heights Praises Manager Record

By ARTHUR J. O'CONNOR
Muskegon Chronicle

MUSKEGON HEIGHTS, Michigan, which this year observes its twentieth anniversary under the

council-manager form of government, is an excellent demonstration of the fact that the manager form of government is sound.

The Heights has had its ups and downs in administration and finance

but most of its difficulties stem not from the system but from personnel or charter provisions dictated because of personnel.

A modified form of the council-manager plan was adopted in 1922 with the city clerk designated as city superintendent, while the Police and Fire Departments remained under control of a Council committee. A full-fledged manager plan was defeated by the voters in 1918 largely because of Police and Fire Department opposition. Both departments were under one chief, an appointee of the mayor. The concession was made so that some form of manager government could be provided to act as an opening wedge.

During the decade from 1910 to 1920, the Heights had phenomenal growth, its population increasing 400 per cent. That meant additional facilities and in 1917 a sewage disposal plant and system was built, and in 1920, a \$324,000 bond issue was floated for water system improvements.

Both systems were apparently ill-managed in the beginning, judging from city records. Other departments, too, encountered financial difficulties and in 1920 it was necessary to issue \$55,000 in bonds to meet current obligations. Just before the manager plan was adopted it was necessary to issue \$85,000 refunding bonds because of insufficient funds in the interest and sinking fund account.

Those are some of the financial conditions which paved the way for adoption of a modified form of manager government.

When the new charter was adopted and the manager plan placed in oper-

ation, the then city clerk was named superintendent, a position he held for ten years, with the exception of 1924 when there was a complete turnover in the city's official family.

The same year there was an attempt to place the city on a "pay-as-you-go" basis, but this proved impossible because most of the Finance Department duties were under control of Council committees. The superintendent was helpless to stave off a financial collapse which he foresaw and which struck in 1932.

After ten years the modified manager form of government had failed to accomplish anything, or to prevent a financial collapse. Heights voters were not discouraged with the system, however, and decided on a change in personnel. In 1933 there was a complete new Council which named a new superintendent.

The new manager faced many difficulties with payrolls not being met in full and numerous bond issues, used to meet current bills, outstanding, and improvement bonds in default.

But with Council coöperation and competent administration, greatly aided by a windfall of delinquent tax receipts beginning in 1935, the new manager brought the city out of its slough of financial difficulty.

Even with those advances, the system was not operating properly and so in 1934 the voters adopted a charter amendment placing the police and firemen in a Department of Public Safety under direction of the superintendent.

Under its management of the last decade, Muskegon Heights has come

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Dangers of Metropolitan Decentralization

The issue can be solved only by frank discussion and careful examination of the entire problem by intelligent citizens of the city and its suburbs.

By **EDWARD BLYTHIN**
Former Mayor of Cleveland

THE problem of unification of local governmental interests is not nearly as simple a problem as some of its advocates believe. There are valid arguments on both sides; and especially strong sentiments against unification on the part of the residential suburbs.

As one sensible fair-minded woman stated, "I would rather see Lakewood remain a separate city; but I suppose it is a selfish sentiment from the community point of view."

The issue can be solved satisfactorily and permanently only by a frank discussion and a careful examination of the entire problem by intelligent citizens of the city and suburbs without interests to serve other than those of the community itself.

Cleveland's abnormally rapid growth in the last generation has had much to do with the creation of this metropolitan problem. This rapid growth came about because the world, and especially this country, in the last half of the last century entered upon what is termed the "steel age"; and Cleveland was in the center of that industrial movement.

As industry and population grew, congestion increased; and there naturally followed a new appreciation of open space, which was to be found only on the outskirts of the city. As this appreciation of elbow room grew, there started a definite separation of industrial and residential areas. Residents moved to the outskirts where land was cheaper and air clearer.

At first the city limits were extended to cover the outlying area to which

the residents able to do so were moving. Later, this process of expansion by merely extending the city limits came to an end. There was then substituted the process of forming a new municipal corporation.

Community Interests Grew

As the local communities organized under a village form of government, and began the practice of local self-government, they became interested in their local government, especially their schools, and insisted upon the maintenance of a separate existence. Many of these units grew into cities (over 5,000 population), and other villages came into being, until today there are thirteen cities and forty-two incorporated villages within the confines of the Cleveland metropolitan area. This means fifty-five separate municipalities, each of which maintains its separate government, elects its own officers, performs most of its own municipal services, levies its own taxes, adopts its own budgets, and vigorously fights to maintain its autonomy. Yet all are part and parcel of the one community, Greater Cleveland, in every sense except political.

Out of this situation many problems have developed for which no satisfactory solution has yet been found. What are some of the so-called metropolitan problems? Stated briefly they are the need for unification of urban interests and obligations in so far as they are essential to the community prosperity, upbuilding, and welfare. No one will deny the fact that we are all—city and suburbs alike—citizens of the

one community. We are mutually dependent upon each other.

Cleveland, the core of the community, is today surrounded by splendidly built up municipalities with boundaries so concealed by our physical oneness as to make it necessary to place signs to mark these municipal boundaries.

Public Services Integrated

Many public services essential to a metropolitan community cannot possibly be made effective, or be administered economically, except on a community-wide basis. One good example is that of an adequate, safe, and reasonably priced supply of pure water. Cleveland has assumed the task of furnishing water to the entire metropolitan area; but during the major portion of the last four or five years negotiations were carried on between the city and the suburbs as if they were competitors, trying to work out satisfactory arrangements relating to the water supply.

Another example is the disposal of the sewage of the metropolitan area, which nature and topography have determined must be handled by one authority. Yet it required many conferences and weary hours of negotiation in the last city administration to get an agreement on the equitable distribution of the cost of this service.

That raises the question, can we as citizens of Greater Cleveland cooperate in the important task of working out the solution of these community problems in a way which will be to our mutual advantage? I am convinced that we can, just as we all are now submerging our separateness and merging our community efforts in preparing for civilian defense. In fact, the time is rapidly coming when we shall be compelled by the sheer cost of local government, and the tax burdens of the national government, to work out

some form of unified administration which will be less costly than our present nearly one hundred units of government which are costing us more than \$100,000,000 annually.

The most serious problem of all is that which confronts the central area, the city proper. It is the decreasing property values, which are becoming so reduced by the outside growth as to make the tax income insufficient to maintain the needs of the major community and its increasing functions. The growth of residential sections beyond the city limits invites business and industry to move from the central area, thereby reducing values.

In the last decade Cleveland's tax duplicate has gone down about one billion dollars—almost 50 per cent. Well, what of it? one will say. Why are suburban residents interested? The answer is quite simple. Their prosperity depends on the workshops in this industrial area. A residential area cannot support itself—it is dependent upon industry. Cleveland's industries are vital to the prosperity and welfare of the entire metropolitan area and all of its people.

Cleveland Bears Major Cost

But Cleveland is called upon to make enormous expenditures for the common welfare of the entire urban district. Witness its expenditure of \$3,000,000 (supplemented by federal funds) to improve the Cuyahoga River and attract industry to and retain it in the river valley. Cleveland was for many years, and until recently, the only port on the Great Lakes not able to accommodate the largest lake carrier boats up to the location of its plants. This placed a tremendous burden on industry on the Cuyahoga River and seriously handicapped Cleveland industrial development in its competition with like industrial communities else-

where. Any burden on Cleveland industry is a detriment to all of us—city and suburbs alike. Any aid to Cleveland industrial activity is aid, directly or indirectly, to all of us. Cleveland has had to bear the cost of furnishing this aid to industry; but the entire area is now benefiting.

Another classic example is the widening of Carnegie Avenue which involved a large expenditure of Cleveland's funds for an improvement which has most heavily benefited suburban residents.

Witness the public auditorium, the stadium, and the airport. All original and maintenance costs beyond admission collections are paid by Cleveland citizens; but they are happily and properly used and enjoyed by the people of the entire metropolitan district. True those who patronize the sportsman's show, the grand opera, or the ball games, or who fly from the airport, help pay for the upkeep of these attractions; but the income from admissions by no means carries the load. The principal and interest payments, as well as actual deficits in operation, amounting to \$600,000 or more each year, are all borne by Cleveland taxpayers.

These Are Community Costs

Cleveland is now reaching the point where its reduced taxable values do not supply enough income to meet the increasing costs of these community facilities. As an illustration we cite the closed Central Viaduct, the disuse of which is causing great and serious inconvenience to thousands of people both in the city and suburbs. Yet the city is unable to raise funds for its rebuilding. It is today a metropolitan problem.

If the present unbalanced sharing of the burden of cost of these services is permitted to continue, the great workshop, Cleveland, will soon arrive

at the point where its revenues will not support its normal needs, with the result that decay will set in to the detriment and impoverishment of all of the residents and interests in the metropolitan area. Few of our people in Greater Cleveland realize the economic crisis now facing not only Cleveland but every large American city—increasing taxes, decreasing values, heavy debt burdens, added municipal functions, and new sources of revenue usurped by state and federal governments. Municipal finance officers everywhere are seeking some way to meet this crisis. It is a regional problem which should give us all concern.

The Road to Remedy

If this seems like a pessimistic picture, it has grown out of my actual experiences in public life in this community on both sides of the fence. I have watched these evidences of decay develop and it gives me concern. That is why, during my brief term as mayor, I sought to organize a representative committee from all parts of the metropolitan area and from all walks of life, to sit around a table for the purpose of analyzing this intricate and vital community problem, by consulting with the residents in every section of the community, by having groups of competent men and women delve into the various parts of the larger problem and bring back to the people a community program which would point the way for the solution of this whole metropolitan issue—a program which would include the political, physical, educational features of community life.

I am glad to see that my successor, Mayor Lausche, has already named a committee to study the physical planning phase of this problem. But the working out of a physical plan will be only one step in the program. There

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Researcher's Digest: September

Birth certificates and what to do about them; pot pourri of research reports showing that the mind of a researcher is full of a number of things.

Prove You Were Born!

Now that almost anyone, from an executive to a housewife, is liable to find himself or herself converted over night into a national defense worker, a heretofore inconsiderable piece of paper, the birth certificate, assumes a new and monumental importance. How to prove to the satisfaction of spy- and sabotage-conscious personelists that one was really born, and in this country to boot? The terrific amount of paper work involved in the search for this form of proof has led to a recent relaxing of the requirement that the certificate always be produced, but even so it is indispensable to one who would be in the armed forces and in many other defense connections besides. Well, then, comes the **Division of Administrative Management and Research of the State of Minnesota** to the rescue of harried officials who must help piece together proof of birth for the citizen who may have lost evidence of his origin in the San Francisco fire of 1906. The purpose of *Meeting War-time Demands for Birth Certifications* is "to suggest ways of furnishing accurate birth certifications in less time and with a minimum of cost." Basis of the report is an intensive investigation carried on in the Minnesota Vital Statistics Bureau, plus opinions and comments from various other state registrars. There are large charts presenting proposed methods of channeling work, plus model forms for expediting business and some businesslike explanatory text.

The agency which produced the report is something of an experiment in state government. Financed by a grant from the Spellman Fund of New York, it operates as a division of the

Department of Administration, which is headed by the State Business Manager of Minnesota. Function of the division, according to L. M. Guinan, its director, is to assist the business manager "through a constant analysis and re-examination of routine procedural methods in the various state departments, and through the study of state governmental functions and services, looking to the development of long range planning."

This 'n' That

Summer is a lean time for research publications, for even in wartime part of the reading audience is apt to be at the beach or longing for a cold shower. Here, however, is a winnowing of the topics that currently concern researchers, judging from the published evidence:

The **Pennsylvania Government Administration Service** has put out a *Manual of Procedure for Police Civil Service Commissions* in Pennsylvania, a result of a new merit system law that will change selection methods considerably in boroughs and townships of the first class;

Taxpayers, Inc., of New Haven reports that New Haven voters have just fifty-seven varieties of offices to fill on election day, that the New Haven charter is neither fish, nor fowl, nor good red meat, for it resembles not one of the four recognizable forms of city government, that, in sum, voters had better think about remodeling;

The **City of Cincinnati**, through its city manager, has just presented to the Finance Committee of the City Council an exhaustive analysis of relative costs of relief administered by the City Relief

Department as compared with the state of Ohio as a whole and with the industrial counties;

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** has designed a large double-page chart showing state administrative organization and has surrounded it with a couple of pages of textual explanation in the July 14 issue of *Dollars and Sense in Government*;

The **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research**, adhering to its policy of reporting only upon municipal news in its mimeographed memos, has lately been talking about such subjects as the ubiquitous Hetch Hetchy water supply tangle, civilian defense bonds, a refunding plan for the Golden Gate Bridge, and a street railway lease plan;

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, in *Citizens' Business*, has been concerned with highlights of 1941 city finances, removals in the exempt class of civil servants, city planning needs, the reduction of provisional appointments, urban blight, and all-out salvaging of tin cans;

Buffalo's Municipal Research Bureau is interested, in *Just a Moment*, in a division of real estate, 1942 elections, and local finances;

The **Detroit Bureau** writes a letter to the shade of a man who was mayor fifty years ago, explaining how the city has grown and what a headache it all is;

Kansas City's Civic Research Institute has done a lot of writing about housing conditions, which are overcrowded and substandard;

The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** expounds at length on re-

classification in the local fire bureau;

The **Providence Bureau** goes in for a review of public property control;

The **Schenectady Bureau** issues a series dealing with organization and operation of the bureau itself;

Des Moines' Bureau writes under the heading "Bugs in the Police and Fire Pension Systems."

Research Bureau Reports Received

Administration

State Administrative Organization in Missouri. St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, July 14, 1942. 4 pp.

Personnel

Manual of Procedure for Police Civil Service Commissions in Pennsylvania Boroughs and Townships of the First Class. Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1942. 60 pp.

Public Welfare

Caseload and Expenditures for General Relief by Counties for the State of Ohio, 1937 through May 1942. Cincinnati Department of Public Relief, 1942. 20 pp.

Vital Statistics

Meeting Wartime Demands for Birth Certifications. Minnesota Division of Administrative Management and Research, St. Paul, 1942. 50 pp.

Contributors in Review

THE author of *Dangers of Metropolitan Decentralization*, **Edward Blythin**, has had wide experience with metropolitan problems in the Cleveland area. Mr. Blythin was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1916 and has specialized in municipal law. He has been legal adviser for several municipalities for over a decade. In 1935 he entered the Law Department of the city of Cleveland where in 1939 he became its chief assistant. In January 1941 Mr. Blythin, named director of the department as a necessary qualification, succeeded Mayor Harold H. Burton, elected to the U. S. Senate, and served as Cleveland's mayor until the end of that year.

IN THE municipal government field for these many years, **Thomas H. Reed** (*Short Rations for Local Government*) needs no introduction. Dr. Reed has experienced in generous measure the practical as well as the theoretical side of government. He was secretary to Governor Hiram Johnson of California, city manager of San Jose, teacher of governmental subjects at the Universities of California, Michigan, and Harvard, and is a widely known municipal consultant and researcher. He is author of many books and pamphlets, the latest of which is *Federal-State-Local Fiscal Relations*, recently prepared for the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

PRINCIPAL Budget Officer in the General Manager's Office of the Tennessee Valley Authority, **M. H. Satterfield** (*Coöperation Pays Dividends*) has on several occasions given REVIEW readers the benefit of his wide acquaintance with the TVA area. Mr. Satterfield formerly taught government at the University of Nebraska; he has been field representative of the American Municipal Association and assistant state director and regional management representative for the Resettlement Administration. He is author of *County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States* and (co-author) *Municipal Government and Administration in Mississippi*.

SHORT RATIONS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(Continued from Page 430)

criminate slashing is, it is no worse than the uniform percentage cut—a method, popular with governing bodies, of passing the responsibility of selecting objects of economy on to the various divisions of the government. The straight percentage cut is a product of laziness, cowardice, and stupidity. It falls on the just and

unjust alike. It abrogates the basic duty of legislative bodies to determine the objects of expenditure. Yet they get away with it because it seems to be fair and arouses less antagonism than an honest facing of the facts.

If we are forced to give up with our lowering standard of living some of the things we have had at the hands of local government, at least let us drop first the things we want and need least.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

New Jersey Citizens Discuss Proposed Constitution

***Weekly public hearings
act as sounding board***

THE state of New Jersey is engaged in an informal constitutional convention. The "convention" is in the form of a series of weekly public hearings called by a joint committee of the legislature to sound out the sentiment of the people toward revision of their hundred-year-old constitution.

From fifty to eighty persons have made their way to the State House in Trenton by 10:30 almost every Wednesday morning since July 8, to stay through a full day of sweltering Trenton weather, all intensely interested in what others have to say and all making contributions which they hope may have a part in the future history of the state.

Citizens from every section can be found. Many represent statewide organizations of considerable weight, some represent smaller or scattered groups, and a few represent only themselves, but each has the privilege of registering his name and being heard.

Spokesmen for the New Jersey League of Women Voters, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, State Federation of Labor, State C. I. O. and American Labor League, New Jersey Consumers League, League of Women Shoppers, Communist Party, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, and other statewide organizations have appeared quite regularly to present briefs and oral arguments.

Discussion has centered around the

proposed new constitution presented to the legislature in May by the Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution,¹ headed by State Treasurer and former Senator Robert C. Hendrickson. The organizations named have agreed generally that the proposed revision is a substantial improvement over the present document. Testimony to this effect has been supported by arguments in favor of such innovations as biennial elections and sessions of the legislature, a legislative council, a four-year term for the governor, consolidation of state administration in nine departments responsible to the governor, curtailment of legislative patronage, the streamlining of the state militia under the effective command of the governor, a unified court system under the administrative supervision of the chief justice, a constitutional prescription for the merit system in state and local governments, a uniform fiscal year for all state departments, a single state budget unencumbered by a large number of continuing dedicated funds, etc.

The only substantial champion of the present constitution as against the proposed new one who has appeared regularly is R. Robinson Chance, a Jersey City lawyer, who speaks in behalf of the New Jersey Manufacturers Association. Despite Mr. Chance's inability to see any good in more than a few of the minor changes proposed, Henry W. Johnson, president of the Manufacturers Association, has declared that "the association reserves any recording of itself as for or against until the matter has been thoroughly discussed and revised in some respects."

Leadership of those favoring revision has been assumed by the New Jersey Committee on Constitutional Conven-

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1942, p. 343.

tion. The chairman of this Committee, Spencer Miller, Jr., of South Orange, has appeared as the opening speaker at most of the hearings to explain why the committee, representing labor, business, and civic organizations of widely varying views, was able to agree that the proposed "changes in the executive, legislative, and judicial departments constitute a forward step toward providing New Jersey for the first time with a frame of government based on tested American principles and adequate to modern needs."

The Revision Commission's plan calls for a vote of the people to authorize the legislature to act as a convention. Proponents of revision are, therefore, now asking the legislature for a law enabling the people at the November election to direct the 1943 legislature to prepare a revised constitution for submission a year later.

The current hearings are being held in pursuance of a Senate Concurrent Resolution adopted June 15 directing the joint committee to ascertain the sentiment of the people "concerning the proposals of the Revision Commission" and also "as to whether or not they desire the fundamental law of the state to be changed."

In view of the widespread participation in the Trenton gatherings and the almost unanimous agreement on the need for revision, it is hard to see how legislators up for re-election could justify refusal to give the people a chance to say whether or not they wish to vote on a new constitution. Opposition there undoubtedly is; but its failure to appear at the hearings indicates that it is mostly not of a kind to enjoy the light of day and full publicity. The committee knows, nevertheless, that it has a hard battle ahead. The covert character of the opposition does not make it any the less determined.

A substantial boost to the cause of

revision was given by the appearance on August 4 of a *Report on the Constitutional Courts of the State of New Jersey*. This independent study, by Dr. Ralph R. Temple, was undertaken at the request of the Revision Commission. Dr. Temple's statistical analysis of the business of the courts and his exposition of the lack of any system which could be properly called *the administration* of justice give convincing evidence of the need for substituting a modern, integrated system for the "most antiquated and intricate" court system in the English-speaking world.

JOHN BEBOUT

University of Newark

Withdraw Proposed Unicameral Amendment in Missouri

Petitions to place on the November ballot in Missouri an amendment¹ providing a one-chamber legislature instead of the two present houses were filed with the Secretary of State in Jefferson City on July 1. Wholesale defects in the petitions were found to exist, however, and the sponsoring committee voluntarily withdrew its request to place the measure on the ballot.

Leaders of the movement were evidently grossly imposed upon by hired workers in the state. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* stated editorially on July 14:

Bizarre revelations of fraud come from Springfield. Women and girls, supplied with telephone and city directories from all over the state, wrote thousands of names on scores of sheets of petitions. They were unwitting hirelings of two men who had collected a considerable fee from the promoting organization, the Crusaders, for their work of securing the necessary signers to put the proposition on the ballot. Both men have been arrested, charged with fraud.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1942, p. 345.

It is a brazen story of forgery in which, we are certain, the Crusaders and other leaders in the state movement had no part. They were imposed on by the men in Springfield whom they had hired to perform the laborious leg work of rounding up names on the petitions. This is a frequent practice, but, unfortunately, they hired the wrong men.

The amendment itself has been criticized in various respects by students of government.

The movement for a new constitution for Missouri is not involved, except as it may be temporarily hampered by the misfortune that overtook the amendment.

Merit System for Louisiana

The Louisiana civil service law though passed in 1940 was a live issue in the legislative session in 1942. Except for several amendments, however, most of which were recommended by the State Civil Service Commission, the law remained intact. The effective date is now set for January 1, 1943, in order to prepare for the operation of that portion providing a merit system for New Orleans. Efforts to postpone it further were unsuccessful. Appropriations of \$150,000 were approved for each of the next two years.

Amendments relate to pay policies, permission to waive competitive examinations for unskilled labor, wartime appointments, the unclassified service, and removal of a prohibition against classified employees taking part in politics.

Reapportionment Amendment Delayed in Michigan

The Michigan reapportionment amendment failed to secure a sufficient number of signatures to be placed on the ballot for the November election. The reasons are apparently threefold. First, the sponsors relied too heavily

upon promises of support from labor organizations now too deeply involved in defense and war production to be concerned with anything else. Second, the chief leaders of the movement were inexperienced and failed to take into consideration the warnings and advice of others more cognizant of matters affecting the problem of apportionment. Third, it now seems apparent that Michigan electors will not generate any enthusiasm about a rearrangement of the existing legislative set-up. There is reason to believe that the long-range view will have to accept unicameralism, if progress in legislative organization is to come in Michigan.

CHARLES W. SHULL

Wayne University

New York and Pennsylvania Centralize Civilian War Training

New York State is centralizing all war training for civilians in an Office of War Training set up under the State War Council and operating through the State Education Department's Bureau of Public Service Training, in order to end confusion resulting from administration of war training activities by many state and local agencies. Similar action has been taken by the Pennsylvania State War Council.

First State Sickness Insurance Provided

By a compulsory "cash sickness insurance" act passed by the 1942 legislature, Rhode Island becomes the first state to provide benefits for workers who cannot be on the job because of illness. The new law operates similarly to the unemployment compensation law of the state, and it will be administered by the Unemployment Compensation Board, according to the American Public Welfare Association.

Employees contribute one per cent of their wages up to \$3,000 a year,

beginning June 1 of this year. They can draw benefits beginning April 1, 1943, if they earned at least \$100 in wages within the base period which precedes the benefit year.

The amount of the benefit depends upon the total benefit credits amassed during the base period and on the highest quarterly wages of the worker.

The sickness insurance law supplements the unemployment insurance act of Rhode Island under which—as in other states—only the jobless worker who is well and available for a job may draw compensation.

New Tax Board and Voting Machines for Hudson County

On August 4 the appointment by New Jersey's Governor Charles Edison of a new tax board for Hudson County, with confirmation by the State Senate, was approved as legal by Justice Joseph L. Bodine of the State Supreme Court. Hudson County is dominated by Jersey City, which is ruled by Mayor Frank Hague. The former county tax board was superseded following a hearing on charges of dereliction of duty and abdication of its assessment functions, brought by the City Affairs Committee of Jersey City. The old board defied the new appointees, who were refused admittance to the tax board's offices by county police. The tax records were also removed from the offices. On August 5 the new board took possession of the offices and records under a writ of mandamus signed that day by Justice Bodine.

The members of the old board recently sued leaders of the City Affairs Committee, asking \$1,400,000 for libel and \$700,000 for conspiracy.

What is claimed to be another serious blow to the Hague machine was the action of the State House Commission, also on August 4, in Trenton, unanimously authorizing the purchase

of 850 voting machines for installation in Hudson County, to be paid for by funds accumulating to the county's credit in the State Treasury.

The action of the State House Commission was countered on August 7 by J. Emil Walscheid, county counsel, in obtaining from another Supreme Court justice, Joseph B. Perskie, a writ of certiorari. This presumably blocks the use of any voting machines in Hudson County at this year's election since the court is hardly expected to hear argument and render a decision on the legal powers of the commission before then.

Mr. Walscheid expected to fight the seating of the new tax board by means of a quo warranto proceeding.

Houston Voters Adopt Council-Manager Plan

The council-manager form of government was adopted in Houston, Texas, in an election held August 15 after a hotly contested campaign. The vote on four charter amendments substituting the manager plan for the commission form was approximately at 15,800 to 12,800. Five additional amendments, which sought to enlarge the authority and salaries of the present commissioners and add two new commissioners, were defeated by much larger margins.

The manager plan will go into effect January 2, 1943, after the election on December 14 of a council of nine members composed of a mayor and three councilmen chosen at large and one from each of five districts elected at large.

Other Council-Manager News

The directory of approved council-manager cities, prepared by the International City Managers' Association, shows 547 cities and six counties, as of June 30, 1942. All but twenty-three of these are in the United States. In the first six months of 1942 nine muni-

cipalities adopted the plan. Manager charters were approved in **Bennington** and **Brattleboro, Vermont**; **Mechanic Falls, New Portland, and Smyrna, Maine**, and **Hazel Park, Michigan**. Ordinances establishing the plan were passed by the council in **Lower Merion Township** and **West View, Pennsylvania**, and by the people in **Mill Valley, California**. In **Palm Springs, California**, the voters adopted a council-manager ordinance to supplant the council resolution originally setting up the plan. **Cambridge, Massachusetts**, on January 1 went under the plan adopted in 1940. Proposed manager plans were defeated at elections in **Berkley, Michigan**; **Chester, Vermont**; **Grand Island, Nebraska**; and **Newark, New Jersey**.

In **Lowell, Massachusetts**, on July 31, the Plan E Committee, after weeks of intensive circulation of petitions calling for a vote on the manager plan with proportional representation at the next state election, filed petitions bearing over 7,200 names, a minimum of 5,146 being required by law.

The village of **Carey, Ohio**, is expected to vote on the manager plan in the near future.

Niles, Michigan, will vote September 15 on the question of electing a commission to draft a new charter for the city.

Clifton Forge, Virginia, which adopted a manager charter in December, 1941, begins operating under the plan on September 1. A new five-member council, replacing a twelve-member council elected by wards, was elected at large in June. At its first meeting it is expected to name a city manager.

In **Columbus, Georgia**, the League of Women Voters on July 10 went on record in favor of changing the present city charter to the manager form. The four candidates for the legislature were invited to appear at a meeting on Sep-

tember 4 to answer a questionnaire issued by the league, including queries as to candidates' attitudes toward the manager plan and the merit system.

In **Valdosta, Georgia**, the manager plan is under consideration.

Mountain Brook, Alabama, a newly incorporated community near Birmingham, has prepared a council-manager ordinance for adoption before October 1. Alabama now has no council-manager cities.

Kerrville, Texas, has adopted a council-manager charter to supersede the ordinance under which it has been operating with a manager since 1927.

Upland, California, came under the manager plan on August 2 by virtue of an ordinance recently adopted by the City Council. Upland has had a city manager of limited power for a long time, but the new ordinance for the first time gives the manager comprehensive authority over all city departments except those of the elected clerk and treasurer and that of the city attorney, who is directly responsible to the Council.

The city of **Baker, Oregon**, will vote upon a council-manager charter at the November election.

Planning and Zoning for Detroit

The sixth survey of great American cities by the Urban Land Institute proposes a more comprehensive master plan for Detroit, Michigan, than the 1925 highway plan of the Detroit Rapid Transit Commission. The report urges the preparation of a plan, to be held in readiness for the return of peace, which will provide for elimination of slums and other substandard housing, and protection for neighborhoods threatened with blight. Traffic hazards, uncontrolled building, blind expansion, and harmful uses of land are among the dangers to be guarded against. Use of the recently enacted urban re-

development corporations law, in connection with rehousing and other redevelopment, is suggested.

The report calls for the strengthening of the Detroit zoning ordinance, enacted only two years ago after twenty years of effort to do away with non-conforming use and to eliminate twilight zones between areas of residential, commercial, or industrial use.

It is stated that a poll of informed local opinion indicates general realization of need for an effective degree of governmental unity for the entire metropolitan area, wherein the center has been losing to the suburbs; for large-scale rebuilding of the city's wornout areas; for limiting the notoriously premature subdividing in the area; and for architectural control and other restrictions against discordant physical development.

Cities and Transportation

The council of Kansas City, Missouri, has recently enacted an ordinance, one of the first of its kind, establishing a local defense transportation administrator and providing for the more efficient utilization of all local transportation facilities and their synchronization with working hours.

The war-brought scarcity of tires and gasoline is putting a number of western cities in the transportation business in an effort to get residents to their jobs at war production plants.

According to reports to the American Municipal Association, Whittier and Ventura, California, have established new bus systems, while Seattle, and San Francisco, Santa Monica, Torrance, and Montebello, California, have expanded existing motor coach lines. In Oregon the cities of Ashland, Salem, and Lebanon have underwritten purchase of facilities that are hauling workers to cantonments under construction nearby.

Eastern Mayors Ask Fuel-Oil Czar

Appointment by federal authorities of a single fuel-oil chief with power to relieve the shortage in seventeen Atlantic states was sought by a resolution adopted August 5 at a meeting in Boston of fifty mayors of eastern cities, presided over by Mayor LaGuardia of New York.

American Municipal Association to Meet

The nineteenth annual convention of the American Municipal Association will be held in Chicago, October 21-23. It is considered that this first wartime annual meeting of the association will be the most important thus far in its history.

The conference of state municipal league secretaries will take place October 19-20 at 1313 East Sixtieth Street, the association's headquarters. League officials are urged to make early plans to attend, to suggest municipal problems for attention at the meeting, and to publicize the importance of this national meeting to municipal officials.

Wartime Recreation Congress to Meet

The National Recreation Association of New York City has arranged for a War Recreation Congress, to be held in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 28 to October 2, with the purpose of expanding and intensifying the wartime service of America's recreation forces.

Representatives of the armed forces, federal government departments, local officials, industry, private agencies, and other community leaders will consider ways and means of using recreation to serve the war effort more effectively. Meetings will deal with recreation for service men, war production workers, and civilians in wartime, also postwar recreation needs.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Seattle League Builds 750 Per Cent Gain in Membership

*Celebrates nearly fifty years
of community service*

INTEREST in local government has hit a new peak in Seattle despite the war, with a turnout of seven hundred Municipal League members and guests at the recent annual dinner and a membership gain of 750 per cent since 1938.

President Shannon, in his report to the annual dinner, pointed out that faith in the basic principles of good government has kept the League alive for nearly half a century. He stated that the present membership upswing began in 1938 when it was decided that the League, to extend its scope and influence in Seattle, would have to put more emphasis on fact-finding and on reaching the public with all the facts. Since that time the membership has increased from 200 to over 1,700 making the organization an increasingly powerful force for good government.

League at Hearings

"Backed by its large membership the various committees of the League have appeared before public bodies such as the City Council, Board of County Commissioners, Port Commission, Legislative Committees, and others to urge measures that were important for the public good. At these hearings, the League representatives were fortified with facts obtained by our Research Department. We have always found that facts, not opinions, had the greatest influence when matters of importance were up for consideration. Much of the im-

proved financial status of the city and county today can definitely be traced to the influence of the League in helping our officials adopt sound business policies."

Investigation of Candidates

Mr. Shannon then outlined the work of the League's Candidates Investigating Committee, which before every primary and general election investigates all candidates and presents a factual, unbiased report of its findings. Questionnaires are sent to the candidates, committeemen interview them in their homes and places of business, and they are invited to appear before the committee where they are questioned about their knowledge of city or county affairs, from whom they have received campaign contributions and how much, and what they plan to do if elected.

At the last general election over 180 men and women office-seekers were investigated. The League sponsors no slate. It reports the facts.

Ballot Issues

Various committees of the Seattle organization study in detail each proposition to appear on the ballot and outline pro and con arguments. The League Town Criers discuss these reports before Seattle community and service organizations, the report stated.

County Finances

Since 1938, the report shows, county budgets have been thoroughly examined by the League County Budget Committee. Before each budget comes up for adoption, county officers are questioned and their individual department estimates are studied so that committeemen are prepared to make recommendations to the Commissioners at public hearings. County budgets have been balanced the last three years, but only after drastic reductions

—\$450,000 one year—were made in the preliminary figures. Furthermore, the League has helped the county to reduce emergency appropriations, to establish a better purchasing procedure, and to set up a program for amortization of the county's floating debt.

City Finances

After careful studies, Mr. Shannon reported, far-reaching recommendations were made to the City Council with a view toward simplified financial statements showing more accurately the city's operating deficit and budgets improved in form and content. League representatives were invited by the City Council to sit with their committees during discussions of the 1942 budget, which was balanced. The interest rate on both city and county warrants is now 2 per cent, the lowest ever obtained.

League Sues City

"One of the most decisive steps ever taken by the League was the filing of a taxpayers' suit against the city of Seattle to prevent the assumption of indebtedness which would have endangered the city's credit standing," President Shannon stated.

"A plan for payment of \$170,000 in condemnation awards for the proposed Armory Way by-pass, entered into by the City Council against the advice of the Corporation Counsel, the Mayor, and other city officials, was blocked by this action. The case is still in the courts for final decision. The League has no interest in the merits of the development from an engineering or traffic viewpoint, but we are definitely concerned as to whether or not the City Council has the right to increase the city's debt beyond constitutional limits by subterfuge. The League felt that, in taking this case to the courts, we were representing the great body of

taxpayers, but of even more importance, we have demonstrated that we are ready to back our recommendations with prompt action in the public interest."

Harbor Department

A committee made a detailed study of the Harbor Department's operation this spring, after which recommendations for changes were presented to the City Council. The department was entirely reorganized and is now being complimented for its efficient operations.

Law Enforcement

"During 1941 the League assumed the leadership in working for an improvement in law enforcement in the city. We took the position that complete reorganization of the Police Department was one of the most vital needs facing Seattle. Entering into a period of rapid physical, social, and economic expansion, the city should have a vigorous independent police department operating on modern principles, and able to offer the full benefit of its services to the people in this area, both civilian and military."

Future Objectives

"At the present time the Research Committee and staff are making a detailed analysis of the provisions of the city charter, together with the state laws and court decisions modifying them. They are also studying other forms of city government and the possibility of city-county consolidation. When this study is completed it will be possible for the League to inaugurate some far-reaching program of basic change, looking towards increased efficiency and economy in city administration. Another basic program will involve centralization of management of the affairs of King County. At present management is divided among

the three County Commissioners who also exercise legislative and quasi-judicial functions. It is generally agreed that consolidating the functions of the three commissioners under a single manager would eliminate a lot of unnecessary duplication, permit more orderly purchasing, allow the joint use of road building and other equipment and should therefore result in greater economies."

Special Recognition

The President expressed his gratitude to those who have participated in the League's work. This year over 250 members were actively engaged in the work of the League's twenty-one standing committees. These committees include Membership, Research Fund, Audit, Legal, Housing, Candidates Investigating, City Budget and Finance, City-County Planning, City Utilities and Services, County Budget and Finance, Fire Protection, Public Forums, Governmental Research, Health and Public Assistance, Law Enforcement, Merit System, Port of Seattle, Public Information, Public Schools, Retirement Systems, and Town Criers.

ROBERT B. DUNN

Seattle Municipal League

Worcester Association Completes Tenth Year

The **Worcester Taxpayers Association**, one of the first citizens' organizations of its kind in Massachusetts and a factor in the formation of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, has recently completed its tenth year of work for more economical and efficient government.

To prepare for a possible postwar crisis in city finance, the Association last January proposed a program calling for adoption of the following policies by the city during 1942: strict economy, curtailment of municipal con-

struction now in favor of a postwar reservoir of public works, adoption of a pay-as-you-go policy with rapid reduction of the city debt, civilian defense spending to be restricted to purposes for which federal or state aid is not available, cautious estimating of municipal revenues especially those derived from automobile taxes, and restrictions on purchases of new equipment with utmost care of existing equipment.

In general these policies are being carried out. For example, it is probable that by the end of 1942 the city's bonded debt, including water debt, will approximate \$10,000,000 as compared with a peak of \$13,108,000 in 1939.

Worcester, in common with other cities, this year faced a demand by city employees for higher wages, organized workers asking for a general 15 per cent raise. After a careful study of cost-of-living figures, the Association showed that living costs in the state were still considerably under the 1925-29 average, the period when most basic salaries were set, and also that in spite of pay cuts in 1932-4, employees had enjoyed an average increase of 14 per cent in purchasing power during 1930-40. The Association insisted that, if any bonus plan were adopted, the pending budget of \$14,460,000 be reduced sufficiently to offset the cost. At the same time it submitted to the City Council Finance Committee detailed recommendations for reductions of more than \$500,000.

The eventual solution was a record reduction of approximately \$250,000 in the Mayor's budget, and granting of employee bonuses to cost about the same amount, adding only 3 per cent instead of 15 per cent to the payroll for this year.

The value of a citizen organization closely watching federal and state developments and passing on informa-

tion to city officials has been exemplified in another instance this year. A loan of \$356,000 for WPA purposes until December 31 was recommended to the Council by the Mayor. The Association pointed out that the fate of WPA after June 30 was uncertain and urged that funds up to that date only be provided, largely by transfers between existing accounts. The Council reduced the loan to \$135,000. Then much of the construction program was terminated by the freezing of asphalt and other materials. The Mayor vetoed the reduced loan, his veto was upheld on May 11, and available funds will now be used to carry on a reduced program pending further clarification of the picture.

City Surveyed

A general survey of all city departments by Griffenhagen & Associates in 1939, following an intensive campaign by the Association, has resulted in important administrative improvements. While it cannot be said that all or nearly all the recommendations have been adopted, the city has been repaid many times over for the initial cost. One outstanding result was the consolidation into a Department of Public Works, with a competent commissioner and with bureau heads under civil service, of the street, sewer, water, engineering, public buildings, street lighting, garbage collection, and incineration departments, as well as the proposed municipal airport. Another, during 1941, was abolition of the traditional Board of Health, and its replacement by a health commissioner trained in public health work.

While the Association has worked for economy and lower taxes, it has never followed a pinch-penny policy but has relied on facts to carry conviction to officials and the public. It was successful in securing adoption of a plan for

construction of unaccepted, or private, streets, with WPA supplying the labor and abutters paying all but a tiny fraction of the city's cost. This has resulted in the building of more than twenty-five miles of new streets. It has supported appropriations for replacing obsolete equipment in various departments, and antiquated school books and supplies.

A director of the Association has in recent years been named by the Mayor to two important commissions: one to develop a municipal personnel system; the other to prepare a reservoir of postwar public works on a long-term basis in coöperation with the National Resources Planning Board, the New England representative of which sought and secured the coöperation of the Association. The Association president is chairman of the trustees of the city library.

Substantial improvements in budgetary and accounting methods have been made in coöperation with the city auditor, including installation of the uniform state accounting system and annual audits by the State Division of Accounts. The municipal budget setup, while still far from perfect, is a great improvement over that prevailing prior to 1932.

Best Man for the Job

One tendency which the Association has encouraged is the trend away from appointing only local men as city officials. In recent years able out-of-town men have been named as city librarian, commissioner of health, and superintendent of the large isolation and tuberculosis hospital.

We believe that our accomplishments in the past decade justify our policies of coöperating to the fullest with public officials, and trying to let credit for accomplishments go to them, but where necessary placing facts before

the public so that popular opinion may sway officials to follow policies beneficial to the city as a whole. We do not "blast" unless it becomes absolutely necessary. But when we do we are doubly sure that we have the facts and that there can be no contradiction. As one veteran City Hall reporter said to us some years ago: "It will be a sad day for you if the 'pols' ever catch you in a mistake of fact." So far that day has not arrived.

JOHN H. MAHONEY, *Director*
Worcester Taxpayers Association

Citizen Council Works on Defense, Housing Problems

Civic-minded citizens of the *planned* industrial community of Torrance, Los Angeles County, California, alert to the developing problems of their city, organized the Torrance Coördinating Council in June 1935. Its aims are to co-ordinate efforts for community betterment and to combat the increase of juvenile delinquency.

Its list of accomplishments includes:

(1) Establishment and maintenance of a Toy Loan Library for smaller children; (2) operation of Friday night student dances for young people; (3) expenditure in the community of \$11,331, proceeds from the dance project, for expenses and welfare donations; (4) institution and demonstration of the practicability of the community's annual civic festival, the Factory Frolic; (5) two comprehensive youth surveys; (6) an intensive housing survey in the Mexican settlement; and (7) formulation of detailed plans for a local defense council.

Methods Employed

The establishment of a Torrance branch of the Los Angeles County Toy Loan Library for smaller children illustrates the operation of the orthodox Council *linking process* between community need and community resources.

Arrangements first were completed with the County Toy Loan Workshop for repair, sterilization, and repainting of used toys. The City Fire Department sorted and delivered the toys, while the Women's Club and the City Recreation Department arranged headquarters for the new library in the Recreation center. Through the County Probation Department the Council secured the appointment of a WPA staff "toyarian."

A number of student dances were held during the winter months and in February 1938 the Council began operating supervised Friday night student dances in the civic auditorium at an admission price of twenty-five cents. At Council solicitation, local business men underwrote the expenses of the first few dances, but their popularity increased so rapidly that the project soon yielded a profit and the Council retained active sponsorship.

Between February 1938 and April 1941 over fifty thousand persons attended the Friday night dances, contributing gross receipts of \$11,496. Of this amount, \$11,331 was spent in Torrance for expenses and for contributions to local welfare and character-building projects, thus cushioning the financial burden of these programs upon the community. Rental amounting to \$2,320 paid to the City Council for the auditorium has been used to reduce that building's indebtedness.

The Council resolved itself into a committee of the whole for the organization of the community-dimensional Factory Frolic with special subcommittees assigned to handle details of the undertaking. Every organized group and business enterprise in Torrance participated under Council direction, and each society was assigned a booth or concession of some description.

Business and industry were thoroughly canvassed and organized behind the

project and liberal contributions by both made a large-scale celebration possible. After the 1939 Frolic sponsorship was assumed by the Chamber of Commerce.

Two comprehensive youth surveys, conducted during the early months of 1940 and 1941 to determine possible relationships between leisure-time needs and juvenile delinquency, were the projects of the council's Character-Building Committee and were organized and conducted through the coöperation of the city schools.

An intensive housing survey for the purpose of obtaining factual data preparatory to elimination of substandard housing units from the local Mexican settlement and to facilitate improvement of its living conditions was organized and conducted by the Environment Committee of the Coördinating Council during 1941.

With the stepping up of the tempo of national defense production, the Environment Committee of the Council, in recognition of the dangers incident to a large influx of defense workers into the community, drew up a home defense program during November 1940, calling for the organization of a Torrance Home Defense Council. The plan divides the council into six committees: spiritual and moral values, housing, vocational training and education, integration of new residents, recreation and leisure-time needs, health.

JOSEPH J. LUDWIG

Roundup—

ALWAYS a group to look at governmental problems simply and realistically, the **League of Women Voters** has divided the home front of the war into four fronts on which it is concentrating attention. These are the struggle to influence federal tax legislation, the campaign for better qualified congressmen, an effort to keep all citi-

zens aware of governmental issues in wartime, and special activity at the local government level where war has created special problems. For carrying out its general objective to preserve and strengthen democracy, these activities seem to us to cover the field pretty thoroughly.

Among the annual reports of citizen groups which we've seen lately are those of the **Fitchburg (Mass.) Taxpayers' Association** and the **Lynn (Mass.) Taxpayers' Association**. The latter, entitled "At Last We're Getting Some Action!", is a particularly effective job. Printed on orange paper, it lists nine specific recommendations which have been made by the association and follows each with the resultant favorable action. . . . In its July issue of *Taxtalk*, the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations** invites all city and town officials to write and tell what they are doing to help save the taxpayers' money.

The **Seattle Municipal League** has long recognized the fact that members of an organization are interested in knowing something about the individuals who are in positions of leadership in the group. Consequently, the June 20 issue of *Seattle Municipal News* is devoted to pictures and short descriptive notes about the new officers and board members. The July 25 issue announces that Ewen C. Dingwall is returning to his former position of league secretary beginning August 15.

In federal election years the problems of state government are all too easily overlooked. To focus attention on vital issues which will face New York State's next legislature, the **Citizens Union of the City of New York** has prepared an extensive questionnaire for candidates. Information secured will appear in the union's annual pre-election bulletin evaluating candidates.

R. M. W.

County and Township*Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

**Petroleum County, Mont.,
Secures Manager Plan*****Overwhelming vote favors
adoption of new charter***

ANOTHER forward step has been taken in the movement for better local government. On July 21, Petroleum County, Montana, voted to adopt the manager plan of government. The vote was overwhelmingly favorable—272 for to 135 against, the plan carrying every precinct. Thus Petroleum becomes the first Montana county and the seventh in the nation to enter the select ranks of manager counties.

The plan goes into effect on January 1, 1943. At that time, terms of all county offices except those of the treasurer and clerk of court expire. The treasurer's term ends on March 1, 1943, and that of the clerk of court on January 1, 1945. Effective January 1, the duties of these two officers will be such as are assigned them by the county manager until their terms expire.

Petroleum County voters will continue to elect three commissioners with six-year terms (one every two years), who will serve as a board of directors to formulate general policies and plans for the county. This board will select a manager to carry out its policies and to execute administrative details. The manager is removable at the pleasure of the Board with rights to a public hearing.

The work of the county will be divided into three departments: finance, public works, and public welfare. The manager will appoint the heads of these departments or may act as head of one or more of them himself. Since

Petroleum is a very small county, with less than a million dollars taxable value and about a thousand people, these departments will be small, usually one or two employees each. All appointments are to be on the basis of ability, training, and experience.

The only county officer elected besides the commissioners will be the county attorney, who is legal counsel for the county. At present the voters elect, in addition to the board of commissioners and the county attorney, a clerk and recorder, treasurer, superintendent of schools and ex-officio assessor, clerk of court, and sheriff (ex-officio public administrator and coroner). Each of these runs his office independently of the others because Montana law does not provide for any coordination of activities. The manager plan will inaugurate centralized purchasing of supplies, level the work load among the departments during various rush seasons and throughout the year, and increase general administrative efficiency.

Petroleum County was organized in 1924, the last of Montana's fifty-six counties to be created. Its area of 1,675 square miles was taken entirely from the eastern third of Fergus County, a large county in the center of the state. In 1926 the taxable value of the new county totaled nearly five million dollars—\$4,875,000—almost two million of which came from oil fields. The county went heavily in debt for expansion of road, school, and other services and in 1926 had an indebtedness of more than \$200,000. Then began a steady decline in taxable wealth and population because of a diminishing flow of oil and declines in crop returns accompanying drought and depression. By 1942 the taxable valuation of the county had shrunk to \$825,000, or about a sixth of its earlier wealth. Delinquent taxes piled up and tax deed

foreclosure acreage reached five figures. Extensive abandonment of farms was followed by federal submarginal land purchase, creation of grazing districts, and the return of most of the land formerly used for corn and wheat to grass for cattle and sheep range.

In Montana counties are not permitted by law to levy more than sixteen mills for general administration. Under this limitation Petroleum County raised only \$12,028 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, while expenditures from the general fund amounted to \$22,882. The difference of more than \$10,000 was made up largely by sales of tax-deeded lands and collection of delinquent taxes. However, the better county lands now have been sold and most of the delinquent taxes have been collected. Moreover, the county has found it necessary to issue warrants in recent years since it was unable to operate on a cash basis.

In the face of these conditions, the county commissioners concluded that the county should be put upon a cash basis and, if possible, all indebtedness, both registered warrants and bonds, liquidated. Since they could not increase levies, they were faced with two alternatives—raise assessed valuations or reduce costs. The first of these was extremely unpopular and would undoubtedly defeat its own ends through increased tax delinquency. The second raised the question of the most desirable means of reducing expenditures.

One method of reducing costs considered by the commissioners was consolidation of offices. In 1938 they had consolidated the superintendent of schools' and assessor's offices, and the sheriff with the public administrator and coroner. On February 4, 1942, they passed a resolution consolidating the offices of superintendent of schools, assessor, public administrator, and coroner into one office, and the offices of

sheriff, clerk and recorder, and treasurer into another. These consolidations were to be effective January 1, 1943. This consolidation, however, did not secure centralized purchasing of supplies on a bid basis, simplified record keeping, nor the coordinated effort among officers possible under the manager plan. Since consolidation of the county with a neighboring county did not appear feasible, the commissioners turned to the manager plan as the most desirable solution.

Will the manager plan enable Petroleum County to operate on a cash basis? An analysis of the savings possible indicates that total general fund expenses may be reduced some \$8,000 yearly and possibly more, which would bring administrative expenses down to less than \$15,000 annually. Coupled with recent increases in taxable value resulting from higher farm prices and improved range and crop conditions, this will bring administrative costs approximately in balance with current receipts within the sixteen-mill maximum levy.

In addition to giving Petroleum an excellent opportunity to balance its books, adoption of the manager plan has far-reaching significance for better local government throughout the nation. Petroleum County is a strictly rural county. Its largest town, Winnett, the county seat, has but four hundred people. If the manager plan operates satisfactorily, it will demonstrate that the plan can operate effectively in small counties, contrary to the statement too often made that it is suited only to larger counties that can pay salaries adequate to get qualified managers.

Finally, the Petroleum County vote is an excellent example of the possibilities of attaining a form of government better adapted to the needs and resources of the Plains region. Many

northern Great Plains counties, faced with much the same problems Petroleum County has encountered, have considered the manager plan for some time but have lacked the courage to initiate it. Now that the first step has been taken in the Plains, additional counties in the region will undoubtedly consider the manager plan with renewed interest.

R. R. RENNE

Montana State College

Training School for County Civil Service Commissioners

A training school for county civil service commissioners and other interested county officials was held at Union College, Schenectady, New York, for four days beginning July 13. The teaching staff was provided by the New York State Civil Service Commission. Arrangements for the school were conducted by the County Officers' Association and the State Association of Towns.

Morning sessions were devoted to lectures on various aspects of personnel work; afternoons were spent in discussion in small groups.

Vote on Home Rule for Wayne County, Michigan, Assured

"Play ball," a phrase familiar to all Tiger fans in Detroit, was called on July 2 for the proposed Wayne County home rule amendment.¹ At that time 310,000 signatures on constitutional initiative petitions were filed with Harry F. Kelly, Michigan's Secretary of State. This was over 100,000 more than the 203,000 signatures required to place the constitutional amendment on the November ballot. The petitions were presented by Lent D. Upson and Henry Steffens, co-chairmen of the Citizens'

Committee which conducted the successful drive for signatures.

Much of the credit for the determined campaign for signatures goes to the *Detroit Free Press* which, in a series of brilliant articles by Frank B. Woodford, kept the public well informed on the issues. Now, it's up to the voters of Michigan to decide this vital matter in November, to clear away the "constitutional barriers" which Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League, analyzed so ably years ago.²

ARTHUR W. BROMAGE

University of Michigan

Wisconsin's First City-County Health Department Reports

Wisconsin's first consolidated city-county health department, created in May 1941 to attack public health problems in the community as a unit, has just completed its first year of operation. In its first report the Eau Claire department states that besides the financial savings resulting from elimination of a duplicate staff of workers, the community is finding that coöperation on urban and rural health problems is "almost automatically guaranteed" by the joint department.

When the Eau Claire City-County Health Department was created, the county health organization and the Eau Claire City Board of Health were abolished by joint action of the two units. To govern the department a non-political seven-man board was established with four members appointed by the mayor and three members by the county board chairman. Terms of office are staggered, and board members are not paid.

¹See also "Home Rule for Wayne County?" by Arthur W. Bromage, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942.

²See "Constitutional Barriers to Improvement in County Government," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Supplement, August 1932.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

**1941 Louisville Award
to New York Official*****Wartime expenditures
add to city costs***

THE 1941 Louisville Award of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, announced at the association's annual conference held in Buffalo late in June, went to Joseph M. Cunningham, first deputy comptroller of New York City. It was in recognition of his work in connection with the modernization of the city's accounting system, something long and badly needed in the nation's largest city and now being provided in accordance with the best principles of municipal accounting.

A silver medal went to Oliver A. Cottschalk, special assistant to the director of the fiscal division, Headquarters, Services of Supply, U. S. War Department, for reorganizing the War Department's Construction Division accounting and auditing sections. Honorable mention and certificates of merit were awarded to Robert L. Duffy, director of finance and budget, Hartford, Connecticut; Connell C. Ward, clerk-business manager of School District No. 24, Salem, Oregon; and William L. Waterhouse, of the San Francisco controller's office. In all, there were eighteen entries for the 1941 award.

The Louisville award was established at the 1940 annual conference of the association, by a gift of the City of Louisville, to be awarded annually to the public official rendering the most outstanding contribution of the year in the field of municipal finance and finance administration. The first award,

that for 1940, was made last year, and went to City Auditor Will Gibson of Portland, Oregon.

***Managers' Survey Shows
Budgets Increase This Year***

Two of every three cities in the country are spending more this year than last because of wartime budget increases for safety, health, and sanitation activities, increased salaries and wages of employees, and reserve funds for emergencies. This is shown by a survey of 185 cities in thirty-two states made by the International City Managers' Association.

Only a few cities have developed new sources of revenue to meet the increasing costs, though many officials feel present revenues from local property taxes, state grants, and other sources will decline to the point of bringing financial hardship.

Sixty-two per cent of the cities surveyed will spend more this year than in 1941, 30 per cent will spend less, and 8 per cent will spend about the same.

Main increases for forty cities are in the fire and police departments, while thirty-five others say expenditures of all departments will go up. The other cities report increases for garbage collection and disposal, health service, street maintenance, civilian defense, and water supply, in that order of frequency.

In more than a third of the cities increased expenditures are chiefly for higher salaries and wages, another one-third—most of them over 25,000 population—have had to expand activities to meet demands of additional population, and most of the remaining cities have been forced into increased spending because of higher cost of supplies.

Increases in population of from 11 to 20 per cent during the last year were reported by fifteen of the thirty-four cities over 25,000. Among them were

Dayton, Fort Worth, and Oakland, all reporting increased municipal expenditures.

While cities are forced to increase expenditures for some purposes, some of them are cutting down on other activities. Nearly half the municipalities with higher costs this year report such a move. Reductions are for relief and welfare expenditures—reported by twenty cities; street maintenance—twelve cities; building inspection—five cities; and parks and recreation—three cities. Capital outlays have largely been discontinued, and some cities report no new equipment is being purchased.

About two-thirds of the cities reporting increased expenditures added one or more activities or services in 1942. These include civilian defense, airport operation, off-street parking lots, bus systems, and recreation programs.

Of 103 cities raising their budgets this year, seventy-five reported they did not anticipate a reduction in municipal revenue from taxes, but seventy of them look for reductions in nontax revenues. The latter include reductions in state gas and motor vehicle license taxes, parking meter revenues, building permit fees, and business license revenues.

Most cities do not anticipate any new or increased sources of revenue except as the increase in population may boost revenue from water and electric utilities.

The four cities over 100,000 spending less this year than last are Dallas, Texas; Knoxville, Tennessee; Miami, Florida; and Yonkers, New York. Other cities reducing costs are Bakersfield and Pasadena, California; Fort Collins, Colorado; Coral Gables, Florida; Roanoke, Virginia; and Kenosha, Wisconsin.

Dallas is letting its police force

dwindle by forty-five men replacing none of the officers entering the armed forces, is eliminating construction activities, and is saving \$2,000 on street lighting because of the change to war-saving time. The city has set up a war reserve fund of \$130,000 in anticipation of any emergency.

Street maintenance was mentioned as a budget reduction by twenty-seven of the fifty-five cities reducing their budgets; relief and welfare allocations are being cut in seven cities; and water and utility appropriations are down in five cities because of decreased population.

Reasons given for the reduction in total expenditures in most of the fifty-five cities, aside from loss of population, are: "curtailment in revenue," "inability to obtain materials," "not a defense area," and "to avoid increase in tax rate."

All of the cities whose 1942 expenditures are at the 1941 level are under 25,000 population.

Sources of Municipal Revenue for Civilian Defense

While many cities are continuing their earlier practice of appropriating from general or contingency funds to finance defense activities, some are making special tax levies, others are resorting to fund-gathering from the public.

San Francisco, which had appropriated \$12,000 prior to Pearl Harbor for civilian defense and \$657,294 more from various city funds by May 1, has budgeted nearly \$1,500,000 for 1942-43 for the purpose, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association. Included in this budget are \$280,655 for the civilian defense council, \$355,000 for the fire and police departments, \$35,000 for health activities, \$70,000 for the department of education, and \$635,-

000 to meet interest and redemption charges on \$4,250,000 in bonds issued this spring to finance auxiliary fire fighting and pumping station facilities. In addition \$43,000 has been appropriated by ordinance to buy steel helmets and \$22,000 for identification tags.

The San Francisco civilian defense budget is only slightly less than the amount New York City reported spending for 1941-42—\$2,000,000 out of accruals appropriated to meet "immediate" expenditures.

Of the other western cities, Portland, Oregon, budgeting for civilian defense this year for the first time, earmarked \$260,000—85 cents per capita—for the new municipal activity, plus \$30,000 for auxiliary pumping equipment.

Seattle voters will ballot this fall on a special property tax levy for civilian defense purposes. The council's previous appropriation totaled \$500,000—about \$1.35 per person. Berkeley, California, plans to finance war-induced expenditures by raising its one-dollar tax limitation if the legislature approves.

Pasadena's civilian defense council is asking for approximately \$30,000 for the next fiscal year, and the city manager has proposed an annual transfer of 6 per cent of municipal light, power, and water receipts for defense services.

Rochester, New York, estimates a \$250,000 expenditure in 1942 for municipal defense services, financed from real property taxes.

In the midwest Dane County, Wisconsin, which includes the city of Madison, raised nearly half its \$7,000 fund for civilian defense through contributions from local fraternal, civic, and other organizations, the remainder from cities, towns, and villages.

A complete picture of what local governments are spending and the items included under civilian defense is difficult to get, however, because cer-

tain defense-connected expenses like new fire hose may be budgeted as a department expense, and in some cases the accounting of defense funds is not broken down.

Property Tax Collections Improve in 1941

In 1941 current year-end property tax delinquency dropped to a level which "probably rivaled the best record of the 1920's." Median year-end current delinquency for cities of over 50,000 population was 6.8 per cent, as compared with 8.7 per cent in 1940 and 9.25 per cent in 1930. In 1933, the depression high, it had been 26.35 per cent. At the same time 1941 saw a repetition of total current and delinquent tax collections in excess of the current levy, the median total collection ratio for 100 cities standing at 101.7 per cent as compared with 100.7 per cent for 1940. These are among the facts disclosed in the tenth annual survey of tax delinquency by Dr. Frederick L. Bird.¹

As Dr. Bird points out: "The probability is that 1941 marked a low in current delinquency and a high in total collections which the average city will not enjoy again for some time. A forecast of things to come may have been suggested in the recent annual report of a Bataan Province official which began, 'There is a little trouble in Bataan—which has caused some difficulty in the collection of taxes.' It will not be surprising, in view of high federal taxes, inclusion of considerable numbers of taxpayers in the nation's armed forces, and other emergency factors, if a little difficulty in the collection of taxes is encountered by American municipalities."

¹*Trend of Tax Delinquency, 1930-41, Cities of Over 50,000 Population*, by Frederick L. Bird. Municipal Service Dept., Dun & Bradstreet, Inc. New York, 1942.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

A War for Ideals And a Peace That Embodies Them

Representation — A Weapon for Victory

THERE recently visited this country from Britain a man with great ability—one who is the voice of a great body of British public opinion. He is Julian Huxley. The gist of his message was simple—that to win the war it is as necessary to forge weapons of thought as it is to build planes and tanks. Moreover the weapons of thought should be genuine, not mere propaganda of the Goebbels variety to be forgotten as soon as it has served its purpose. We cannot afford to have our own war effort dishonest at its core.

In Britain men are thinking about the sort of world we should plan for when swords can again become plowshares; this is being done not as a "release" from the strain of war but for a much deeper reason. In Max Lerner's phrase, "ideas are weapons" and to plan the world that ought to be inspires men to be sure they have the chance to build such a world. Thus the war effort itself is buttressed.

That point of view is widely shared in this country by serious-minded people. One of the organizations set up by the Federal Council of Churches is the Committee on International Justice and Good Will. It was named by clear-sighted men, for justice is the only basis upon which good will can be built. The committee is only one

of many such organizations, all moved by the same fine purpose.

But purpose is not enough. What about the means by which justice is to be secured and good will exercised? It is time to begin thinking about and discussing that side of the matter whenever after-the-war questions are to the fore. Machinery, mechanics, structure, and organization are inseparable from purpose. Painstaking care must be given to the ways through which we seek to express our purpose. The inexorable rule of the world of biology which Professor Huxley knows so well is that the form must fit the function. Unless we can be specific to some degree about the forms through which we seek to express our purpose, the purpose itself remains nebulous and without driving power and direction.

The War Within Nations

Yet as soon as we attempt to be specific we encounter a conflict which makes it clear that the war will not be over when "cease firing" sounds, that in fact there has been going on and still is going on a fierce war of ideals within every nation fighting. Henry Wallace's "people's war" speech was not accepted without demur within the United Nations, yet it will undoubtedly be hailed as a beacon of hope by multitudes under the Axis yoke, in Germany and Italy as well as elsewhere, if it can be gotten through to them as an authentic expression of United Nations policy.

As Brand Whitlock said in the last war, "There are a good many Americans who have not yet come over from Europe." We can express the same thought today by saying there are a great many people who physically live in totalitarian Europe but who spiritually are thoroughly democratic. Unfortunately there are still some Americans who live spiritually in the concept-

world of Hitler, not Stresemann, of Mussolini, not Garibaldi, of Laval, not Leon Blum. The more dominant and convincingly specific we can keep the ideals of equal opportunity and justice within the United Nations, the higher will be the spirit of our own fighters and the sooner the Axis will crack with the help of our spiritual kinsmen on the other side.

With this in mind it is clear that we cannot tolerate any backward steps in our own democracy while the war is going on. We cannot, for example, permit electoral justice to be taken away from minorities where it has been gained within this country. Yet we are aware that politicians-for-power, to be found in both parties, are proposing to do this in Yonkers, New York, and elsewhere.

Electoral Justice Needed

In planning ahead we must plan for more democracy, not less, and that must include equality of representation for all citizens. We must move as far away as possible from the rubber-stamp one-party elections of the Axis countries. We must realize that a system which gives all the representation to one party in each artificial area, even though others are permitted to run, is still too totalitarian for complacent satisfaction. We must have freedom from systems which invite pressure group domination behind the scenes, and definitely plan to give a voice for all at all levels of government so far as it is humanly possible. That is the spirit of the most democratic form of government ever devised, the New England town meeting.

Particularly is this true in the international field. The Parliament of Man must not exclude great groups within nations. Only if we have representation of the real democrats within all nations in our international bodies can we be sure to have people working to-

gether across political boundaries for a world built upon the Four Freedoms. Otherwise we run a grave risk that the new body, like the League of Nations, will fly apart and World War III loom ahead because the anti-democratic elements in certain nations monopolize representation. An official committee of the United States Senate once gave its considered opinion that the Civil War might have been avoided if the minority elements in the North and South had both been fairly represented in Congress.

Cooperation Not Coercion

The real democrat is tolerant and cooperative, anxious to know the other fellow's view. He has found that though you may have different views from another man you do not have to treat him as an antagonist; you can treat him as a collaborator in working out solutions satisfactory to you both. If you treat him so he tends to develop the same spirit.

Real democrats prefer unanimous decisions and accept those by majorities only when absolutely necessary. Even then they try to make the majority as large as possible and meet the views of as many recalcitrants as they can. The Rules of Order used by the New England town meeting are the expression of this spirit; and proportional representation for creating a representative body, which then uses those rules, comes as close as is humanly possible to carrying through that spirit when all concerned cannot meet.

There is, however, another group everywhere. In this country its members are not as extreme as Hitler and may even believe themselves to be democratic when they permit their political opponents to vote ineffectively for representatives. They are content with the appearance of a majority behind public action and do not hesitate to create that impression falsely, either

by manipulation of elections or by having elections so held as to divide and make ineffective their political opponents. They decry the representation of unpopular and independent minorities and demand a kind of "majority rule" which gives a big stick to the largest organized group.

Those of us who want a world in which conference and not conflict is to settle differences have two tasks and both call for all our powers and critical intelligence. The first is that the United Nations shall win the war so that thereafter the conference method can have an unimpeded opportunity. The second is that the conferences by which world policies are to be determined shall equitably represent the important points of view in each political unit of the world; such conferences must not be based upon the "I may get a spokesman but you may not" systems which underlay so much of the weakness of the League of Nations.

All systems for providing for such delegates divide into two groups: one that only haphazardly, or not at all, permits the representation of more than one point of view; the other that builds upon equitable representation as its foundation. The need for the latter is great within each nation; its need is imperative as a basis for the international bodies which are to see that we never use war again.

WALTER J. MILLARD

A P. R. Vacancy Recount

On August 10 Yonkers conducted the first P. R. recount to fill a vacancy ever held for public office in the United States. Such recounts have been held in Australia and have long been advocated by proportionalists as the logical method in this country, but Yonkers was the first American city to adopt it. Other P. R. cities fill vacancies by appointment by the remaining council

members, which permits a majority to take over a place originally filled by a minority if it is unscrupulous enough to do so.

The Yonkers vacancy occurred through the enlistment of Councilman Al P. Richter in the Navy. Under a new state law this automatically created a temporary vacancy to be filled in the same way as a permanent vacancy. The Yonkers charter prescribes that a vacancy shall be filled by a re-examination of the ballots which elected the vacating member plus the "exhausted" ballots which did not elect anyone in the original election because all the choices on them were elected by others or defeated. The recount must be held according to the regular P. R. rules except that any choices for incumbent councilmen and for candidates who have become ineligible since the original election are ignored. Low candidates are dropped one at a time and their ballots transferred to next choices until only two candidates are left. The one of these who is preferred to the other by more voters is declared elected.

There was an interesting contest because Mr. Richter was a Democrat with considerable independent support, while the runner-up at the original election, who provided the bulk of the exhausted ballots, was a City Manager League Republican, Former Councilman Robert H. Goodwillie. Mr. Goodwillie, who was conceded an excellent chance of election, eliminated himself by sending his declination to the City Clerk.

As the original field of fourteen candidates was narrowed by successive eliminations, the main contest developed between Albert C. Bogert, Republican, and three Democrats who ran neck-and-neck behind him. When the second of these Democrats went out and his ballots were transferred, the remaining Democratic candidate,

Thomas B. Sheridan, passed Bogert by some 650 votes and was elected.

Mr. Sheridan is a contractor with a good reputation who is expected to be somewhat independent of organization control. The other four members of the council consist of two Democrats (one of whom was elected on the City Manager League ticket but promptly went over to the Democratic organization) and two City Manager League Republicans.

The count was completed without untoward incident in one long day of fourteen hours by a bipartisan force of twenty-four counters and two directors under the general supervision of City Clerk Frank J. Heafy and his regular assistants and the editor of this department, who was employed as consultant.

Don Sowers of Boulder

Don Conger Sowers, director of the Bureau of Business and Government Research at the University of Colorado and secretary-treasurer of the Colorado Municipal League, who died on July 19 at the age of fifty-nine, added to his many other helpful activities a constant interest in the cause of proportional representation. He was a guiding spirit in the three successful P. R. defense campaigns in his home city, Boulder, which has used P. R. longer than any other American city, and served on the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League from 1935 to the time of his death. For the last few years he has been the principal Colorado representative of both the P. R. League and the National Municipal League and

has regularly supplied accounts of Boulder's biennial P. R. elections. Those who have worked with him and profited by his quiet practical wisdom know what a loss the good government ranks have sustained in his untimely death.

DANGERS OF METROPOLITAN DECENTRALIZATION

(Continued from Page 444)

must eventually be a program which will include the other features of a community plan.

To neglect further and for an indefinite period the attempt to find a comprehensive solution to this community problem, so apparent to everyone and having such detrimental possibilities for the future, must be construed as an exhibition, on the part of all of us, of selfishness and indifference to the future welfare of the community. Such indifference has not been characteristic of the people of this community in the past.

Metropolitan Cleveland is clearly at the cross-roads. Will her people tackle this community question in a big way and determine to take the road which will place and keep Cleveland in the front rank of American cities, or will they assume an attitude of indifference and let decay continue, thus missing the supreme opportunity of preparing for the after-the-war period of growth and prosperity?

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Reprinted from *Greater Cleveland*, published by The Cleveland Citizens League.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Management Methods in City Government. A Survey of the Best Administrative Practices in Council-Manager Cities. By Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1942. v, 60 pp. \$1.50.

How does a good city manager save time? select a department head? keep direction and control of city government at his fingertips? assemble records and reports? establish a workable administrative code? train his subordinates? get the facts to make future planning possible? get along with the city council? get along with officials of other governmental units? handle John Q. Citizen?

These are the questions which the International City Managers' Association tried to have answered by circularizing twenty-one of the most experienced city managers in the business—they had a total of two hundred years of managerial experience, to be exact. From this experience the ICMA assembled some interesting generalizations drawn from the fifty-four-hour-week which each of the managerial experts puts in year after year.

The approach is informal and expository rather than statistical. Without naming names the book explains, for instance, that one manager prefers to answer every telephone call personally as a public relations device, that another manager never accepts speaking engagements during the sixty days preceding elections. Welding together the managers' accounts are the ICMA's own comments upon the best practice, drawn from the book's author, Orin F. Nolting, and from a battery of additional experts.

M. R.

Let's Try Thinking—A Handbook of Democratic Action. By Ivah Deering. Yellow Springs, Ohio, Antioch Press, 1942. 199 pp. \$1.50 paper; \$2.50 cloth.

This book tackles a job which in the nature of things can never be quite achieved—it tries to teach people a skill, a simple skill and yet one which must be applied under the most diverse conditions. Since it essays to teach an art it, like books on art and music, can only suggest and point to, it can only infer and imply. But it does everything of that nature that could be humanly asked and better than several books in the same field which are listed as suggested reading. Therefore it has a high value for those readers of this REVIEW whose special interest is adult civic education.

The book itself is a stimulus to the very thing it deals with for it is literally like a hedgehog—it has so many points which can be discussed.

Much of its background is the experience of Mrs. Deering as an active citizen in Cincinnati where civic activity is a large part of the behavior pattern of a great number of people. The result of that activity reflects itself in the high standard of the city's government.

But it must be pointed out that because the city council there is elected by proportional representation it is worth while to engage in opinion-making. One's thinking about community affairs is not frustrated there by election devices which make it almost a foregone conclusion that if you form an opinion contrary to the mass of your fellow citizens you will be voiceless in molding the city's policies. The constant interaction between civic skill and appropriate means by which

that skill is applied and made effective must be kept in mind by all who use this handbook.

WALTER J. MILLARD

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Budgeting

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Building Control

New York City Building Control, 1800-1941. By John P. Comer. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1942. 289 pp. \$3.25.

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Interstate Trade Barriers. An address

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Charitable, Religious, Patriotic, and Philanthropic Solicitations—City Ordinances and Court Decisions—Model Ordinance Annotated. Prepared by Charles S. Rhyne. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1942. 60 pp. \$2.

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American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, and neighborhood improvement, including the principal papers delivered at the National Conference on Planning, Philadelphia, May 12-14, 1941, and the Mississippi Valley Meeting of the National Conference on State Parks, Pere Marquette State Park, Illinois, June 24, 1941. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1942. xii, 292 pp. \$3.

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on postwar problems. By George B. Galloway. New York City, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1942. xi, 158 pp. 60 cents.

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The Amount of Federal and State Aid. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1942. 12 pp. 25 cents.

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Wartime Financial Problems of Cities. Proceedings of The Executive Committee Meeting, July 9, 1942. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1942. 34 pp.

War and Defense

Economics of the Home Front. Facts and suggestions on America's home front strategies of rationing and maximum price control. Washington, D. C., Consumer Division, Office of Price Administration, 1942. 12 pp.

A List of References on the Planning of Evacuation Camps. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1942. 3 pp. mimeo.

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The United Nations—What They Are—What They May Become. By Henri Bonnet. Chicago, World Citizens Association, 1942. vii, 100 pp. 25 cents.

MUSKEGON HEIGHTS PRAISES MANAGER PLAN

(Continued from Page 441)

to be recognized as one of Michigan's best managed cities and a tribute to the manager plan. Its residents are convinced they have honest, efficient government not obtainable under any other system.

The record of the superintendent appointed in 1933 has been such that he was secured for Muskegon, with a population of 50,000—three times that of Muskegon Heights—when there was a vacancy recently. To succeed him, the Heights Council named the city clerk who will hold the positions of superintendent and clerk. Competent superintendents backed with the full coöperation of the Council have meant success for Muskegon Heights.

The city celebrated its golden jubilee last year and is looking forward to the next half century with hope of even more advancement than the first fifty years held, largely because of efficient personnel working under a satisfactory system.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

2 Management vs. Dictatorship

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Management in a Democracy

Harold D. Smith

Houston Wins Manager Victory

Ben Kaplan

The Poll Tax Stirs Revolt

Virginus Dabney

Cities Celebrate Manager Plan Birthdays

Lansdowne — Salem — Chapel Hill

Lowell Citizens Map Plan E Campaign

Henry W. Connor

October 1942

Vol. XXXI, No. 9

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 9

Total Number 315

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Management vs. Dictatorship

IN THE face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, there still are many well intentioned people who feel that democracy demands the popular election of long lists of public officials and that any citizen who can get himself elected is automatically qualified to manage the public's business.

This attitude is as unrealistic as that of the few who still insist on the preservation of a "little red school-house" at every crossroads.

Government, especially local government, is simply a group of services which can be rendered more satisfactorily and economically on a community-wide coöperative basis than they can by the individual. These services have multiplied steadily, in good times and bad. It has been authoritatively stated that 90 per cent of the money now spent for government is for services which did not exist two generations ago.

There is no question about what these services are, how desirable they are, and why they exist—as a result of public demand. An examination of the nature of the services cannot fail to convince that they are jobs which can be done satisfactorily only by trained persons.

While governmental standards have improved vastly in virtually all cities, until it is sometimes said that the worst governed city of today is more efficiently operated than the best governed city of 1900, the highest standards have been set, in gen-

eral, by communities which have adopted the council-manager form of government.

This form of government, which came into being as a result of a demand for business rather than political management of public affairs, concentrates great administrative authority in the city manager. It is not surprising, in view of this fact, that those who are intent for their own reasons on opposing the rapid spread of this form of government should play on current fears by calling it a dictatorship.

But there is a clear and basic distinction between experts in a democratic government and in a totalitarian government, as the director of the United States Bureau of the Budget, himself an outstanding exponent and example of management brains in government, sets forth in detail in an article in this issue.¹ Richard S. Childs is credited with having once put it in this capsule form: "In a democracy, the expert is on tap, not on top."

So it is in the council-manager plan. The council can dismiss the manager. An official who is at the mercy of the popularly-elected legislative body simply cannot become a dictator. In thirty-two years no manager has become a dictator. In none of the 550 cities and seven counties which have the manager plan is there a manager who has even been

¹See "Management in a Democracy," by Harold D. Smith, p. 476.

suspected of wishing to aspire to the unbridled power notoriously wielded by some mayors and governors.

The use of the term "manager plan" rather than "council-manager plan" is unfortunate because it tends to obscure the fact that the plan in its approved form assures democratic control by concentrating all powers in a compact, representative council (an outstanding example of the "short ballot") and that it obtains efficiency by concentrating administration in a single officer, the manager, who is appointed by and is responsible to the council. Thus there

can be no avoidance of responsibility either by the people's representatives for determination of policy or by the administrative appointee for actual administration.

The obvious truth is that the efficient operation of government as in the council-manager plan is demonstrably more democratic than in any other form and contributes more to the preservation of democracy. It is the answer to those who sometimes wonder whether the dictator nations don't have an important advantage over us in their vaunted ability to get things done.

A Reason to Be Ashamed

A NEW JERSEY newspaper, apologizing recently for devoting so much space to politics, explained like this:

"In the midst of our nation's all-out war for survival a political battle is raging between two factions of Republicans in Bergen County for the power and pelf that inhere to control of county politics.

"Probably 80 per cent of our readers are not interested in a county political fight for prestige during our nation's fight for survival, but their county newspaper must perforce fulfill its function as a public forum. For that is democracy in action, even though it does seem rather pathetic under the gravest wartime conditions in American history."

This attitude toward a primary election is reminiscent of the "realistic," debunking tribe of authors who saw only sand and ants at picnics, only the seamy side of life, only the unclean in human relationships, only the inadequacies of man.

Fortunately for the kind of life we are now fighting to preserve, all newspapers do not look on the elective process as something tinged with shame and do not believe that this is a time to abandon those things for which we are sacrificing so much. For example, a great Texas newspaper took the leadership in a recent vigorous campaign¹ to rescue the government of Houston, Texas, from political control and make it more efficient. It was quite unashamed of arousing the people of Houston to clean up their own mess and it was equally unashamed of the resounding victory over a venal spoils regime.

And why not? What are we fighting for? How will it hurt the conduct of the war to eliminate waste and worse in local or any other government?

There are many things to be
(Continued on Page 503)

¹See Houston Wins Manager Campaign, p. 481 this issue.

Management in a Democracy

The public administrator in a democracy is encouraged to exercise his skill, to use his judgment, to employ all his talents in performing the functions of government.

By HAROLD D. SMITH, Director
U. S. Bureau of the Budget

MANAGEMENT lies at the core of democratic government. This is equally true in peace and in war. Neither the fruits of peace nor the objectives of war can be gained without bringing into focus the art and science of management. The firmer the foundation of management in times of peace, the less the strain on democratic government at war.

With the peacetime expansion of the rôle of government in our national life there came a new awareness of the important rôle of management. Now, with war calling for the maximum concentration of all resources to achieve victory, it is imperative that the tool, management—for it is only a tool—be sharpened and adjusted to the task. It must be used thoughtfully and skillfully, for without such conscious application all other resources become less useful.

The rôle of management in a democratic society has received scant attention from political scientists and political philosophers. Yet, it is a subject which must be explored far beyond the boundaries of judicial decisions and legislative enactments, right down to the very foundations of society.

The setting for management—this political and philosophical background—is of utmost importance. If the setting is clearly defined and generally understood, management can

be used to the fullest in the service of democracy. Conversely, if the setting is vaguely drawn or falsely presented, then management will lose prestige and competence. Management cannot be expected to function properly in an atmosphere in which it is accused of being weak and ineffective on the one hand, and possessed of powerful revolutionary tendencies on the other.

Efficient management in government is not incompatible with democracy. Rather, such management tends to insure democracy against internal and external attacks.

There are those who express alarm at the growth of scientific management in the affairs of the state. Are we to be subjected to a “new bureaucracy” in government—a bureaucracy of managerial experts? Are we to be required to sacrifice our democratic freedoms in order to gain efficiency in government? Are we to be led into a totalitarian system where the manager will rule the destiny of the common man? These are crucial questions and we should face them squarely.

The prevailing criticism pictures bureaucracy as paralyzed by inertia, bound by unnecessary procedural restrictions, and lacking in imagination. On the other hand, there is a mounting criticism that the administration is aggressive, over-ambitious, all too

eager to seize responsibilities. In short, we are told that instead of being submerged in apathy and dullness—the common accusation of the past—now management has risen to such heights that it seeks a position of power which menaces democratic society.

The new criticism is quite as inaccurate as the traditional one. Our problem is to see clearly the integral rôle of management in our society and to learn how to evaluate administration in accordance with democratic standards. This requires the same careful thought that has already been given to the setting of the legislative and judicial branches of the government. Since no modern government lacking competent administration can expect to survive, there needs to be much clear thinking about the rôle of management and popular understanding of the process.

Unfortunately, we have made it difficult for people to appreciate this process. Officials and scholars concerned with administrative management have, for instance, built up a jargon of their own. Around the field of public administration they have erected a barbed-wire fence of terminology. Such terms as staff function, integration, allocation of duties, span of control, and lines of authority, are now used freely by public administrators to describe various aspects of their jobs. The layman who attempts to hurdle the fence of terminology for a better look at the other side sometimes gets tangled up with the wire and rather badly pricked by the word-barbs. This professional terminology tends to obstruct public understanding of the

rôle of the administrator.

As a matter of fact, the process of management is less mysterious than the terminology would indicate. Simply stated, public management in a democracy provides the means for organizing the available resources and for guiding the combined efforts of many men toward common ends. It operates within the framework of broad policy established by the people; its purpose is to effectuate the will of the people. Therefore, those who are entrusted with the management of government in a democracy rightfully must find their mandate in the voice of the nation, must limit their activities to carrying out this mandate, and must hold themselves accountable to the source of final authority which lies in the people.

Place of the Manager

Governmental administration because of its sheer enormity calls for the most expert attention. Even before the present emergency certain long-time trends showing the significance of management were evident in our national life. As business organizations grew in size and number, management was called upon to organize and to direct. As governmental agencies multiplied and added new public services in response to public demand, management again was asked to solve the problems of large-scale organization.

For years it was the common belief that almost any person could successfully administer the public's business. During those years, some far-seeing persons argued for special training and special capacity for public administrators. But the functions

of government being few and relatively simple, the need for training was not a pressing one. As government became the biggest undertaking of the nation, more and more people began to realize that the need for qualified administrators was as great in public services as in industry. Today our schools and colleges, our professional organizations, and a substantial part of our population agree that particular talents and training are required to cope with the problems of government.

The nineteenth century idea that any honest citizen, regardless of his training or his ability, could effectively carry out the duties of public administration is supplanted by the twentieth century belief that knowledge and ability are necessary. Today, when the duties of government range from inspection of a farmer's dairy to leadership in the greatest war of all time, skill in public management assumes unparalleled importance.

The development of public administration as a profession and the emergence of the government manager causes concern in some quarters. It is feared that a new class of managers is gathering strength to seize the power to control mankind, and that such control will, in turn, be used to force into our system of government a new bureaucracy, a bureaucracy of managerial experts.

I do not share this fear. The manager has a key place in the scheme of large-scale organization, whether it be business or government. It is the manager who takes the products of the scientist's research from their laboratory isolation, joins them with

the products of other research, fits them into new patterns, and then produces articles so cheaply that our lives are enriched. It is the manager who takes over after the engineer has harnessed the power of the waterfall and who directs the supply of electricity to hundreds of homes which never had it before. In government, as in industry, the men who do the planning and the organizing and the guiding are essential cogs in the complicated mechanism of modern civilization, cogs which mesh the gears of production to the drive shaft of human wants and needs.

Democratic Use of Management

Nor do I fear that the expansion of governmental functions and the continuing improvement of their management will finally lead us into totalitarian rule. It is true that the dictators have successfully used the resources of management. To accomplish their purposes they have designed plans, organized human and material resources, directed the use of these resources, and gained national unity to a high degree. But management for totalitarian purposes and management for democratic purposes have widely different objectives. The objective of the totalitarian states is war and conquest, to which they are driven by inner compulsion. Glorification of the state as an absolute entity results in a fanatical zeal to achieve dominance for that state in a world which is presumed to be hostile. The resulting tragedies are written in the blood of those whom the state pretends to "serve."

While the dictators have achieved

a temporary efficiency in government by their exploitation of management, this much vaunted efficiency turns out to be an organized conspiracy on the part of a small oligarchy intent upon personal aggrandizement. This use of management may build a great war machine, but it will not build a lasting government.

Certain limitations prevent the full development of management in the totalitarian state, limitations which do not exist in the democratic state. In a totalitarian state, management serves the clique exploiting the people for its own ends. Management in a democracy, on the other hand, serves all the people—serves the entire citizenry of which management itself is a part.

Acquiescence through fear, which must characterize management in a dictatorship, is not the productive coöperation that is achieved when officials seek to advance the public welfare. A government where action is based on fear cannot long remain competent. Artificial stimuli may shock management into accomplishment for a time, but the shot-in-the-arm technique cannot measure up to the stimulation which comes from a genuine regard for the group served.

Consequently, public management in a democracy has the initial advantage in that it is committed to act for the citizenry with which its own interests are identified. Its loyalty is to that citizenry rather than to some mystic symbol masking the gang in power. Its efforts are directed toward improving the well-being of that citizenry rather than toward furthering the purpose of the "state" at the expense of the individuals who comprise

the state. In the one case, the state uses the people; in the other, the state is of use to the people. Public management in a democracy thus rests on an enduring foundation constructed by the people, a foundation which contributes to the effective conduct of government.

Democracy and Efficiency

But the fact that management in a democracy proceeds from the people does not in itself assure efficiency in carrying out governmental functions. Indeed, it has been said that inefficiency characterizes the government of a democracy and is the price paid for freedom, while in a dictatorship the people are compensated for the loss of their liberties by administrative effectiveness. The implication here is that, to gain efficiency in democratic government, management must obliterate individual liberties.

This implication is fallacious. According to the totalitarian philosophy, the good of the state takes precedence over the good of the individual. In a system which adheres to this concept the individual becomes merely an automaton of the ruling power—without personality that he dares to exhibit, without ideas he dares to express, without initiative he dares to use. Furthermore, a dictator cannot tolerate competition. For the dictator to permit the unhindered development of all the human beings within the state—their skills, their abilities, their ambitions—would be to endanger his own position of supremacy. The strength of the dictator depends upon his power to exploit the fears and phobias of his followers and to crush the hatreds

that his tyranny has aroused.

Under the democratic concept the citizen is not only free but he is encouraged to strive for personal advancement, to voice his thoughts, and to show his resourcefulness. Democracy draws its strength from the employment of the best talents and skills of free men and women.

The sharp contrast in the totalitarian and the democratic concepts concerning the individual has great significance when applied to management. Totalitarian subordination of individual worth restrains public management from making the maximum use of human abilities. Initiative and enterprise are stifled. Opportunities to propose new methods, to improve old techniques, to suggest alternative plans, exist only within the very restricted area laid out by the controlling power. The public manager who is "too good" in his field, "too clever" in his approach, "too effective" in his job soon becomes "too dangerous" in the totalitarian system. He must walk carefully along the narrow road of totalitarian policy, or he will slip into the deep ditch of oblivion which the dictator reserves for those whose zeal exceeds the confines set for them.

Goal of Administration

Regimented action is not truly efficient action. True efficiency results when men are free from fear and thus genuinely free to apply their intelligence, their training, and their enthusiasm to their tasks. Democracy provides a superior atmosphere for creative effort on the part of the individual. Within pre-established policies, the public administrator in

a democracy is encouraged to exercise his skill, to use his judgment, to employ all his talents in performing the functions of government.

That democracy is inefficient and fumbling is a fallacy based upon a misreading of our experience. It is true that in periods of vacillating legislative policy management may appear ineffective. Yet, seeming disorder and a confused sense of direction are a natural result of the variety of goals which men envision under a system that permits wide differences of opinion.

Viewed in the aggregate the diversity of aims seems disorderly, but we must have that diversity if we are to have freedom for choice. Once the decision to follow one course is made, a democratic government is capable of effective action because the mass of citizens more fully understands—and is in sympathy with—the objectives. In recent months we have seen democracy make up its mind, and our enemies shall discover how effective management in that democracy can be.

We are, then, seeking to build up a management of government which fully utilizes the talent and skill of managers, keeps itself responsive to the social conscience, and preserves such able, orderly, and unobtrusive administration as will facilitate the translation of national aspirations into realities. Such is the sound rôle for management in a democracy.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Based on address before joint session of the American Society for Public Administration and the American Political Science Association, New York City, December 1941.

Houston Wins Manager Campaign

*Aroused by city's serious health problem
citizens led by newspaper editor unite in
successful campaign for charter changes.*

By BEN KAPLAN
Houston Press

AROUSED housewives and physicians, appalled at public health conditions, have finally succeeded, in face of the bitter opposition of a political machine, in securing the council-manager plan for Houston. On January 1, 1943, Houston will become the third largest city in the nation to operate with a city manager at the helm.

Houston's metropolitan area population approximates 500,000 and it is the largest city in Texas and second largest in the south.

Adoption of the council-manager plan was voted August 15 with the passage of four charter amendments and the defeat of five other amendments which would have set up the mayor-commission form.

The council-manager amendments were adopted by a five to four margin while the mayor-commission amendments were buried by three to one. Four years ago a similar manager plan was defeated by 427 votes.

Hundreds of voluntary workers, with the women providing the spark, put this question to the voters: "Which form of government will help the war effort most?"

Under the banner of the Citizens Charter Committee these workers contended that only through better government could better health be achieved and that better health, particularly in an army camp and war industry center such as Houston,

was a prime essential. They also argued that the city manager form would save \$500,000 a year from Houston's \$10,000,000 municipal government (exclusive of schools) cost.

Arguments raised against adoption of the city manager system were that it was dictatorial, that wartime was no time to change the form of government, that a change of elected officials was sufficient to improve efficiency at the City Hall.

These arguments were pretty well demolished by the Citizens Charter Committee, which had a harder time running down half-truths and outright falsifications issued by some members of the opposition camp. Some of these whispering campaign untruths were that adoption of the city manager plan would permit Negroes a vote in the Democratic primary in November, that so-and-so (usually an unpopular individual) would be named city manager, that a city birth control clinic would be established. This latter was designed to antagonize Catholics.

Prominent lay Catholics, including Robert Kelley and Charles Perlitz, well known lawyers, and Dr. Maurice Meynier, Jr., a prominent physician, took the stump and appeared on the radio to nail the bigotry injected into the campaign.

Of the three daily Houston newspapers, the *Press*, a Scripps-Howard paper, was the lone supporter of the

council-manager plan. The morning *Houston Post* remained silent editorially although many of its news stories were critical of the plan. The *Houston Chronicle*, a Jesse Jones enterprise, savagely attacked the manager plan both editorially and in news columns.

The *Press-Chronicle* fight created added interest in the campaign and was one of the most bitter newspaper battles in the city's history.

"Without the *Press's* support the city manager plan would never have carried," admitted Homer F. Lyles, a city commissioner who as nominal head of the fire department helped direct the anti-manager campaign.

The Citizens Charter Committee headed by a former Houston mayor, R. H. Fonville, frankly credited the *Press* with the manager plan victory.

Houston's municipal government has been in a constant muddle for more than a decade.

The city charter provided for a "strong" mayor and four commissioners elected at large. Invariably the city commissioners would "gang up" on the mayor, however, and demand and get control of individual departments—the major ones being the tax, fire, public works, and water departments.

This system, despite the personnel of the elected officials, led to interminable wranglings. Log-rolling was the rule. Every year budget clashes would develop in the struggle to get the lion's share for favorite departments, many of which degenerated into patronage machines.

Four of the city's five former mayors openly came out for adoption of the city manager plan.

The origins of the city manager drive in Houston lay with a group of women, most of them members of the League of Women Voters, who became interested in public health. This group was joined by the Houston Council of Church Women and both began an intensive study of health conditions in the city.

Their interest was spurred by the mass resignation of physicians serving as the City Health Board. The medical men, their recommendations snubbed, resigned in protest against political operation of the health department.

Venereal disease grew so bad that army authorities frequently protested. Contagious disease was on the increase. Once, disgusted with the inefficiency of the city health department's milk division, the State Health Department cut off state aid. Already the rabies capital of America, Houston's unenviable rabies record grew worse.

The outraged women demanded revamping of the civil service to take the health department out of politics, feeling this would partially solve the problem. Unanimously, City Council agreed to hire Public Administration Service to straighten out the civil service system. A month later the Council bluntly went back on its promise and the women this time decided a change to the city manager system was the one effective way to get the job done.

Former Mayor Fonville and Lee M. Sharrar, a former Rice Institute professor, appealed to Council to call an election on four charter amendments providing for a nine-member council who would appoint

the city manager. Five of the eight councilmen would be required to live in certain districts. The other three could live anywhere in the city. The eight councilmen and the mayor would all run at large, with a \$2,000 salary for the mayor and a maximum of \$1,500 a year for councilmen.

Council refused to call the election.

In three weeks' time, the Citizens Charter Committee's volunteer household-to-house women workers rolled up more than 16,000 signatures on petitions to initiate the election.

By law, Council had to call the election.

In order to confuse the issue, Council then did two things. It inspired a counter-series of charter amendments, setting up a \$10,000-a-year mayor and providing for six commissioners at \$6,000 a year. Present salaries are \$7,500 for the mayor and \$3,600 for the four commissioners, plus \$60 a month car allowances.

Secondly, Council sandwiched the charter election in between the first and second state and county primary elections. In vain, the Charter Committee protested that the added election expense was wasteful. Council stood firm, convinced that a large vote on either primary election date would put over the charter amendments setting up the manager system while with a small turnout of voters, the city machine vote would defeat the manager plan.

Robert Waltrip, chairman of the Civil Service Commission, took occasion to warn the 2,800 city employees to stay out of the campaign, citing a city ordinance against

political campaigning by city employees.

Council's answer was to amend the ordinance so that employees could campaign—and since the commissioners opposed the manager amendments, their action was interpreted by employees as an order to go out and fight the manager amendments.

The *Houston Press* conducted a symposium and citizens all over the city, including several federal civil service officials, protested that Council's action was high-handed. Waltrip observed the new "politicking" ordinance made a joke out of civil service.

The city's firemen most actively and openly campaigned to defeat the amendments. Efforts were made to get labor unions to oppose them, but from Dallas and Fort Worth came union leaders who asserted their advocacy of the city manager plan.

Rapidly the issue became one between a political machine and political amateurs. The amateurs, fired by their cause, outmaneuvered their opponents.

The *Press*, which earlier had sent a staff reporter to write what he found good and bad in the major city manager cities in Texas, developed many articles recounting deficiencies in the city's operations. It showed that the water department income had fallen off by tens of thousands of dollars. It showed that despite a near-record budget, the street and bridge department was spending only about 20 per cent for materials and the remainder to maintain patronage men on the payroll and for gasoline and motor repairs.

The *Press* contrasted this picture

with the scores of unpaved streets, deferred maintenance on sewers, and failure to provide adequate drainage.

Department after department was thus analyzed and when city manager opponents sought to claim the city tax rate in Dallas, under a city manager, was higher than in Houston, the *Press* showed that the reverse was true. The city manager opponents deliberately had included the Dallas school rate and omitted the Houston rate.

Churchmen, including Bishop Clinton S. Quin of the Episcopal Church, came out for the manager plan. Industrialists such as William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of Commerce and head of the world's largest cotton house, and George Verity, head of the parent company of Houston's Sheffield Steel Company, endorsed the manager plan.

The Houston Medical Society, with more than five hundred physicians, came out for the manager plan and such physicians as Dr. John T. Moore, former president of the Texas Medical Association, and many past and present officials of the local society, made public speeches. The local society even inserted newspaper advertisements advocating the manager plan.

Similarly, the Houston Health League with nurses, doctors, dentists, and druggists, came out for the manager plan.

J. S. Bracewell, former president of the Houston Bar Association, offered to turn against the city man-

ager plan if the opposition could produce a former city mayor, or former city attorney, or former city engineer not actively identified with the "antis" who would challenge his statement that \$500,000 a year savings would accrue from adoption of the manager plan.

The challenge went unanswered.

Cartoons used by the *Press*, together with front page editorials by Editor Allan C. Bartlett, were effectively used by the Citizens Charter Committee.

The contention that the war was no time to change the form of government was answered by business men and industrialists who pointed to bungled civilian defense matters by City Council, preventing full benefit from the work of volunteer defense workers. Elimination of waste in municipal government was made more necessary than ever by the war, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Clayton and Clarence Dykstra, former city manager of Cincinnati and University of Wisconsin president, said.

With a decisive victory won, the Houston Citizens Charter Committee is remaining on the alert to prevent the political groups who fought the city manager plan from gaining the whiphand. The Committee will take an active part in the November Democratic primary at which candidates for City Council will be nominated. High caliber men are being counted on to run.

The Poll Tax Stirs Revolt

The south is awakening with considerable rapidity to the iniquitous character of this admission fee to the polling booth.

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY, Editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is from Chapter IV, "Barriers to the Ballot," of Mr. Dabney's recent book, *Below the Potomac—a Book About the New South*. Copyright 1942 by D. Appleton-Century Company, reprinted by permission of the publisher.

FROM the crags above Harpers Ferry to the mesas fringing the Rio Grande a revolt is brewing against the poll tax. The strength of the movement varies in each of the eight southern states which retains the levy as a prerequisite to voting, but it is definitely a movement. It was well under way before President Roosevelt, in September 1938, called for elimination of the tax, and it has since gained much impetus. The opposition seems at last to be definitely on the defensive in the face of the gathering wave of resentment, and this barrier to the ballot may fall in several states during the next few years.

The poll tax has an ancient, if not always honorable, history. Aristotle refers to it as a "most ignominious imposition" which "none but slaves paid to their tyrants." It was levied by the conquering Romans upon the peoples they reduced to subjection, and was considered at that period to be an earnest of servitude. A thousand years later Wat Tyler led the peasants of England in a bloody rebellion against the tax, and although the uprising was put down many of its objectives were achieved.

Today in the south the tide of revolt is rising. Louisiana and Florida abolished the levy on the franchise in the middle 1930's, and an effort toward repeal in Arkansas received legislative approval in 1937, only to be voted down by the people the following year in a referendum which saw the politicians and the press aligned almost solidly in opposition.

The year 1941 marked the emergence of the Southern Electoral Reform League, with active members in each poll-tax state and machinery for presenting repeal arguments to the voters. In Tennessee, where Jennings Perry, associate editor of the *Nashville Tennessean* and league president, is in a position to push the fight with especial vigor, the outlook is rather propitious. Thirty counties abolished the poll tax in 1941 as a prerequisite for voting in county elections. In Virginia, where no candidate for governor ever before announced prior to election that he favored even so much as modification of the poll-tax law, three of the four candidates in the Democratic primaries of 1941 urged outright appeal.

This admission fee to the ballot box is, of course, the fruit of the reconstruction era. Various restrictions upon the voting privilege were imposed in the form of property requirements and other similar limitations during most of the colonial and

the ante-bellum periods, but the poll tax as we know it was framed late in the nineteenth century as a device primarily designed to sunder the liberated Negro slaves from the polling booth.

After the orgies of reconstruction some such device was deemed necessary, for widespread electoral fraud had been resorted to by desperate whites during the post-bellum years, and well disposed southerners considered such a situation intolerable. So, as the turn of the century neared, the southern states began enacting franchise requirements which were, in most instances, technically legal. By the early 1900's every state below the Potomac and the Ohio had fallen into line except Kentucky, which never enacted a poll tax. In addition a variety of residence, property, and educational qualifications were imposed throughout the south. Almost all the Negroes were effectively disfranchised.

But a substantial percentage of the whites also were disfranchised. If such was the intention of the framers of these constitutional provisions and statutes, the writer has been able to discover only a limited amount of evidence to that effect. Dr. H. C. Nixon of Vanderbilt University has pointed out that "it was generally understood and frankly stated that these measures for regulating and restricting registration for voting were designed to take the Negro out of politics but to 'disfranchise no white man.'" In Louisiana, for example, the chairman of the constitutional convention said: "Doesn't it let the white man vote, and doesn't it stop

the Negro from voting, and isn't that what we came here for?"

Over against such manifestations as these, however, one must place the fact that in some states, as pointed out by C. Vann Woodward, the biographer of Thomas E. Watson, certain influential whites were anxious to disfranchise the Populist vote, while the upstate masses of whites were openly skeptical at times concerning the white-supremacy rationalization of the disfranchisers.

Small Vote in Poll-Tax States

But whatever the intentions of the men who erected these barriers to the southern ballot box, the fact is that today, from a third- to a half-century later, the number of persons of both races who are prevented by them from voting is enormous. That is particularly true in the poll-taxed states, where the number of whites participating in the business of electing candidates to office is by far the lowest in the Union.

In the presidential election of 1936, for example, the nine states which then had the poll tax sent only 24 per cent of their adult citizens to the polls, whereas in the thirty-nine other states 72 per cent voted. In 1940 the south made an even more deplorable showing, for the percentage of its adults who exercised their sovereign right dropped to 21.1 in the eight states with poll taxes. The fact that in the rest of the country there was a slight decrease to 70.6 per cent is relatively unimportant, since a popular participation in excess of 70 per cent is reasonably adequate.

To what extent is the low percent-

age in the eight above-mentioned states attributable to the fact that so few Negroes vote? That is part of the answer, of course, but by no means all. The whites outnumber the Negroes by large majorities in all but one southern state today, and in that one, Mississippi, the whites enjoy a slight numerical superiority. In other words, the proportion of whites who vote in these eight states is but a fraction of those who do so in the rest of the country. Estimates which seem reliable place the proportion of adult whites voting in these states at a low of 18 per cent for South Carolina and a high of 33 per cent for Tennessee. This is partly accounted for by the comparative lack of competition from the Republicans in the south, with a corresponding lack of interest, and by the other franchise restrictions in addition to the poll tax. However, it cannot be doubted that this levy, which ranges from one to two dollars a year, bears a large share of the responsibility.

It is argued, occasionally, that the white voters of the poll-taxed states do, in fact, exercise the franchise freely in the Democratic primaries, and that aspersions based upon the small number of voters in elections are therefore unjustified (Negroes are banned from these primaries in nearly all southern states). But the late Representative Geyer of California torpedoed that argument with an analysis of the seventy-eight Democratic primaries held in the poll-taxed states during 1940 for the choice of representatives in Congress. More than half of them—forty-two to be exact—were uncontested, while in the thirty where primary elections were

held, fewer than one-third as many voters took part as in the general elections for members of Congress in other parts of the country.

Why has the poll tax persisted in the south? There are various reasons. In the first place, the conviction persists in many parts of the region that this device is still necessary to the maintenance of "white supremacy." In the second place, the political leaders often favor retention of the levy, since those who have been chosen to office by a limited electorate naturally prefer not to risk the uncertainty of a contest in which thousands of new voters take part. Again, those interests which prefer to see political power remain in the hands of the "upper crust" of propertied voters, rather than in those of the masses, likewise back the *status quo*. Lastly, the attitude of the disfranchised whites has been, in the main, either indifferent or inarticulate until recent years.

Conditions under Poll Tax

What have been the political and social consequences of the levy? It has tended to encourage corruption, for the wholesale payment of taxes by political organizations is a common practice. Another result has been the partial atrophy of the democratic process, owing to limited participation by the people in that process. Another is that it has placed obstacles in the way of securing needed social and labor legislation in states where so many beneficiaries of this legislation cannot vote.

Mississippi still has no workmen's compensation law, while Arkansas, Florida, and South Carolina passed

such legislation only in recent years. Virginia, North Carolina, and Louisiana are the only southern states which limit women's work to forty-eight hours per week. Child labor legislation and state labor departments are considerably less effective in the south than elsewhere, and the only southern states with minimum wage laws are Kentucky, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The first two have no poll tax, and the \$1.25 a day minimum in Arkansas makes the law there largely meaningless.

Reform Movements Difficult

This tax also makes movements for reform in state or local government more difficult than in regions where it is not levied. Political machines see that their followers' capitation taxes are paid up, with the result that, when the ordinary independent voter becomes aroused a short time before election, it is apt to be past the deadline for making the payment, or he may have to pay several years' back taxes before he can vote. In Virginia, for example, he must pay up for three years, if his tax for that period is in arrears, or approximately five dollars, including penalties. In Georgia the levy is cumulative for seven years, making a maximum of \$15.50 in tax and interest which can be assessed, while in Alabama a man under forty years of age can be required to pay his back tax of \$1.50 for every year since he reached the age of twenty-one.

Those who favor abolition of the capitation levy contend that the tax might be justified if anybody could show that the states which have it enjoy an obviously better brand of

state and local government than those which do not. But they ask whether it can be seriously argued that South Carolina, Mississippi, or Georgia is better governed than, say, Connecticut, Kansas, or Colorado. They point out, further, that nearly every notorious political mountebank who has risen in the twentieth century has been chosen by a poll-taxed electorate, so that the tax is obviously no protection against such exhibitionists. In the case of Huey Long, the most notorious of all, a poll-taxed electorate made him the czar of Louisiana, but his machine was finally smashed by voters who no longer had to pay such an admission fee to the ballot box. The fee was abolished after the establishment of the dictatorship. Thus a corrupt, authoritarian regime was established under the aegis of the very tax which is supposed to prevent such eventualities, while the rascals were turned out by the type of enlarged and relatively unrestricted electorate which many believe to be conducive to graft and demagoguery.

Those who favor retention of the poll tax frequently say that "if a man isn't willing to pay a dollar or two a year to vote, he isn't much of a citizen," an argument which ignores the fact that in times of economic stress, and even in boom times, there are thousands whose meager incomes will not permit even so small a cash outlay. Another argument on behalf of the levy is that since in the eight poll-taxed states the proceeds from these payments go wholly or partly to public education, abolition of the capitation tax would cause the schools to suffer. But the poll-taxed states do

not enforce collection of this so-called tax, which is really a voluntary payment. The consequence is that receipts are far below what they would be if it were a regularly collected head tax on every adult, proceeds from which would be devoted to public education.

Those who favor the *status quo* in the realm of the poll tax likewise argue that it is unwise to throw the polls open to urban laborers, rural share-croppers, and other underprivileged elements with possibly prehensile tendencies.

Whatever the validity of this argument in other spheres, it certainly has little in so far as old-age pension schemes are concerned. This is because six of the eight poll-taxed states exempt from payment persons who have arrived at a certain age. In one the exemption begins at age forty-five, in one at age fifty, and in four at age sixty.

"Device of Corruption"

The poll tax is, of course, a well known vehicle of corruption, for despite laws forbidding the payment of such levies *en bloc* by political machines, such payments are made with great regularity in many parts of the south. The defeated machine in San Antonio, a notorious and reactionary organization, tried to use the Texas law, which forbids loans or gifts of money for the payment of poll taxes, against former Mayor Maury Maverick, one of the south's most aggressive advocates of poll-tax reform and cleaner elections. Mayor Maverick was acquitted of lending money to members of a labor union so they could qualify to vote for him, but

plenty of this sort of thing goes on. Usually the payments are made by entrenched and sinister politicians, bent on sandbagging the public.

Opponents of suffrage reform in the south are wont to argue at times that poll-tax repeal wouldn't affect appreciably the size of the electorate, and that therefore one of the major objectives of the repealists would not be achieved. It is impossible to understand the basis of their contention, since practically all the figures are against them. The effects of the poll tax upon the size of the electorate were manifest from the time it was applied. In Tennessee, for example, 90 per cent of the adult male population voted in the presidential contest in 1888. By 1892, after the poll tax became effective, the percentage dropped to 70. By 1904 it was 58 per cent, by 1920 it was 46 per cent, by 1928 it was 34 per cent, and by 1940 it had fallen to 28 per cent. These figures are for both white and colored. In Virginia, following the application of the poll tax to the electorate, the white vote was cut almost exactly in half, to say nothing of the colored vote. More recently, repeal of the tax in Louisiana and Florida was followed by huge increases in the number of white voters. In the latter state the total vote in the first regular Democratic primary following repeal underwent an increase of 100 per cent.

It is argued that these new voters are merely riff-raff, who are not sufficiently interested in their government to pay a dollar or two a year to exercise the franchise. Then what of the thousands who are disqualified by the requirement that the tax be paid so

long in advance of the election as to render voting impossible to those who become interested in a given contest after the deadline? (Payment of the tax must be made from six to ten months in advance of the election in Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.) Consider also the results of a survey made at Alabama Polytechnic Institute in 1940 to determine the effect of the tax upon the eligibility of the faculty to vote. No fewer than seventy-eight teachers and thirty-five other staff members were found to be ineligible because they had not registered and paid their poll taxes. All could have voted if they had fulfilled these requirements. The seventy-eight teachers comprised 37 per cent of the teaching staff at the institute.

Aid to "Bosses"

A different sort of abuse of the electoral process exists in Tennessee, where the boss-controlled vote of Memphis is large enough to swing almost any state election. The result is that the Memphis machine, ruled by Edward H. Crump, otherwise yclept the "Red Snapper," controls Tennessee to all intents and purposes. Here again the poll tax makes that control easier than it would otherwise be, for we have noted that the tax plays into the hands of machines everywhere. Not only does the levy enable the Crump machine to control the vote more readily through block payments, but it keeps the total vote of all parties in Tennessee down to around 400,000. With the Memphis organization able to throw 100,000 Democratic votes in any direction it sees fit, Tennessee has virtually be-

come a political fief of "Boss" Crump, who controls not only the governor but also the state legislature.

It was this same "Boss" Crump who knifed the move to repeal the poll tax in Tennessee, after both he and Cooper, his gubernatorial stooge, had openly advocated repeal. Mr. Cooper did so in 1938, prior to his first election to the governorship. But when the legislature met the following year, all poll-tax-repeal bills were smothered, despite the fact that the Governor seemed to be able to get through any bills he really wanted. Up for reelection in 1939, Cooper reiterated his advocacy of repeal, and Crump echoed his sentiments. Advocates of lowering the voting requirements took heart, and a concerted drive was organized. Jennings Perry of the *Nashville Tennessean* wrote a series of articles in support of repeal, which was published simultaneously in that paper and in the *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, *Chattanooga Times*, and *Knoxville News-Sentinel*.

Despite this powerful press support and the apparent fact that a majority of the members of the legislature, as candidates for the law-making body the previous year, had endorsed repeal, it was chloroformed at the session of 1941. The bill was put to sleep by the very pair who had urged its passage shortly before—Crump and Cooper.

The campaign against the poll tax in the Volunteer State should be facilitated by the presence of the inevitable corruption which is an integral part of the system there, as elsewhere. Several persons were convicted recently of distributing counterfeit poll-tax receipts in Chattanooga. Such a

conviction is a rare achievement, for usually the laws against this sort of thing are so dependent upon machine officeholders for their enforcement that convictions are hardly ever obtained.

The Southern Electoral Reform League's rôle in Tennessee and other southern states with poll taxes may be important. The league adopted a resolution at its first meeting, approving the Geyer bill for congressional repeal of the poll tax in so far as it applies to federal elections, but some of the League's officers and members do not desire to see this legislation passed. Far better that the individual states should resolve this knotty question for themselves.

Federal Court Decisions

Until late in 1941 there was the possibility that the result sought by the Geyer and Pepper bills would be achieved through court action. Although the United States Supreme Court held in a unanimous opinion in the Breedlove case of 1937 that the Georgia poll tax was constitutional, a test of the Tennessee tax as a prerequisite to participation in elections of congressional candidates was initiated by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The district and circuit courts had ruled in this case that the tax does not contravene the constitution, but it was felt that the Supreme Court might decide, despite its opinion as to the Georgia tax, that convincing new arguments had been found, since this case involving one

Henry Pirtle, was presented to the court on a different basis from Georgia's Breedlove case of some years before. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court declined even to hear argument, and the effort to outlaw the tax by this means collapsed. The effect of a contrary ruling upon southern opinion would not have been salutary, although it would doubtless have evoked a less violent response than would follow the adoption of a congressional act by the north and west over the south's reverberating protest.

Whatever the final disposition of the matter in the courts, and the ultimate arbitrament of the Congress, the fact remains that the south is awakening with considerable rapidity to the iniquitous character of this admission fee to the polling booth. More and more southerners are arriving at the conclusion that there is no proper relationship between the size of one's bank roll and one's fitness to exercise the franchise in a democracy. Young men are being drafted by the thousands, and trained for the defense of their country, with no questions asked concerning their payment or nonpayment of poll taxes. Yet these same young men are not considered competent to vote unless they have complied with archaic and outmoded requirements instituted some decades ago, at a time when conditions bore no resemblance to these which prevail today. Small wonder, then, that the poll tax is under fire in the south, and that the fire is getting hotter.

Manager Plan Brings Lansdowne Efficiency and Economy

By FRANK STEWART
Editor, Delaware County Times

AS LANSDOWNE Borough in Pennsylvania casts a backward glance over the past twenty years and reviews the progress it has made under the manager plan of government, it can come to only one conclusion—that this form of government is synonymous with the highest efficiency. Through it the borough has attained an eminence which marks it as the outstanding community in Delaware County and one of the most progressive in the state.

Twenty years ago the Borough Council of Lansdowne, by ordinance dated March 1922, adopted the manager plan, being the second municipality in the state to take such a step. Borough citizens have ever since been extremely grateful for this foresightedness, for the new form of government brought about an efficiency and economy in administration which enabled the borough to successfully clear the many difficult hurdles that were later to be encountered, especially during the depression years.

Frank B. Titus, appointed borough manager when the ordinance was passed twenty years ago, is still on the job, and doing the same high-type work which characterized his early years in this new venture into sound

governmental management.

Before 1922 Lansdowne's public affairs were managed by councilmanic committees, the heads of which had their own private businesses and could devote only a small portion of their time to borough work. This resulted in a certain amount of inefficiency and duplication and a corresponding wastage of the taxpayers' money.

Under the manager the various departments were concentrated under one head and a system installed that enabled the municipality to carry out a program of advanced ideas in government without added expense to the taxpayer.

Surplus of Tax Funds

Better still, because of this modern way of conducting a large public corporation, a surplus of tax moneys gradually accumulated which was returned to property owners in tax reductions—three such reductions have been made during the past fifteen years.

It was during the prolonged depression that the manager plan proved its greatest worth. While other less fortunate communities were hard put to make ends meet, many of them borrowing until the burden became unbearable, Lansdowne continued paying all its obligations promptly, and not once was it necessary to ask for outside financial assistance. In fact, two of the tax reductions were made during this period.

Moneys saved through efficient

EDITOR'S NOTE.—These articles continue the series on the council-manager plan begun in our July issue. All three cities, Lansdowne, Salem, and Chapel Hill, have completed twenty years of council-manager government.

management enabled the borough to compile such a splendid "depression" record. A pay-as-you-go policy was adopted, and surplus funds were used to finance public expenditures each year until tax moneys started to come in beginning with August. This policy proved so sound it is still being used, and with the close of 1941 Lansdowne had a balance of nearly \$40,000 to tide it over the lean months of the present year.

Another indication of the excellence of Lansdowne's municipal financing plan could be seen during the depression years in the demand for its bonds, which incidentally were floated before the manager plan came into existence. It was impossible to buy them prior to the time of expiration, as the borough found when it tried to retire a series before the date of maturity.

Throughout the depression public services were maintained at the highest level, while those in other towns were suffering a deterioration as an effort was made to cope with the financial stringency.

Leads the County

Under the plan Lansdowne has taken the leadership in Delaware County so far as progressive government is concerned. It has the finest system of improved streets in the county and ranks with any community of its size in the state in the matter of street lighting. Its police department was the first in the county to install two-way radio communication, and in every other phase of municipal life it has taken a foremost place among those towns with a similar population—ten thousand.

Lansdowne, too, through Borough Manager Titus, has helped to spread the gospel of efficient government in this and adjoining states, and many communities have adopted the plan because of what they have discovered in a study of the Lansdowne setup. Mr. Titus on numerous occasions has been invited to address local governmental bodies, and although a busy man, has always found time to preach the good cause.

This form of government has removed the borough work forces from political influence, encouraged efficiency and economy and rewarded those who are responsible for a job well done.

Park Program

The latest project committed to the manager is the operation of Lansdowne's public parks and playgrounds under a Recreation Commission. During the past year the borough, through Council, has acquired tracts of land for three public parks, one exclusively for the small colored population in its midst. The manager has seen to the erection of a community house in the latter tract, which is used as a meeting place for a civic organization, boys' club, defense groups, and as a night school for adults. He is also beautifying the other two tracts for outdoor activities during the summer.

Long an advocate of an adequate public park system, Mr. Titus is now putting into concrete shape those ideas he had some time ago drafted for future reference, and when another year rolls around, Lansdowne will have in these modern play areas

one more landmark symbolizing the outstanding success of its manager form of government.

After twenty years of the manager

plan Lansdowne would have no other, for it has proved its worth and shown itself far superior to the old method in every test placed upon it.

Salem Taxes and Debt Decrease under Manager

By **JOHN H. THORNTON**, Publisher
Salem, Virginia, Times-Register

THE "proof of the pudding is in the eating." This applies to municipal government just as it does to everything else, and on this twentieth anniversary of the adoption of council-manager government in Salem, Virginia, the results obtained are ample proof of the wisdom of discarding the old and taking on the new form of government.

Under the council-manager system the charter provides for a Council of three members elected at large. These three councilmen select one of their number as mayor at the organization meeting following each councilmanic election.

For administering the affairs of the town a manager is appointed by Council, to which he is directly responsible. During the past twenty years there have been five town managers, each having served approximately four years, all of whom have been selected on the basis of their training and executive ability with politics playing no part in their appointment.

Members of Council have practically without exception confined their activities to legislative and policy-making, leaving administrative authority with the manager.

Not once has there been any serious question of returning to the old form of government.

Operating its own electric light distribution system, water works, and sewerage system, the annual budget has increased from \$94,000 in 1922 to \$212,000 in 1942. The bonded debt was \$163,600 in 1922, and \$225,000 of general improvement serial bonds were issued in 1924. All of the old bonds have been retired. The 1924 series have been retired annually as they have become due, and will be completely paid off in 1954. The present bonded debt of the town is \$110,000, being only \$19.15 per capita. Salem does not operate any public schools; these are part of the Roanoke County system.

The tax levy for the town has been reduced from \$1.20 per \$100 assessed valuation in 1922 to \$.75 in 1942, and the total levy for town, county, and state purposes has been decreased from \$2.65 in 1922 to \$2.05 in 1942.

In spite of the reduction in tax rates, the town has, under the guidance of a Council of leading public-spirited citizens and with well qualified town managers, accomplished many improvements in its services to its citizens. It has carried on an extensive construction program as

indicated by the following accomplishments:

1. A new municipal building and fire house constructed in 1925. Additional modern motorized fire fighting equipment has been purchased and together with other improvements has given the town one of the most modern fire departments in the state as well as a material reduction in fire insurance rates.

2. The personnel of the police department has been increased from three in 1922 to six in 1942, and a radio equipped patrol car has been added.

3. The street lighting system has been modernized including a white way, and the entire electric light distribution system has been improved and rebuilt.

4. Many miles of streets have been graded and paved; curbs, gutters and sidewalks have been extended.

5. The sanitary sewerage system has been extended until at the present time about 97 per cent of town buildings are connected with sewers

and about 99 per cent have sewers available.

6. A new 1,000,000 gallon per day water filtration plant was built in 1930 at a cost of approximately \$85,000. Storage on the distribution system has been increased from 225,000 gallons in 1922 to 950,000 gallons in 1942, and many miles of cast iron mains have been added.

7. Other accomplishments include a municipal stadium and athletic field, a community center, numerous parks, central repair shop and garages, planning commission, zoning ordinance, codification and printing of ordinances, centralized purchasing with the town manager as purchasing agent, modernized accounting and record system, free bi-weekly garbage collection service using a modern enclosed body truck, and other items too numerous to mention.

Confidence of the people in their government, together with the wholehearted coöperation of citizens, has been one of the most important factors in making the council-manager form of government such an outstanding success in Salem.

Chapel Hill Manager Cooperates with University on City Problems

By ELWYN A. MAUCK, Chief,
Program Docket and Directives
Section, Office of Civilian Defense

CHAPEL HILL, North Carolina, now experiencing its twentieth year under the city manager plan, owes its creation and existence to the University of North Carolina,

which lays legitimate claim to being the country's oldest state university.

The first state legislature of North Carolina, in fulfilling a mandate embodied in the state constitution of 1776, directed that the university's site should be adequately removed from political influence of the state capital or any county seat. The spe-

cial commission delegated to choose the site finally selected a beautiful hilltop thirty miles from the capital and over ten miles from the nearest county seat. The site already contained a little country church known as New Hope Chapel. Slowly a small community developed and grew around the university to serve its needs. Today, Chapel Hill still retains the physical appearance of a charming residential village with a university sprawled in its very heart. Chapel Hillians intend to keep it that way.

The influence of the university continues to be the all-important factor in the conduct of the town's affairs. With a transient student body of more than four thousand greatly outnumbering the remainder of the population, the problems of government are not those usually encountered in a small village. The status of the university as a corporation owned by the state gives rise to unusual patterns in the local government's functional arrangements.

University Tax-Exempt

Since the university is state-owned, it is tax-exempt. This means that from one-third to one-half of the value of the real estate within the corporate limits has never borne any part of the tax load. The result is that the town can install public improvements and purchase equipment only after negotiation with university officials through which the university assumes a designated portion of the costs. For continuing services, the university makes flat payments in lieu of taxes.

Since the university is given cer-

tain police powers, the policing function is shared by the university and the town. The university's police power governs the health, welfare, and morals of students within a five-mile radius of the university. In addition to the usual administrative staff on student welfare the university employs several policemen who become an integral part of the town force. Student welfare considerations also developed unusual arrangements in the field of public utilities. Thus telephone, electrical power, water supply, and even the laundry are monopolies owned by the university. However, their services are open to all residents of the community.

The proposal and adoption of the manager plan twenty years ago also had its impetus within the university. The dean of the School of Engineering, who was serving as a member of the city council, became interested in the manager plan and eventually urged its adoption. The plan was adopted by town ordinance, and the director of the field service of the School of Engineering became Chapel Hill's first "business manager" on a part-time basis. Later the position of town manager was incorporated in the Chapel Hill charter, and the salary of the office increased gradually from \$1,290 until it reached a peak of \$4,200.

Steady Progress

Chapel Hill has progressed steadily under the administrations of three managers. The principles of the plan suffered a reverse on one occasion when the second manager removed an official favored by the

(Continued on Page 528)

On the Local Front

*Day-care centers for children of working mothers;
one-week nutrition campaign gets effective results.*

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

IN COMMUNITIES all over the country war activities have intensified the need for protection of children. Concentration of population has resulted in overcrowding, inadequate housing, lack of necessary facilities for education and recreation, and hazards to the health of children. Today, this need is being intensified by the employment of women.

The expansion of the war production program, as well as the increasing requirements of our armed forces, necessitates the maximum utilization of our labor resources. In communities where housing and transportation facilities will not take care of any new population, the local labor supply must be used to keep industries going. In such communities it is inevitable that workers will include a much larger number of married women with children than in communities where war industries have a less limited labor supply from which to draw workers.

As plans develop for the participation of women in war industry, it must be recognized that the care of young children is the first responsibility of mothers. When mothers are employed or planning to enter employment it becomes a community responsibility to see that parents have assistance in planning for their needs and that the children have the best possible care—including health supervision, opportunity for nursery education and play for the youngest, and recreation outside of school hours for those who attend school.

The British found that, as they em-

ployed large numbers of women, some provision had to be made for the care of their children while they were at work. As of March 1942 there were 1,500 day-care centers in Great Britain and an additional 700 were being planned to care for the children of working mothers. The employment of women in this country is just beginning to assume large proportions. The number will probably exceed the number employed in Great Britain.

Communities throughout the country which are centers for war activities are faced with immediate need for the provision of day care for the children of working mothers.

Though this will be a new step in many communities it must not be undertaken haphazardly. Day care is a serious venture in child welfare services and should not be undertaken by sporadic groups who are not experienced in the field, but only as a part of a coordinated community plan. On the basis of past experiences and study, schools and welfare agencies are able to recommend safeguards and standards to be considered by each community before undertaking a day-care program. But any implication that the establishment of day-care centers is a means of recruiting mothers for industry should be carefully avoided.

A plan for a community day-care program should have as its foundation a careful study of the industrial needs of the community. As a wartime measure women with young children should be enabled to do work for which they are needed without sacrificing the

health and welfare of their children. Two interests must be given consideration in planning day-care facilities: production necessary for the national war effort and the needs of individual families and children.

Plan of Action

It is not a question of priority of one or the other of these interests. The needs of the essential industries must be served; children must not be needlessly deprived of home care, and they must be safeguarded if the mother is away from home. These objectives can be attained only if community action is based upon thorough knowledge of the various factors involved in employment of mothers of young children.

The next step is to find out how many of these women who are joining the labor force will be unable to provide satisfactorily for their children's care from their own resources. One of the best methods for estimating this is to set up in the community a counselling service for working mothers or those who are contemplating employment. Situations coming to the attention of the counselling service will provide the most concrete information in regard to the need for day care and the types of care required in the community.

In almost all cities there are already some facilities for day care. These existing resources should be utilized to the fullest extent. The administrative experience of day nurseries and other facilities should be a valuable asset in planning adequate provision for day care.

The day-care program of a community should make provision not only for day-care center or day-nursery type of care for pre-school and school-age children, but also for care before and after school. It is therefore essential that study concerning the needs and

available resources should include neighborhood houses and settlements, recreation centers, and activities conducted by churches and other organizations which may be utilized in providing for children of school age. Coordination of all these facilities is essential for the sake of economy of money and effort.

The primary objective of the program should be to make the necessary services available to all children who require care because of the mother's employment away from home and to provide the type of care suited to each family group.

Federal Groups Interested

A number of federal agencies are interested in the provision of day care services for working mothers. Among these are:

The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, concerned with the development of various types of day care; the Office of Education, which is interested in the development of full day nursery school programs and before and after school programs; the Work Projects Administration, which has developed day-care programs through its nursery school and various other activities; the National Housing Agency, which is planning the development of day-care activities in its housing projects; the Farm Security Administration which has set up in the past day-care activities in its mobile camps. As the number of these camps increases, more day-care facilities will be needed.

Other federal agencies interested in providing these services are: The U. S. Employment Service, which is the central agency from which information must be obtained regarding the employment of women. Its interest in day care stems from its responsibility to supply labor requirements. The Recreation Section of the Office of Defense

Health and Welfare Services is interested in the development of recreational programs for the older child during those hours when he is not in school.

A recent directive of the War Manpower Commission called on the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services to coördinate, integrate, and develop programs for the day care of children of working mothers. This directive is designed to facilitate the employment of women so that the man power of the nation may be effectively mobilized for the prosecution of the war, at the same time providing safeguards for the maintenance of family life.

Local Committees

In the local community numerous local committees have already been formed. Where there is need for planning a day-care program, the community should organize a local day-care committee. This committee should be officially related to the Civilian Defense Council as a committee of the Council or as a subcommittee of an over-all committee dealing with children or with health, education, or welfare problems. The committee, or subcommittee, should include representatives of the local departments of education, health and welfare, WPA, and employment service.

In many cases it will be desirable to have appropriate representation or consultation from private agencies, employers, unions, citizens' groups, and other interested organizations. Local organization for these and other purposes should be developed in accordance with the policies set forth by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services in its publication, *Health, Welfare and Related Aspects of Community War Services*, issued in June 1942, and *Organization Outline for Local Defense Councils*, a publication of the Office of Civilian Defense.

Community Nutrition Campaign Improves Eating Habits

Typical city families made an improvement of about 10 per cent in their knowledge, attitude toward, and actual use of healthful foods as a result of a one-week community nutrition campaign, according to a study conducted in South Bend, Indiana, recently.

The study, made by Crossley Incorporated at the request of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, represents an effort to gauge the effectiveness of current nutrition activities, as a guide to nationwide community efforts being carried on as part of the national nutrition program. South Bend offered a practical demonstration of such activities because it had a well organized nutrition setup and was planning an intensive "Nutrition Week."

The Crossley study was made in two parts—a cross-section survey before the start of the campaign;¹ a similar check-up several weeks after. It was thus possible to determine what the effect of the campaign had been.

Before the campaign started it was agreed that its success could be measured in terms of: (1) better knowledge of food values, (2) greater interest in healthful foods, and (3) greater use of healthful foods.

Archibald Crossley, president of Crossley Incorporated, brought out the following points in connection with the survey:

"With due regard for all variables, the campaign appears to have had a definite effect, measurable within certain limits. In all characteristics this effect appears to have been an improvement of around 10 per cent in knowledge, attitude toward, and actual use of healthful foods. Correct answers to questions on basic food knowledge were 16 per cent nearer right in Part

¹See "On the Local Front," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1942.

Two than in Part One. Familiarity with enriched bread showed a 20 per cent improvement. Selection of the food groups as needed for health value advanced nearly 9 per cent. If each of these four indicators is given equal weight, the improvement would be 12 per cent. The greatest improvement was found in the lower income levels and in the older age groups, those previously shown as needing them most."

The survey was based on the government "food rules" set up to implement the recommendations of the national nutrition program. These rules, under the slogan "U. S. Needs Us Strong," list the eight basic food groups which, nutrition experts say, should be included in each day's meals.

In developing its Nutrition Week, the South Bend Nutrition Committee, and the St. Joseph County Defense Council of which it is a part, had the coöperation of local business, civic groups, schools, and other local government agencies and private organizations. National business concerns, already coöperating in the national nutrition program, gave similar assistance in South Bend through advertising, posters, displays, and so on. The Nutrition Division of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, in addition to arranging for the nutrition survey, gave its advice and guidance.

Nutrition Week Program

Highlights of Nutrition Week included an opening proclamation by the Mayor published as a full-page spread in the local newspaper and extensive newspaper coverage both in editorial space and "institutional" advertising throughout the campaign; some twenty-five window displays on nutrition

flanking the main shopping street; information and registration booths, manned by the Nutrition Committee, in both downtown and neighborhood stores; meetings all over the county, and numerous radio programs; special school activities; and showings of nutrition motion pictures in local theaters.

These findings are particularly significant because of the caution and conservatism with which they were developed.

The questions which were asked in South Bend were worked up independently by the staff of Crossley Incorporated and checked with the Nutrition Division of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services for scientific accuracy and completeness. From that point on Crossley Incorporated worked without contact with government officials or local leaders engaged in the campaign. At no time before, during, or after the work on it have those taking the poll had any contact with the business concerns which contributed to financing the survey, or with others.

The cross-sections used for the two surveys were comparable within a negligible margin of error. Changing conditions—seasonal variations in food supply and in food choice, changing prices, and so on—are, of course, reflected in the findings. But because the surveys were concerned primarily with knowledge and attitudes, and their effect on the use of these food groups, these variables do not distort the general picture.

There is, of course, a possibility that there may be some recession as the stimulus of the campaign wears off; but it is equally possible that the habits built up and the benefits experienced will maintain improvement on a long-term and widespread basis.

Researcher's Digest: October

Tax worm turns in New Jersey; how to pick jurors and teachers; books on preventing sabotage; what researchers think about.

PROPERTY taxes going down! This is the unusually jubilant note sounded by a report of the **Department of Governmental Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce** titled, quite simply, *Property Taxes Continue Downward Trend in New Jersey*. The crux of the matter is stated right on the cover of the report: "In 1942, for the third consecutive year, a majority of New Jersey's 566 municipalities have reduced their all-purpose property tax rates and tax levies. Aggregate statewide property levy is the lowest since 1937."

For this welcome development the bureau puts the responsibility on decreasing appropriations for debt service, more careful administration of operating expenditures, constantly improving tax collections, pay-as-you-go financing, and the return to local tax rolls of much taxable property previously in default. At the back of these developments, the report points out, lies salutary legislation. Some of these laws curbed unwise spending, short-term borrowing, and fictitious budgeting; instituted the cash basis; and regulated relief financing, tax collections, and tax delinquent property. A concluding observation is that replacement taxes are not the only way, nor indeed the desirable way, to pull property taxes downward.

Choosing Jurors

A newspaper scandal over what the press termed an unjust acquittal of a union official accused of embezzlement was the factor which tossed into the lap of the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** the job of examining the jury system in that city. A study titled *The Selection of Jurors in*

the Circuit Court, City of St. Louis was the result of a letter from the local Board of Jury Supervisors asking for the bureau's help. Reorganization is what the research group emphatically recommends. Compilation of a jury list by the present method of personal canvass is condemned. After studying both the St. Louis method and the methods in vogue in other large cities, the surveyors found for the system whereby the lists of registered voters are used, with mail notification of those chosen for all except the Grand Jury.

Choosing Teachers

Teachers should be chosen by methods as modern and efficient as those used by successful business, holds the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research**. As reported in a recent issue of *City Problems*, the present recruitment lists, gleaned from graduation records of normal schools, have been examined and found wanting. Establishment of a school personnel division is urged, with a citizens' advisory committee to aid. A definite program for transfers and promotions, revised and extended personnel records, added emphasis on in-service training, and more effective use of personnel through re-sizing of classes are other planks in the bureau's platform for doing a better job of instructing the children and future voters of New Orleans.

Sabotage: A Master File

Bibliography, the indispensable tool of governmental research, is a specialty of the **University of California's Bureau of Public Administration**, which has achieved fame with many of its past bibliographies. Newest and timeliest

of the series is *Sabotage and Its Prevention*, compiled by Dorothy Campbell Tompkins. There are some twenty-four mimeographed pages of titles, conveniently subdivided into the various types of prevention problems.

On Their Minds

What does a researcher think about these days?

Comparative data on police administration: see *Police Administration in Virginia*, by George A. Warp, published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia**.

The unsoundness of New Jersey's police and firemen's pension funds; there's a report under exactly that title by the **Department of Governmental Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce**.

New research topics: the **Committee on Public Administration** of the Social Science Research Council, to keep the researchers busy, has issued *Research in Judicial Administration*, an outline of suggested research topics prepared by authorities in that field.

Why citizens should vote: the **Commission of Governmental Efficiency and Economy of Baltimore** inquires hotly, "*Who Runs Baltimore?*", and replies that the citizens do not, for so few bother to register or to vote.

Who should get the proceeds of automobile taxes, the state, the city, or the county? And how much to whom? The question is raised by the **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** in a recent bulletin.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Courts

The Selection of Jurors in the Circuit Court, City of St. Louis. A Report to

the Board of Jury Supervisors. St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, June 1942. 24 pp.

Research in Judicial Administration. An Outline of Suggested Research Topics. Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D. C., 1942. 89 pp.

Pensions

The Unsoundness of New Jersey's Police and Firemen's Pension Funds. Department of Governmental Research, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Newark, August 1942. 14 pp.

Personnel

Public Employee Bonus Plans. Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee, August 29, 1942. 6 pp.

Police

Police Administration in Virginia. By George A. Warp. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1942. 65 pp.

Sabotage

Sabotage and Its Prevention. A Bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tompkins. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, August 1942. 24 pp. mimeo.

Taxation

Distribution of Automobile Taxes. Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee, August 1, 1942. 3 pp.

Property Taxes Continue Downward Trend in New Jersey. Department of Governmental Research, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Newark. July 1942. 6 pp.

Contributors in Review

A SOUTHERNER is responsible for *The Poll Tax Stirs Revolt*. **Virginius Dabney** was born in Virginia, educated in Virginia, once taught French in a Virginia school, and rose from reporter on a Richmond paper to editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and winner of an award for "distinguished editorial writing during the year 1937." This article is a chapter from his new book, *Below the Potomac—A Book About the New South*.

SINCE his graduation from college in 1928 **Ben Kaplan** (*Houston Wins Manager Campaign*) has devoted himself to newspaper work, eventually joining the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. He was with the now-suspended *Oklahoma News* for four years, and courthouse reporter, City Hall, and general assignment man for the *Houston Press* since 1939. He considers his coverage of the early days of sitdown strikes and an expose in a multi-million-dollar school board scandal in Oklahoma City among his best works.

ENGAGED in one of the most stupendous management problems of all time, **Harold D. Smith**, federal budget director, knows what he is talking about in *Management in a Democracy*. Mr. Smith had a long background of responsibility in municipal research and municipal league work (chiefly the Michigan Municipal League of which he was secretary) before he assumed the budget directorship of the state of Michigan in 1937. He was appointed to the federal position by the President in 1939.

TWO of the three authors of stories on cities which this year celebrate the twentieth anniversary of their adoption of the council-manager plan are members of the fourth estate. **Frank Stewart**, who writes on Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, has been editor of the *Delaware County Times*, a weekly newspaper with a wide circulation over the county, for a number of years; **John H. Thornton** is both editor and publisher of the weekly *Salem, Virginia, Times-Register*. **Elwyn A. Mauck**, author of the story on Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is on leave from the faculty of the University of North Carolina, as chief of the Program Docket and Directives Section of the Office of Civilian Defense.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 475)

ashamed of in American politics, among them the fact that, as the New Jersey newspaper admits, no more than 20 per cent of a community's people are likely to take much interest in a party primary. There would be fewer bad results and consequently less reason for shame if 80 instead of 20 per cent of the voters participated in all elections.

The principal thing wrong with our self-governing system is the fact that we so seldom have whole-hearted participation by an electorate which demonstrates sufficient interest to inform itself adequately about issues and candidates.

It doesn't help to have a newspaper abrogate its responsibility for leadership by hinting that a vigorous election campaign is damaging to the successful conduct of the war.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Intergovernmental Cooperation Makes Progress

*Many state and city projects
jointly undertaken*

IN PREPARATION for legislative sessions of the coming winter, and in pursuance of numerous other objectives, the various state commissions on intergovernmental coöperation have been active during the summer, according to the Council of State Governments.

Michigan has been added to the list of states with such commissions, the Michigan Commission on Intergovernmental Coöperation having been organized at Lansing on July 9, 1942. It has been making plans for the 1943 legislative session.

The Indiana commission, in addition to planning for the session of the legislature, has a committee working with the Indiana members of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. This group will develop various legislative proposals, many of which will be directed toward a more efficient war effort. The commission has also been making a study of the legislative council idea, in collaboration with the Indiana Academy of Social Sciences and other agencies. It is hoped that the next legislature will establish such a council.

The staff of the Massachusetts commission is conducting two special studies at the behest of the legislature, one dealing with problems of interstate motor truck traffic and the other with equalization of the responsibility of motor vehicle operators of Massachu-

setts and other states who become involved in accidents outside their own states. Other committees at work are those on taxation, conservation, crime prevention, and social welfare and relief.

The Connecticut commission has been concerned with the formulation of a tentative legislative program, including measures dealing with wartime problems, uniform state laws, and the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact, which will be presented to the legislature for adoption next January.

The Pennsylvania Commission on Interstate Coöperation has had a legislative program under consideration, including fisheries and motor truck matters. The commission has also been actively supporting the Delaware River Sanitation Act.

The New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Coöperation is studying a legislative program including additional war legislation, a Delaware River water diversion act, repeal of existing settlement laws, motor vehicle statutes, interstate trade questions, liquor control, workmen's compensation matters, taxation of decedents' estates, and forestry and fisheries problems. All twenty-seven measures sponsored by the Committee in the 1942 legislative session were enacted and signed.

The Florida commission is expected to sponsor a bill placing that state under the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact, recently ratified by Virginia and South Carolina, the latter being the tenth state to do so.

The Council of State Governments opened a regional office in San Francisco in September, to facilitate the work of the council and the various commissions on interstate coöperation in California and other western states. It will serve as a clearing house for information and assistance on prob-

lems of mutual interest to the states throughout the west, and as a service agency for public officials.

Inter-Community Cooperation in Sewage Disposal

A recent survey by the International City Managers' Association shows that eighteen of the thirty largest cities in the United States, including several in war production areas, coöperate with other municipalities in treatment or disposal of sewage. Four others in the group of thirty cities are included in sewerage districts that are separate agencies, serving the suburbs as well as the large cities.

The largest number of communities was reported by Los Angeles, the facilities of which are shared with twelve cities and nine sanitary districts.

Arizona Cities Cooperate on Housing

The Housing Authority of Phoenix, Arizona, has joined in an agreement with authorities of the five nearby cities of Buckeye, Glendale, Flagstaff, Holbrook, and Mesa, in working out a regional housing program. A single executive director and one central office staff are handling all administrative matters in connection with the construction of twenty-eight to fifty-six homes in each of the towns, according to the National Association of Housing Officials.

Police Mutual Aid Plan in California County

In San Mateo County, the suburban peninsular area south of San Francisco including twelve cities, a plan of mutual aid with respect to police facilities has been worked out as a war emergency measure.

Each party to the agreement is required to maintain in reserve at all times at least one "police unit," con-

sisting of one regular police officer, five auxiliary policemen, and one automobile. These reserve police units are placed at the disposal of and subject to the emergency call of the Law and Order Coördinator of the County Civilian Defense Office (at present the county sheriff). Calls for aid can be made by the parties to the coördinator when a police emergency within their jurisdiction exceeds or threatens to exceed their ability to handle it alone.

The coördinator has power to dispatch these reserve police units in response to such calls in such numbers, at such times, and to such localities as he shall deem necessary, giving preference to local emergencies directly or immediately involving vital war industries or installations. However, a community may refuse to send out its reserve unit if, in the opinion of its chief of police, there is a direct and immediate danger to vital war industries or installations within its own jurisdiction, or to its own community, or its citizenry. The agreement further provides that if any party shall become immediately endangered after having sent aid it shall be entitled to recall its police units and call for additional aid under the terms of the agreement.

Cooperative Purchasing in New York State

Under Chapter 868 of the New York State Laws of 1942 the State Commissioner of Standards and Purchase may permit, upon request, any county, town, city, or incorporated village to purchase materials, equipment, and supplies, except printing, through the State Division of Standards and Purchase, subject to conditions prescribed by the commissioner. All purchases must be over \$500. The municipality must accept sole responsibility for payment. Any purchase is subject to audit and inspection by the munici-

pality. The law became effective July 1.

The New York State Conference of Mayors is cooperating with the Division of Standards and Purchase in putting into effect plans whereby the cities and villages of the state may purchase equipment and supplies under state contracts, and in keeping the purchasing officials of the municipalities informed about advantageous purchasing opportunities under the new law. It is issuing a purchasing bulletin to keep purchasing officials informed as to what equipment and supplies can be purchased under state contracts, from whom, and at what price, and also as to the equipment and supplies for which the state will call for bids in the future, so that a municipality desiring to join with the state may have its needs added to the total.

It is expected that both the state and the municipalities will benefit from the plan. The municipalities, more particularly, will gain the advantages of lower prices resulting from quantity purchasing, of scientific specifications, and of the rigid testing required by the state. Greater priority may also be obtained for the benefit of the state and the municipalities.

Constitutional Amendments Proposed in Missouri

In addition to voting on authorizing a constitutional convention, the voters of Missouri will pass upon four proposed amendments at the general election in November.

One proposition, regularly submitted by the General Assembly in recent years, would increase the pay of legislators to \$125 per month. Being without organized support, it will undoubtedly be defeated as usual.

A second proposal would repeal the nonpartisan system of selecting judges which was adopted in 1940. Its enemies in the General Assembly argued that the voters would not have adopt-

ed the plan if they had understood it. The Missouri Bar Association and other civic groups are waging a vigorous educational campaign against repeal.

A third—and the most dangerous—proposition, sponsored by the Missouri Pension Society, would earmark \$29,000,000 annually for old-age assistance and aid to dependent children. Although designed to increase present allotments, its adoption might actually reduce them, for federal aid might be cut off because some provisions of the amendment are inconsistent with those of the national act. Its adoption would greatly reduce the general revenue fund and thereby cripple many state agencies and activities, unless the legislature immediately increased the sales tax from two to, say, three per cent or found some other source of revenue. In any case, state aid for local school purposes would be seriously reduced, and school programs in many districts would have to be drastically curtailed because they already levy the maximum rates permitted by the state constitution.

This amendment is actively opposed by the Missouri State Teachers Association, Missouri Farmers Association, and numerous other educational and farm groups, also by the metropolitan press and by many rural newspapers. Nevertheless, the vote received by friendly legislative candidates in the August primary, as well as the existence of some 115,000 on the old-age assistance rolls, indicates that it is a serious threat.

A fourth amendment would remove a technicality and thereby insure the validity of tax levies voted for schools in St. Louis County school districts. The amendment, of course, has to be voted on by the state at large.

WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW

University of Missouri

Council-Manager Plan News

Citizens of **Lowell, Massachusetts**, will vote on the adoption of Plan E—council-manager plan with proportional representation for election of the council—at the general state election on November 3. Petitions filed July 31 have been accepted by both the City Election Commission and the State Ballot Law Commission, despite attack by opposition groups.¹

Sponsors of a Plan E charter for **Springfield, Massachusetts**, have abandoned their efforts for a referendum on that issue at this year's election. Two years ago the required number of signers on a petition was secured, but a vote was deferred for a more propitious time. This year a small number of additional signatures would be needed. The consensus of opinion among advocates of the plan was that a referendum this year would be inappropriate because of the war and the difficulty of arousing public sentiment on the charter issue.

In **Illinois** H. Barry McCormick, chairman of the Chicago City Manager League, representing other organizations as well, has called upon the state Republican organization to commit itself to permissive legislation that would enable Chicago and other cities in that state to adopt the manager plan. Such a bill has been defeated three times by the legislature. Mr. McCormick said: "We were disappointed at the lack of energetic support from the present state administration at the last session of the legislature in view of the campaign pledges previously made and not fulfilled."

At a public hearing held in **Scranton, Pennsylvania**, by the Local Government Commission of the state legislature in August, L. H. Simons, repre-

senting the Home Owners and Taxpayers' League, advocated laws empowering all municipalities to adopt the manager plan, and also suggested a constitutional amendment to permit reorganization of outmoded local government.

It was implied in our September issue (p. 452) that **Columbus, Georgia**, is seeking the manager plan. Columbus has had manager government since 1922. The present proposal, advocated by the League of Women Voters, is to extend it to include the fire and police departments. The city commission now appoints the fire and police chiefs.

Increasing Recreation Programs of Cities

Municipal recreation activities, according to figures submitted by 1,164 cities to the National Recreation Association, cost a total of \$30,000,000 in 1941, or nearly a million more than in 1940. Although this was much less than the peak outlay of predepression days, expenditures for 1942 may exceed those of last year, since tire and gas rationing are providing new reasons for local recreation programs. The current increase is due largely to recreation needs for war industry workers and service men, and conditioning programs for civilian defense workers.

Special services for men in uniform were offered by 207 cities last year, while 190 cities provided special services for war industry workers. In addition, three hundred or more recreation agencies said they had served large numbers of service men through their regular facilities.

About four-fifths of the public recreation programs were administered in 1941 by recreation, park, or school authorities; the remainder by city managers, public works, welfare departments, or other authorities. More full-time employees worked in recreation

¹For further information on the Lowell situation see page 511.

throughout the year than ever before, and volunteers were more numerous than in previous years. Fees and other charges supplied 12 per cent of necessary funds, private contributors 4 per cent, and taxes and other public funds 84 per cent.

New Orleans Seeks Personnel Director from Entire Nation

The recently enacted New Orleans civil service law, effective January 1, 1943, provides for a comprehensive modern public personnel program and the selection of three candidates for director of personnel by an examining committee appointed by the Civil Service Commission. The examination, held in September and October, is open to citizens of any of the states. Appointment of the director by the commission from the three highest ranking candidates is expected in November.

Civil Service Personnel Losses

Two recent widespread investigations have gone into the problem of wartime personnel shortages, particularly of "key" employees, and efforts that are being made to overcome loss of manpower.

A survey by the United States Civil Service Commission, made at the request of the War Manpower Commission, indicates that state and local governments are losing more "key" personnel to the armed forces than to war industries or the federal civil service.

Twenty-two jurisdictions—six states, five counties, and eleven cities—supplied information for the survey, which covered personnel losses of state and local governments during the first six months of this year. A loss of 2,567 key employees from positions in which 51,153 persons normally are employed

was shown. Of these essential workers, 1,626, or nearly two-thirds, left for military service, 372 were lost to war industries, 125 shifted to federal employment, and 444 to other jobs. More than half the employees entering military service went in of their own accord as enlistees or reserve officers.

The survey indicated that the loss of key employees from state and local government to the federal civil service had not been sufficiently serious thus far to require formal preventive measures.

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada has conducted a questionnaire survey of efforts to overcome wartime personnel shortages. One hundred and fifteen public personnel agencies gave replies which indicated that wartime pressure is inducing civil service agencies to hire more women, transfer employees from curtailed departments to other jobs, waive residence requirements, and lower training and experience qualifications.

Most of the agencies had not yet recalled retired employees back into service, but the increasing shortage of available people for government employment, especially at the local level, may result in this move as well as the retaining of employees who have reached the retirement age.

About one-third of the agencies replying in the survey are opening more jobs to women, e.g., tax collectors, lawyers, life guards, testing station operators, and street car conductors.

Two-thirds of the agencies are transferring to other jobs employees of departments with activities curtailed by the war. Fifty-three agencies reported opening some positions to nonresidents, while forty-three said they were not. Most of the vacancies for which nonresidents are eligible are in engineering, medical, public health nursing, and personnel technician positions.

Training and experience requirements, as well as physical standards, have been relaxed by half of the public personnel agencies reporting. The general trend is toward substitution of experience for formal education and training. Some twenty agencies are making special efforts to use physically-handicapped persons in non-hazardous employment, usually as accountants, clerks, elevator operators, and stenographers.

Forty-five agencies have raised maximum or lowered minimum age limits for some positions, in order to open them to more applicants. At least eleven of the agencies are hiring employees from lists of eligibles set up by other jurisdictions.

American Bar Association and Civil Service

The House of Delegates of the American Bar Association, at its August meeting, adopted a resolution sponsored by Hon. Murray Seasongood calling for the appointment of a special committee on civil service.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Association's Municipal Law Section and transmitted to the House of Delegates for action at their next meetings:

1. The objective of a closed shop for municipal employees is not a permissible one, since it is inconsistent with the principles of the merit system.

2. Under no circumstances do municipal employees have the right to strike.

Courts Aid Fight Against Unsightliness

On August 17, 1942, an important decision relating to the power of the state to control and regulate the use of private property under the police power was handed down in the Court of

Quarter Sessions of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, in the case of *Commonwealth v. Trimmer*.

In the trial below before an alderman, who in Pennsylvania has a judicial function similar to that of justice of the peace in other jurisdictions, Earl R. Trimmer had been convicted of maintaining two signs projecting into the street in violation of an ordinance of the city of Harrisburg. Trimmer appealed to the Court of Quarter Sessions, which unanimously affirmed the conviction.

In dismissing the appeal Presiding Judge William M. Hargest took occasion to review the evolution of the law upon the subject of aesthetics and the police power.¹ Beginning with a 1905 New Jersey case which probably no longer represents the law in any other jurisdiction, if in that, Judge Hargest traces the gradual development of the power to regulate private property from the point of view of appearance. Step by step he shows the growth in the judicial concept of the right of the community to control offenses to the eye, and concludes: "We definitely hold also, in the light of the foregoing later decisions, *that aesthetic considerations alone, in this day, are sufficient upon which to base an exercise of the police power.*"

Other cases, many of them cited by Judge Hargest, have from time to time criticized earlier cases as too narrow in their view, and have refused to follow them; but no previous opinion has so compendiously traced the gradual shift of the judicial view, until now at last the considered judgment of the four members of this court is that the eye is equally entitled to protection against private abuses as the nose and ear.

¹Copies of Judge Hargest's opinion may be obtained from the National Roadside Council, 119 East 19th Street, New York City.

The opinion is of interest not only to planners and zoning authorities, but to the public as well.

In another recent action of a Pennsylvania court an anti-billboard group was protected against the tactics of the billboard industry.

The Pennsylvania Roadside Council (Mrs. Cyril G. Fox, of Media, Pennsylvania, president) was incorporated in 1940. It is a genuine civic organization working for roadside amenity and highway safety, and has been waging a successful fight in its home state against the billboard nuisance. In March 1942 the billboard industry applied to the Court of Common Pleas in Dauphin County for a charter under the name "Pennsylvania Roadside Improvement Committee." The Pennsylvania Roadside Council objected.

On July 27, 1942, Judge J. Paul Rupp denied the application. He held that the purpose of the billboard corporation, notwithstanding the professed purpose to be inferred from its name, was "commercial," and that the name itself was "deceptively similar" to that of the genuine "civic" organization.

This attempt on the part of the billboard people, thus blocked, was in line with their earlier organization in the middle west of a "Highway Property Owners' Association" for the purpose of having an organization with an innocent name which could obstruct anti-billboard legislation, and also in line with their promotion of ostensible tourist-cabin owners' associations which would block highway zoning legislation. In case of hostile legislation the members of these groups are notified by the billboard interests and are expected to turn out large batches of protests to the legislators, but not as coming from billboard interests.

ALBERT S. BARD, *Counsel*

National Roadside Council

Soldier Vote Bill Adopted

The service men's absentee voting bill, adopted by the national House of Representatives on September 9 by a vote of 247 to 53 after having been amended in the Senate, was adopted on September 10 by the latter body. The outstanding amendment was suspension for service men of the poll tax laws of eight southern states. Registration requirements were also waived for members of the armed forces and their women's auxiliaries. Absentee voting for those in foreign service was authorized, over War Department opposition.

Committee Urges Protection of Public Records

The National Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources, connected with the National Resources Planning Board, has issued a bulletin urging the initiation in each state of a program for the protection of state and local public records, and suggesting various methods of so doing, particularly in the present emergency.

Public Works Congress Plans Program

The American Public Works Association holds its forty-eighth annual conference in Cleveland, October 18-21. It will be devoted exclusively to the problems confronting public works officials during the war.

New York Regional Institutes Meet

Twelve regional institutes for elective officials and heads of departments of New York State cities and villages are being held in the period from September 10 to November 20.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

**Lowell Citizens Map
Manager Campaign**

***Defeat opposition effort
to keep issue off ballot***

LOWELL, Massachusetts, a city of 101,000 population, will vote November 3 on the adoption of Massachusetts' Plan E optional charter, providing for council-manager government and proportional representation. The neighboring city of Cambridge, now in its first year of manager government, is the only Plan E city in the state.

Lowell, once widely known as the "spindle city," was one of the leading cotton textile manufacturing centers in the country and experienced a century's steady growth until World War I. At that time, due to increasing competition from the south and a change in the fabric buying habits of the country, Lowell began a twenty-year decline. Gradually it became a city of empty mills and the booming twenties were only faintly reflected in its economy. The population declined rapidly—from 112,759 in 1920 to 100,234 in 1940—and the number of citizens employed locally even more rapidly.

By 1926 property valuations had reached their peak and since then have dropped from \$146,000,000 to \$93,000,000. High tax rates, which at one time reached a peak of \$48.80, have still further depressed real estate values and the rate is still \$46 per thousand. The net result is that market values are considerably lower than assessed valuations. Tax collections are poor and foreclosures and tax sales numerous.

The problems which the city has been called on to solve are admittedly greater than in most localities, and it is not surprising that its weak-mayor charter

has not produced officials capable of dealing with them.

Lowell's continued existence as a large city is dependent to a great extent on the existence of local industries. City officials have been unable to check the migration of textile industries from Lowell or to attract new industries to the city. Mills have stood idle or have been torn down. Relief rolls have mounted to proportions beyond the ability of the people to support.

With so much of the city's revenues diverted to this non-productive service the ordinary services of the city have suffered. Streets are in poor condition, water has deteriorated in quality, waste and refuse collections are irregular, and educational standards have fallen.

During the past twenty years there have been few outstanding men in public office. In recent years the council has lost what prestige it formerly had, and for the most part the leaders of the community will not offer themselves for public service. As a result of the district attorney's recently completed investigation of contracts and purchasing, the mayor and purchasing agent are under indictment.

These circumstances have finally aroused Lowell citizens to undertake a movement for a new charter. Constructive action developed after Colonel John B. Atkinson, city manager of Cambridge, addressed a large gathering of business men in Lowell. His approach to municipal problems and the accomplishments he could point to in his short term of office convinced most of those present that if Lowell could do as well the effort would be worthwhile.

The newspapers undertook an educational program. The *Sunday Telegram* printed a series of articles on the results obtained with council-manager government elsewhere. The *Lowell Sun* ran articles describing the workings of P. R. and Plan E. Walter J. Millard

also spoke on the plan to a joint meeting of service clubs.

In May of this year a series of meetings were held which attracted citizens from all political, social, and economic groups. In June a representative committee was formed to work for the adoption of Plan E. (Massachusetts cities may adopt Plan E by referendum upon the submission of a petition signed by 10 per cent of the registered voters.)

During June and July a petition was circulated by volunteers and members of the committee. The public reaction was for the most part favorable. On the other hand, many citizens had their attention focussed on international affairs and were not ready to take an active part in the campaign. Most of the early work, therefore, was done by a few conscientious men who gave a great deal of their time to the job.

There was little active opposition at the outset. Some opponents talked of circulating a petition for another standard charter providing the commission plan to head off Plan E, but no action was taken.

At the end of July a petition containing 7,400 names—2,000 more than required—was filed with the city clerk. It was not until then that active opposition developed. Since then the opposition has used every means at its command to prevent the question from appearing on the ballot. Those who signed the petition have been approached to withdraw their names and in some cases boycott has been hinted at. The sufficiency of the petition and its legality were attacked before the City Election Commission and the State Ballot Law Commission.

The validity of the petition has now been upheld, however, and the question will appear on the ballot at the state election in November. If a majority of those voting are in favor of the change the first election for the council under proportional representation will

take place in November 1943, and the new government will be inaugurated in January 1944.

Conditions in Lowell and the temper of the people are such that a well planned campaign can secure adoption of the plan this year. The type of campaign waged and the amount of work done before November will determine the result.

Those who have undertaken this task are convinced that their city must be revitalized if it is not to go into a permanent decline. They believe that some attempt should be made to change the course of events and they have decided that the adoption of Plan E is a start in that process. They are fully aware that the charter change itself is not the entire solution. If the plan is adopted their real job will begin. They must see that the right candidates are nominated and elected. They must see that the purposes of the citizens' group are carried out. However, they are not planning too far ahead right now. A campaign to change the Lowell charter is a large order in itself.

HENRY W. CONNOR, *Executive Director*
Lowell Taxpayers Association

Cincinnati Launches Charter News Letter

After eighteen years of operation on the theory that house organs are a drug on the market, the **City Charter Committee of Cincinnati** has finally seen the light and has launched its own news publication.

Under the title, *The Charter News Letter*, the Committee once a month since early spring has issued a succinct four-page summary of latest developments in Cincinnati's municipal affairs. The reception given the letter has been such that it is rapidly becoming a major feature of the Committee's organizational activity.

Its publication is to some extent one

of the incidental and unforeseen by-products of the war. Since its inception the Charter Committee has depended largely on the daily papers of Cincinnati for the dissemination of news among its members. Today, however, news space is being reduced by dwindling advertising and rising production costs. At the same time war news has taken priority over all but the most essential local news.

Meanwhile, the Charter Committee itself, after having been in control of Cincinnati's municipal government since 1925, on January 1 of this year became the minority in a five-four City Council.

Publicity Problem

Its altered status along with the newspaper situation combined to present a first-rate publicity problem to Charter leaders. As one solution the Board of Directors of the Committee, after considerable deliberation, authorized experimentation with a special publication. Development of details was left to the Board's Publicity Committee, of which the executive director is chairman.

A comprehensive survey of current usage in the field of organization publicity led to the uncomfortable conclusion that much of it has little interest or value for the general reader. But among the many types of house organs and information pieces in circulation, the so-called news letter seemed to rank consistently high in reader interest.

Accordingly, this form was adopted as a starting point. The limitation on Charter activities, which proscribed all but local affairs, narrowed the scope of subject matter and virtually determined the contents of the *Letter*.

Perhaps its most commendable feature to date has been the care with which the mailing list of the *Charter News Letter* has been developed. On

the theory that mistakes are bound to be made in any new undertaking and that one's closest friends are likely to be one's most understanding and helpful critics, the *News Letter* has been prepared for a carefully graded membership.

Selected Mailing List

The total membership of the Charter Committee is approximately 9,400. However, there is a wide variation of interest and support among these 9,400 members. First issues of the *News Letter* accordingly were sent to only the most active and enthusiastic of the Charter supporters. Later issues have gone to progressively larger groups.

By the early months of 1943 it is expected that all members of the Committee will have been reached in one fashion or another to determine their interest and receptivity.

Results of this policy of selectivity have already proved its soundness. Criticisms have been friendly, interest has been quick, and the confidence of the Charter leadership in the enterprise has developed in proportion. Already Charter-supported members of the City Council are looking to the *News Letter* as an instrument of reinforcement in their contacts with their supporters. Its columns are being used to crystallize attitudes. In one notable instance the *News Letter* unified Charter sentiment to such a degree that aroused Charter Councilmen overcame the handicap of their minority position and pressed through a highly important and desirable piece of legislation.

Now that the departure with precedent has been made, a number of uses for the *News Letter* are suggesting themselves. For one thing, it should lend itself to all phases of organization work. In addition, it should become a useful educational medium in active vote campaigning. Fears that the letters themselves may at critical junc-

tures be turned against the Charter Committee or their Councilmen seem groundless.

Early issues of the *News Letter* have been photo-lithed and sent first-class mail. This, along with the Committee's preference for non-processed addressing, has kept the unit cost slightly over five cents per piece. As the mailing list increases in size, unit cost will decrease to approximately four cents, current prices holding. The prospective budget of the *Letter* is, therefore, a sizeable item for organization financing and may ultimately represent an increase of as much as 20 per cent in the Committee's budget. Some of this cost may be offset by lower costs in other organizational activities. Yet should this not prove to be the case, it is doubtful whether any of the Charter officials, in their present frame of mind, would consent to suspend publication.

In short, it can be said of the Committee that having taken a long time to "sell" itself on the idea of the *News Letter*, it will probably take just as long a time to become unsold.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Local Citizens Aid Soldiers and Plan Postwar Assistance¹

Stoneham (Massachusetts) youths, waging Democracy's war on far-flung battlefronts, are today receiving pledges of support from the folks back home which should give new courage and quicken the morale of every outfit in which Stoneham men are fighting.

Here in this typical American suburban town has evolved a plan of support for men in the fighting forces, both now and after the war is over, which may well spread to other communities throughout the land.

Purpose of the Stoneham Home

Front Plan may be stated briefly in the words of one of the by-laws of the Home Front Committee formed to put the plan in action:

"To provide emergency aid and assistance to the Stoneham men and women serving in the United States armed forces and their dependents during the war and during the period of readjustment to civilian life after the war; to erect a fitting memorial dedicated to the sacrifice exemplified; to further a high degree of morale, both in the armed forces and at home; and to perpetuate our faith in the principles of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'" . . .

Here in brief is how it will operate:

After the war the 1,500 members of Stoneham's Civilian Defense Organizations will continue as a civic group for community service and to further the aims of the Stoneham Home Front Committee.

All Groups Help

In this group will be doctors, lawyers, social service workers, and teachers. All have agreed to lend their services to help the returning service men though their period of readjustment. Other Stonehamites trained in personnel problems will assist the men in finding and using their individual talents to best advantage. And in the trust fund will be money to give any men who need it a helping hand.

There are plenty of people in Stoneham, as elsewhere, who remember too well the aftermath of the last war. They recall how the boys came home, marched once more up the main street to martial music, flag waving, and the cheers of the multitude. And they also remember that next day many of these boys began looking for jobs which didn't exist. Those sorry days of the readjustment period which followed are not forgotten.

That's probably why the good people

¹Reprinted from *Christian Science Monitor*.

of Stoneham were eager to adopt this plan of the Home Front Committee conceived by a civic leader, himself too young to remember vividly those sad days of the other war.

Plan Officially Adopted

This month a special Town Meeting was called. Its primary purpose was to honor two Stoneham mothers who between them contributed nine sons to the armed forces of Uncle Sam. At the meeting the plan of the Stoneham Home Front Committee was adopted and officially written into the records of the town.

Since then Selectman Nicholas Apalakakis, who conceived the plan, has received his orders to report for military duty. . . .

But the Home Front Plan, now well established, will go on. The fame of it has spread to distant parts of the country. A story about the plan, published in a syndicated column, caught the eye of Civilian Defense Chief James M. Landis in Washington and civilian defense committees throughout the country are going to hear about Stoneham's all out program to support its fighting men. . . .

JOHN BOND, *Staff Writer*
Christian Science Monitor

Fitchburg Taxpayers Work on Personnel and School Problems

Fitchburg is an industrial city of 42,000 population, located in north-central Massachusetts, noted for its paper and textile products. It is governed by a Mayor and an eleven-man City Council operating under Massachusetts' Plan B charter. An elected School Committee of six under the chairmanship of the Mayor has jurisdiction over the city school system.

The **Fitchburg Taxpayers' Association, Inc.**, was organized in 1932 by a militant group of local taxpayers who wanted efficient government at the

lowest possible cost. Any property taxpayer or rentpayer may be a member. Dues are assessed on a valuation basis for sustaining members.

The organization is under the leadership of a Board of Directors, elected annually by the membership, which decides general policy.

The day-to-day operation of the Association is vested in the executive director who is responsible for all research and publicity programs as well as membership recruitment drives. In addition the technical staff of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations offers invaluable continuing assistance to us, as to all taxpayers' groups in the state.

Budget Recommendations

Fundamentally our activities center around the annual city budget inasmuch as it controls directly the great bulk of city expenditures. From our budget studies and analyses come specific studies of individual departments and functions of the city government. From these studies we are able to form recommendations to city officials which will directly affect reductions in various budget accounts, and ultimately in the local tax rate.

At present we have two projects of major importance. The first is to bring about a reduction in the cost of our city school system which, at approximately \$120 per pupil, is far in excess of the annual cost in other Massachusetts cities of the same size. The principal cause of this high cost per pupil is apparently due to diminishing enrollments and excess capacity rather than to excessive payrolls—about one fourth of total capacity is now unused. Our problem is, therefore, one of reorganizing the physical plant so as to be able to handle estimated enrollments with fewer schools used to maximum capacity, giving due considera-

tion to transportation facilities. A substantial reduction in maintenance costs would achieve a reasonable cost per pupil.

Our second project is the creation of a sound personnel classification and pay plan for city employees, leading eventually to the adoption of the so-called St. Paul plan for adjusting wages to the cost of living.

The hardest part of our task is to sell our recommendations to the department heads and then to the Mayor and Council. Accordingly, we find it necessary to devote a substantial amount of our time to public relations with city officials.

ARTHUR C. CONLEY,
Executive Director

Fitchburg Taxpayers' Association

Waterbury Association Cooperates with Officials

In 1940 citizens of Waterbury, burdened with one of the highest tax rates in the state and still recovering from the shock of a municipal conspiracy that ended in the conviction of eighteen public officials, decided to take steps against the recurrence of such civic sloth.

To meet the need for fact-finding and for citizen participation in government, a group of local business men and civic-spirited citizens organized the **Waterbury Taxpayers' Association**.

The Association opened an office on October 1, 1940, and immediately started to work on the city's annual budget which was then being formulated. Departmental budget requests were carefully analyzed. The Association worked closely with a coöperative Mayor and Board of Finance in their budget sessions. The organization was represented at all budget hearings, and presented suggestions and recommendations, asked questions, joined in the discussions on pertinent issues, and questioned department heads concern-

ing their anticipated requirements. The Board of Finance's compiled budget resulted in a tax reduction of one and one-half mills.

Help with Budget

One year later, in the fall of 1941, the Association again participated in the compilation of the annual budget. This time the Board of Finance effected a tax reduction of one-quarter mill, in spite of substantial appropriations needed for emergency defense purposes and wage adjustments for lower salaried employees.

At budget time our city administration is literally snowed under with demands for increased expenditure programs.

Under these conditions, with no established organization to combat organized expenditure groups, city officials are at a loss to know just how the general rank and file of taxpayers feel. The Waterbury Taxpayers' Association considers it one of its primary functions to weigh, from the taxpayers point of view, these requests by pressure groups for funds.

Other year-round activities of the Association during its brief existence have been many. Studies of the city's bonded debt, financing the City Water Department, the Water Department rate structure, and surveys of the Assessment, Police, and Garbage Departments have been undertaken—to cite but a few examples. The number and scope of activities are limited only by the time available to the Association's small research staff. Much of its work is done as a result of requests for information by city officials.

Credit to Officials

The Association takes no credit for economies or governmental improvements effected. All such credit is given the public officials who have actually made such improvements possible.

Nor does the Association go after widespread publicity or issue frequent and scorching reports concerning every mistake made by city officials. Much more can be accomplished, provided a reasonable administration is in office, by merely sitting down and talking over the problems with public officials and assisting in their solution. This attitude of quiet, and largely unpublicized coöperation, is helping to attain economy and greater efficiency in government locally.

RAYMOND P. BOTCH,
Managing Director

Waterbury Taxpayers' Association

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

New York City Improves Annual Financial Reports

New form should clarify former conflicting comment

THE complexity of the financial transactions necessary in the functioning of a large city are frequently astounding to the layman, but they pose even more serious difficulties to the public official. Unless clear and comprehensive financial reports are available neither public officials nor citizens can have information at hand to evaluate the workings of their government.

For years New York City has presented perhaps the least satisfactory situation in this respect to be found among the larger U. S. municipalities. Its financial structure is extremely complicated—only the federal government and the state of New York exceed it in size of expenditures, to cite just one aspect of the situation—while its financial reporting has been woefully inadequate.

Last year Comptroller Joseph D.

McGoldrick supplemented the "archaic form" of the regular 1939-40 annual financial report with a revised edition in which an initial step was taken toward unraveling "the tangled web of monetary magic" portrayed in the older type of report. Now, with accounting changes permitting more comprehensive revision, the regular annual report for 1940-41, recently issued, has been supplemented with a revised report for that year which carries last year's volume (1939-40 figures) to a point where the changes encompass those most significant from the standpoint of public reporting.

The "regular" form of the annual report of New York City's comptroller has been inherited from the time the Greater City was established, and the only important changes had been the addition of schedules as the variety of financial transactions increased. Recently, extensive changes in accounting procedures have been made, to "modernize" the city's accounting forms and methods, and these have in turn permitted a more logical arrangement of the annual reports as well as the inclusion of data previously not directly available from the records. Thus, the revised financial report for 1940-41 is not merely a recasting of information otherwise available in more obscure form, but represents to a considerable extent a fundamental improvement in record-keeping as well.

The most important change in the new volume, aside from the fact that schedules are more logically arranged and that extensive use is made of explanatory sections, is that for the first time New York City has set up and published current account balance sheets. The lack of current account balance sheets—without which any check on budget operations is almost impossible—is a notorious feature of the annual reports of many city finance officers, and it has been a serious omis-

sion in past reports of New York City.

The balance sheets as now set up follow the general recommendations of the National Committee on Municipal Accounting, and might well be used as models by other cities. It is especially a pleasure to note that they are free of such extraneous and inflationary items as fixed assets, capital improvements, investments in property, etc., with the offsetting item of unmatured funded debt, which vitiate the usefulness of many so-called municipal balance sheets.

The balance sheets are supplemented by two excellent groups of schedules, one detailing by project the city's investment in improvements and the other giving details on the city's funded debt. In connection with the latter the city for the first time fully segregates the debt of its public service enterprises—rapid transit, water supply, markets, ferries, docks, and airports—while also giving a comprehensive breakdown of the debt incurred for governmental purposes.

Yet to be set up, however, is a fully satisfactory segregation of sinking funds as between general and public service enterprise debt, since sinking funds for a part of the latter debt are still submerged in general sinking funds. Also, the bond maturity table continues to segregate funded debt by type of instrument and ownership rather than by object or source of payment, so that there remains some revision here also for the future.

The new report form should considerably clarify the great mass of obscure and conflicting comment on New York City finances which has been the past lot of New Yorkers. The new volume runs to nearly 450 pages, so it will not prove to be exactly popular reading, but it will no longer be possible for press and public to excuse misunderstanding of the city's financial operations on the grounds that neither

head nor tail can be made of the annual reports.

Census Bureau Reports 1942 State Collections

Establishing something of a record for speedy compilation of financial data, the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census published on August 31 its *State Finances: 1942*, which includes data of the forty-one states whose fiscal years closed on or near June 30, 1942.

Briefly, the data show that state tax collections in 1942, including distributions to local units, topped \$4,900,000,000, an increase of 10 per cent over 1941. The most marked increase was in corporation income taxes, up 67 per cent. Individual income taxes were up only 14.5 per cent, while tobacco excises were up 22 per cent, alcoholic beverage taxes were up about 13 per cent, and general sales tax collections were up 11 per cent. Net collections for unemployment compensation were up 20 per cent. Little change was shown by motor vehicle and operator licenses, and the rationing of motor fuel in the coastal states checked the generally upward movement of gasoline tax collections. Chain store taxes were down one-third, while property taxes, hunting and fishing licenses, severance taxes, and death and gift levies were also off from 6 to 14 per cent.

Eight states had increases of more than 20 per cent in their collections. They were Washington, 40 per cent; Arizona, 30 per cent; Mississippi, 28 per cent; Oklahoma, 27 per cent; Arkansas, 24 per cent; and Oregon, South Carolina, and Tennessee, 22 per cent each. On the other hand, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, New Mexico, New York, and South Dakota had or were estimated to have increases of less than 6 per cent.

The upward trend of collections, it

must be noted, is for a period which only partially reflects the beginning of wartime restrictions. Seven of the states included had fiscal years ended between September 1 and December 31, 1941, while even those with fiscal years ending June 30, 1942, had only begun to show the effects of such depressing influences as tire rationing, gasoline rationing, curtailment of civilian consumer goods, etc. Consequently, the over-all picture for the period must not be regarded as forecasting 1943 trends.

Tennessee Taxpayers Analyze Coverage for Highway Debt

Comment has been made frequently in these columns that the effect of revenue declines, especially of motor vehicle and gasoline taxes, will vary greatly from state to state, depending as much on the fiscal setup in the individual state as on the extent of the decline in collections. This fact is very pointedly emphasized by a study made by the Tennessee Taxpayers Association.

The Association, stung by a story in a New York City financial journal to the effect that prospective declines in the state gas tax collections forecast trouble in meeting service on state highway bonds, prepared a detailed analysis of the actual situation. This study shows that of six revenues specifically earmarked for service on the bonds (in addition, the bonds are full faith and credit obligations for which any state revenues may be used) only two have actually been used in the past, while in 1941-42 two others were drawn on to provide a cushion for possible declines.

Gasoline taxes have been providing the bulk of debt funds, but over the next four years these collections could decline an average of 52.48 per cent before the state would have to utilize the other pledged revenues in order to meet scheduled payments for interest

and maintain sinking funds. Furthermore, such a decline would not be unduly upsetting to the operating accounts presently financed with those gas tax receipts not required for debt, since war restrictions will force a sharp reduction in ordinary highway expenditures and the state has a reasonable expectation that such curtailed operating expenditures for the purpose as may be possible can be financed from other revenues.

The situation is paralleled in numerous other states, and it cannot be too much emphasized that reliance cannot be placed on revenue collection trends as an indicator of the weight of fiscal difficulties to be expected. Relatively small declines in collections can cause extreme embarrassment in some states, while in others—as in Tennessee as cited—very large declines can be experienced before difficulties need be expected.

County and Township *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

New York Counties under Civil Service

Supervisors choose type of administration desired

DEADLINE for counties in New York State to select one of three alternatives for administering personnel under the state civil service law of 1941, extending the merit system to all civil divisions of New York, came on July 1, 1942.

Currently all counties are busily engaged in the task of classifying positions, developing rules of administration, and establishing employee rosters. While any county can begin full operation as soon as its classification plan and rules are approved by the State Civil Service Commission, not until July

1, 1943, must each and every county be completely operative.

Under the law also, some eight thousand school districts were placed directly under the State Civil Service Department for all personnel services.

Under the provisions of the law¹ the five counties located within New York City remain, as heretofore, state-served. Westchester County retains its personnel officer form and Nassau County the commission form. Both these counties secured their forms of personnel administration by charter prior to the passage of the 1941 law.

All other counties were permitted to choose whether they desired: (1) state administration, (2) A county civil service commission, or (3) a personnel officer to perform personnel services. Forty-eight counties chose the civil service commission; two chose the personnel officer, and five chose the state to administer personnel services.

Under the personnel officer form, technical services are to be performed by the state, and it is the consensus of opinion that the county civil service commissions also will draw heavily upon the state department through its Municipal Service Bureau for all types of personnel servicing. This has proved to be the case up to the present time.

Through continuous assistance from the state, uniformity of procedure is being achieved. As the great majority of the new county commissions have established a permanent clerical staff, continuity of administration is to be expected, and through its Municipal Service Bureau the state Civil Service Commission will provide continuous administrative and technical assistance.

WILLIAM W. SHAW, *Assistant Director*
Municipal Service Bureau
New York State Department
of Civil Service

Maryland County Charter Subject of Bitter Struggle

Montgomery County, Maryland, is experiencing a bitter contest revolving around the proposal to adopt a county home rule charter. Proponents of the new charter are circulating petitions for signatures sufficient to put the question of appointing a special charter committee on the ballot at the general election this November. This committee would draft changes or a complete charter which would be submitted to the electorate in 1944. Most of the opposition is arising from incumbent officeholders, while the proponents are organized into the Independent party.

Counties Construct Airports

Recently many state legislatures, under guidance from the federal government, have granted extended powers to counties regarding construction and operation of airports. The laws of some states permit two or more counties to act jointly, and in other instances counties are directed to cooperate with municipalities.

As a result of active search for sponsors conducted by the Civil Aeronautics Administration, such airports now are being constructed throughout the United States. Since the federal government requires that the airports be publicly-owned without encumbrances, the land has been acquired by local units through grant, purchase, condemnation, and lease from acceptable government agencies. Money has been raised by borrowing, taxes, and public subscription. In the first six months of 1941 over \$15,000,000 in bonds were sold for airport purposes.

There are thirty-two airports established jointly by cities and counties. The number established by one or more counties has not been ascertained, but it is known to be substantial. Coöp-

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, pp. 253-257, 274; April 1942, p. 233.

eration by as many as four units is not at all unusual. Thus Durham County, Wake County, Raleigh, and Durham, North Carolina, are each contributing \$35,000 for an airport to be operated by them jointly and located between the two cities. The remaining cost is being borne by the Civil Aeronautics Administration and the Work Projects Administration.

Usually a committee or commission is appointed by the governing bodies of the units involved to operate the airport. Equipment such as county road machinery frequently is found indispensable. The operation of airports may well become one of the major functions of county government. If the master program of the Civil Aeronautics Administration is ever completed, there will be one and one-third airports for every county in the United States.

War Spurs County Planning and Zoning

"No house trailer, except when in a licensed trailer camp, no garage, no barn, or any other accessory building shall be used as a dwelling except for the housing of domestic servants or other persons employed on the premises." This provision of the ordinance establishing the El Paso County, Colorado, Planning Commission (Colorado Springs) illustrates the nature of the problem arising throughout the United States wherever military cantonments or new war factories are being built. War conditions are forcing counties to engage in planning and zoning in spite of the opposition of those interests who still argue it is destructive of property rights, discriminatory, unconstitutional, and unAmerican.

The urgent necessity of county planning and zoning is demonstrated further by the fact that while until

1941 Colorado did not have a single county planning or zoning commission, within a year's time such commissions were established in Jefferson, Arapahoe, and El Paso Counties. There is now being built in the last-named county a military cantonment which will house a population equaling that of Colorado Springs.

In the eastern states comparable problems and comparable solutions are developing. The experience of Pennsylvania counties may be used to illustrate the nature of the trend. Of course some of the metropolitan counties have well established planning commissions. Thus the Allegheny County Planning Commission, the oldest in the state, has been functioning actively for many years. In other instances rural counties have joined with municipal commissions as in the coöperation of Cumberland and Dauphin Counties with the Harrisburg Regional Planning Commission. Recently Lycoming, Union, and Northumberland Counties have established a Regional Planning Commission to cope with problems created by federal government developments in their area.

The Bradford County Planning and Zoning Commission, although established in 1938, recently has seen fit to turn its attention to war and postwar planning. Crawford County, a rural county faced with an influx of 8,000 to 10,000 workers to be employed in a new TNT plant, has just passed a zoning ordinance applicable only to that area directly affected by the new factory.

Similar trends are discernible elsewhere. Although county planning and zoning is not new, the war has modified its nature and has given it renewed impetus. It seems safe to assume that barring catastrophe counties will not after the war relinquish this newly developed function.

Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)*

Lowell to Vote on "Plan E" Adoption

Success in Cambridge P. R. Prospects in Britain

IN SPITE of the distractions of the war there will be one vote on the adoption of proportional representation this fall. The industrial city of Lowell, Massachusetts, (1940 population 100,234) will ballot on November 3 on the adoption of "Plan E," the optional form of city government based on the council-manager plan with P. R. which is now in force in Cambridge. The question has been brought to a vote in Lowell by petition.

The critical situation which led to this campaign and the progress of the campaign to date are described by Henry W. Connor, executive director of the Lowell Taxpayers' Association, in an article on page 511 of this issue.

Other Massachusetts cities which were considering Plan E campaigns before Pearl Harbor, including Springfield, Worcester, Gloucester, Holyoke, Chicopee, West Roxbury, and Hatfield, have had to postpone action because of the preoccupation of leading citizens with war activities. The same is true of Boston, which is not yet authorized to adopt Plan E, but which had in prospect a campaign for the adoption of P. R. for its council and school committee and the corresponding Hare system of preferential voting for the election of the mayor.

Cambridge City Manager Reports

The vote on the P. R.-city manager combination this fall in Lowell, and the votes in Springfield and other Massa-

chusetts cities which are planning campaigns for Plan E as soon as the war is over, are likely to be profoundly affected by what happens in Cambridge, the first Massachusetts city to adopt the plan.

Col. John B. Atkinson, city manager of Cambridge appointed by the first P. R. council last January, recently made the following brief report on the encouraging progress made so far, which was published on August 31 by the *Boston News Bureau*:

"It took twenty years to bring Cambridge into its present situation, and during that time taxes rose over 50 per cent. It cannot be expected that a complete change can take place in seven short months.

"On taking my post in January as city manager, I found myself confronted with a city spending about 85 per cent of its money for payroll, leaving a scant 15 per cent otherwise to run the city—to build roads and maintain them, and to heat, maintain, and take care of the buildings, and to carry out the countless other tasks which a municipality has to perform.

"One of the first jobs I tackled was a general clean-up of all city property. From the City Hall to the garages, there was an apparent lack of interest on the part of employees, so that complete deterioration was well on the way. This situation has been corrected and it is doubtful if anywhere cleaner municipal buildings can be found.

"The laying of a new lawn for City Hall, along with twenty-five or more attractive flower gardens at various points throughout the city, has been effected.

"An attempt has been made, and considerable success has been achieved, in generating active interest and pride in their jobs on the part of city employees, so that real work is being done in all departments.

"The program of replacing only absolutely essential employees and doubling up on jobs of those who have joined the armed services, or who have been pensioned or died, has resulted in a reduction of close to 5 per cent in the personnel of the city's workers. This, in itself, is a very substantial saving.

Confidence Developed

"Confidence in the present administration has been evidenced by the local banks, which, for the first time in over twenty years, have voluntarily come in and handled short-term paper for the city. Our notes have been sold at the low rate of less than four-tenths of 1 per cent per annum. In the previous year, \$1,282,000 was borrowed by the preceding city government on a long-term basis, although \$675,000 was actually used to supplement the budget in order to save the tax rate from going over \$50 per \$1000 of property valuation.

"Thus far this year no long-term money has been borrowed whatsoever, and it is my intention to try to keep the city on a cash basis, if possible. This accomplishment has been aided by efforts to secure employment for hundreds on welfare and WPA rolls. If I am able to carry the city through the rest of the year without borrowing, except for welfare or defense purposes, the amount which the city will have to raise in next year's tax rate to pay off maturing debt will be substantially less than this year.

"All persons on welfare were obliged to take a physical examination at our hospital clinic. Thus, those who were in need of medical attention were immediately given it, and those who were found able to work were placed on the list at the Municipal Employment Office and jobs found for them.

"The result has been that hundreds on welfare and WPA rolls have been

provided with employment, and a real rehabilitation program has been initiated for many Cambridge residents.

"In the meantime, reclassification of all city employees has been started, with a minimum and a maximum base for all, so that pay increases will be received automatically and employees will not be obliged to seek political help to obtain increases."

New York Plan Urged for the House of Commons

The annual report of the British Proportional Representation Society¹ published in June for the year 1941-1942 gives principal attention to the inclusion of P. R. in the war cabinet's plan for India submitted to the Indian leaders by Sir Stafford Cripps, already reported in this department for April, and to the prospects of P. R. being adopted for the postwar House of Commons. The following excerpts from the report will be of interest to Americans not only because of the international importance of the subject but because of the practical use they make of the experience of New York City:

"His Majesty's Government have already offered to Parliament an opportunity 'if it so desires,' to consider changes in the method of electing the House of Commons. This offer, first made in 1940, was renewed in October 1941 by the Home Secretary when he introduced the new *Prolongation of Parliament Bill*. During the discussion several members of Parliament pressed for the setting up of some suitable machinery for investigating and probing all these different problems. The most suitable machinery would seem to be a conference consisting of members of all parties presided over by the Speaker. Such a conference could review the elections of the last twenty

¹82 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.

years; it could recommend the changes necessary to ensure that the postwar House of Commons shall be representative.

Difficulties of Reapportionment

"After the passing of the *Prolongation of Parliament Bill*, the Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, appointed a committee to consider the technical questions involved in the preparation of a new register and of a new redistribution of parliamentary seats. The chairman of the committee is Sir Sylvanus Vivian, the Registrar-General, and the committee includes officials of the departments concerned, members of Parliament, and the principal agents of each of the political parties.

"In respect of redistribution the committee was asked to examine the problems involved in any scheme 'by way of preparation for consideration of the principles on which any scheme should be based.' It may be observed that there are several principles on which redistribution could be carried out. The basis might be population, or electorate, or the number of people voting; constituencies might return one member each, or more than one member.

"Apparently the problem before the committee is to discover whether there are any practical means of holding a general election within a reasonably short period after the termination of hostilities, should there be a public demand for an early election.

"The war has given rise to special difficulties. Thousands of citizens have been evacuated and after the war there may be new and early movements of population. There may, moreover, be large forces serving overseas.

"The Secretary of the Society, therefore, forwarded to the chairman of the Morrison committee a suggestion which would meet these special, if temporary,

problems, and which would enable a reasonably early election to be held.

"The task of preparing a new register could be avoided by the use of the existing identity cards. This would enable all persons over twenty-one years of age to vote in the constituency in which they were residing at the time of the election.

Voting Strength an Easy Basis

"As to redistribution, the temporary and continuing changes in population and the absence of large numbers serving overseas make difficult the framing of a satisfactory scheme based upon population. This difficulty could be overcome by basing representation on the number of persons actually voting in an election.

"This principle was adopted in 1937 by the city of New York for the election of its city council. New York decided that each of its constituent boroughs should be a constituency and that each constituency should have one councilman for every 75,000 votes polled in the election. Under this scheme the boroughs of Queens and Brooklyn have obtained for the first time an equitable share of the representation. Redistribution has become automatic; at each election every growing area secures the increase in representation to which it is entitled.

"At the same time New York adopted the proportional system of voting. Without this Tammany would probably have monopolized the representation. With the proportional system minorities of a substantial kind secured their fair share. The purpose of redistribution, equality in the value of votes, was achieved.

"How would this plan work if applied to parliamentary elections in Great Britain? First, it would require the grouping together of the existing single-member divisions into new con-

stituencies of such a size as to be likely to return, generally speaking, some three, four, or five members each. A schedule of grouped divisions was prepared and approved by the House of Lords in 1918, and this schedule could be modified to suit present-day conditions. Under the House of Lords scheme, sparsely populated areas were not grouped; they remained as single-member divisions.

"Secondly, each constituency formed of grouped divisions would elect by the single transferable vote system of P. R. one member for, say, each 40,000 votes polled and an additional member for any remainder exceeding, say, one-half. If desired, some concession, such as a smaller quota, could be made to rural constituencies.

"The scheme encourages citizens to vote. By polling well, a constituency can increase its representation. In 1939 the borough of Brooklyn, New York, polled some 530,000 votes and secured seven councilmen. In 1941 it increased its poll to 660,000 and secured nine councilmen. The number of votes polled in Brooklyn far exceeds the number likely to be polled in Great Britain in any P. R. constituency."

The fact that Prime Minister Winston Churchill is an avowed advocate of P. R., as evidenced by the quotations given in this department in April, increases the chance that this constructive proposal will receive proper attention.

P.R. gives representation to fractions
with a sense of the whole instead of
fractions with a delusion of totality.
FATHER EDWARD DOWLING, S.J.,
The Sodality of Our Lady, St. Louis.

Annual Meeting of the P. R. League

For many years the Proportional Representation League, Inc., whose work since 1932 has been consolidated with that of the National Municipal League, has held its annual meeting as a part of the latter's annual convention. In view of the decision not to hold such a convention this year, no attempt will be made to assemble the usual number of leading proportionalists from all parts of the country or to arrange an elaborate P. R. program.

However, a number of the National Municipal League's committees are planning to meet in New York City some time this fall and arrangements will be made to hold the annual P. R. meeting at the same time so that some of those coming from a distance may meet with proportionalists in New York, Yonkers, and nearby communities. Definite information on the exact time and place will be sent shortly to P. R. League members and any others who ask to receive such notice.

In addition to the formal election of P. R. League trustees, there will be a report on the year's P. R. developments by the League's secretary, the editor of this department, and general informal discussion of such subjects as the place of P. R. in postwar democracy and world organization.

All who are interested are cordially invited to attend whether members of the Proportional Representation League or not. Any member of the National Municipal League in good standing may become enrolled as a full voting member of the P. R. League simply by writing to Miss Elsie S. Parker, assistant secretary and treasurer of the P. R. League, his desire to do so. Miss Parker is in the office of the National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York City.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Federal State Local Fiscal Relations.

By Thomas H. Reed. A report for the Committee on Local Government Activities and Revenues. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1942. iv, 65 pp. mimeo. \$1.

This report, the third prepared for the Committee on Local Government Activities and Revenues of the Municipal Finance Officers Association for the guidance of the President's Committee on Federal-State-Local Fiscal Relationships, is described as drawn from the "information and experience available within the files and membership" of the MFOA. Actually, Dr. Reed has drawn on a far wider field to prepare an excellent and compact discussion of the revenue systems under which local governments function.

A very considerable part of the study is necessarily devoted to fiscal problems posed by the war, or made especially acute by war conditions, but Dr. Reed amply demonstrates that the problem of local revenue systems is not peculiar to a war or postwar period. In three chapters, on expenditures, on revenues, and on federal and state aid, the weaknesses and strength of our present systems of financing local government are examined and some concrete suggestions developed for immediate action on the part of all three levels of government. Recommendations on the continuing problem of federal and state action seem especially significant:

"(1) Minimizing of stimulating grants and those for specific purposes in favor of distributive grants frankly intended to offset the narrow scope of local taxing power without diminishing local initiative and responsibility; (2) removal of crippling restrictions from

real estate taxation and encouragement of its normal use in all communities; (3) consolidation of the smaller and poorer units of local government and the integration of metropolitan areas; (4) rehabilitation of blighted areas both by the reorientation of policies now unduly encouraging the outward movement of population and by positive postwar measures."

W. S. S.

Tax Systems (Ninth Edition). Edited by The Tax Research Foundation. Chicago and New York City, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1942. ix, 382 pp. (12x15). \$8.75.

This new edition of *Tax Systems*, following the pattern of earlier editions, presents a comprehensive and informative collection of tax data.

The volume includes over two hundred detailed, large-scale charts which set forth the legal citation, title, basis, measure, rate, administration, return and due dates for all federal and state taxes, together with other pertinent information.

Also shown are federal and state tax collection data for six consecutive years, collected from tax officials in different governmental units. Basic figures are broken down to show amounts collected by various units of government, yields by taxes in actual amounts and percentages, and per capita collections.

Arrangement of information by states and by types of taxes makes the volume particularly convenient for easy reference.

Tax figures are included for the Dominion of Canada and its nine provinces as well as the latest available information on the tax revenues of twenty Latin American countries.

Editorial direction of the work, compiled by tax experts and specialists who contributed their time and services, was by the New York State Tax Commission.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Courts

Report on the Constitutional Courts of the State of New Jersey. By Ralph R. Temple. Trenton, Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution, 1942. 66 pp.

Young People in the Courts of New York State. Report to the Honorable Legislature of the State of New York of the Joint Legislative Committee to Examine into, Investigate and Study the Existing Facilities for the Care and Treatment of Children. Albany, New York, 1942. 309 pp.

Majority Rule

John Locke and the Doctrine of Majority Rule. By Willmore Kendall. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1941. 141 pp. \$1.50.

Municipal Government

Investigating Municipal Administration. A Study of the New York City Department of Investigation. By Harold Seidman. New York City, Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1941. xv, 215 pp. \$2.50.

Municipal Government in Time of War. By Roy V. Peel. Bloomington, The Institute of Politics, Department of Government, Indiana University, 1942. 35 pp. mimeo.

The Problem of The Cities and Towns. Report of the Conference on Urbanism. Edited by Guy Greer. Cambridge, Harvard University, 1942. xi, 116 pp. \$1.

Parking Meters

The Effect of Rationing on Parking Meter Revenues. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1942. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Planning

City Planning Kansas City, Missouri, 1920-1941. Kansas City, City Plan Commission, 1942. 40 pp. maps, charts.

City Wide Studies: Part I, Basic Factors in the Planning of the City of New York, 1934-1938; Part II, The Planning of Public Services; Part III, Programming Public Improvements. New York City, Mayor's Committee on City Planning, 1940 (distributed 1942). 148, 132, and 87 pp. respectively.

Forty-four Cities in the City of Chicago. Chicago, Chicago Plan Commission, 1942. 98 pp. illus.

Six-Year Public Work Program for Benton Harbor, Michigan. Continuous Planning of Public Work. Report of the Planning, Coördination and Development Committee to the City Commission and the Board of Education. Benton Harbor, 1942. 35 pp. charts.

Now Is the Time to Plan. First Steps to a Master Plan for San Francisco. San Francisco, Master Planning Committee of the San Francisco Housing and Planning Association. 16 pp. illus. 25 cents.

State-Local Relations

State Supervision of Local Government. Its Development in Massachusetts. By Dale Pontius, with an introduction by Leverett Saltonstall. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. xi, 165 pp. Cloth \$3.25, paper \$2.75.

Taxation and Finance

Civic Pittsburgh. Facts and Figures About Your Business. By J. C. Slippy.

Pittsburgh, 1942. 20 pp. 50 cents. (Apply to author).

A Conspectus of Failing Finances. The Impression of American Tax Administrators Regarding the Effect of the Federal Defense Program upon State Revenue Sources. By George Vaughan. Little Rock, Arkansas, Governor Adkins' Advisory Tax Study Commission, 1942. 45 pp. mimeo.

What's Happening to State Revenues? Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Transportation

Transportation in the Public Interest. By Grover C. Dillman, Harry E. Stocker, and John S. Worley. Washington, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, 1942. 38 pp.

War and Defense

Directory of War Agencies in Denver. Denver, The War Committee of the City Club, 1942. 35 pp.

Facts and Figures on War Finance. New York City, The Tax Foundation, 1942. 37 pp.

Official War Publications. (Second Supplement to **Official Defense Publications**). By Jerome K. Wilcox. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1942. 212 pp. mimeo.

Public Policy. A Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University. Part I, War Morale and Civil Liberties; Part II, Labor and the War; Part III, Some Problems of War Finance and Government. Edited by Carl J. Friedrich and Edward S. Mason; Associate Editor, Pendleton Herring. - vii, 275 pp. \$3.

Training Through Recreation. A Practical Handbook for the New Soldier. By William J. Pitt. New York City Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942. 74 pp. 35 cents.

CHAPEL HILL MANAGER COOPERATES

(Continued from Page 496)

council and over its protest. The council then passed a resolution providing that all removals by the manager should be subject to its approval. The manager resigned in fruitless protest, but probably was vindicated later by being elected and remaining mayor of Chapel Hill for an extended term.

The manager plan has not produced startling results for Chapel Hill. It has solved some problems very satisfactorily, but others remain. It seems well adapted to conduct the continuing negotiations with the university. On the other hand, the problem of extending municipal boundaries to include all residents of the expanding community is being brought no nearer to solution.

The temperament of the townspeople is clearly against overdevelopment of public works, but modernization in the form of street improvement, expansion of the sewerage system, etc., has taken place gradually as necessity required.

The administration is considered reasonably efficient, and if its work has been unspectacular it is because the community wants it that way. Chapel Hill prefers to remain a placid village in which unpretentiousness, simplicity, and rustic beauty shall be the prevailing physical characteristics. This calls for a modicum of governmental activity, and the manager plan in Chapel Hill well serves its purpose by administering competently those few functions demanded of the town by its residents.

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C. Kent Wright

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John Bauer

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November 1942

Vol. XXXI, No. 1

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 10

Total Number 316

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

"Good Government" and Scandal

MORE than a few cities like to claim they are the "best governed." They can't all be right. It would be difficult, indeed, to evolve a set of standards and tests which could place these cities in one, two, three order, and perhaps this is just as well.

Whether good government is to be judged by the quantity and quality of services rendered or by the efficiency and economy with which they are rendered or by a variety of other factors depends pretty largely on who is doing the judging.

Several years ago the editor of a popular magazine asked the National Municipal League to name the three best governed cities in the United States. It was a question neither diplomatic nor possible to answer. All that could be done was to name a dozen or so which would qualify as among the well governed cities, give some of the facts in support of this opinion, and let him choose those which seemed to promise the most stimulating "go-thou-and-dolikewise" stories.

There are cities, large and small, which would be more than ready to challenge the frequently expressed claim that Detroit is "best governed," but most certainly the fact that this great manufacturing center has been sufficiently robust and forthright to face its own nasty scandals frankly¹ should not distract in the least from the validity of the boast.

All too numerous are the cities which adopt the "hush, hush" attitude toward anyone who seeks to improve bad situations. They find it shocking to face the public admission that the community is anything less than perfect.

During the days when nearly everyone knew how badly Kansas City was suffering under the heavy hand of Boss Pendergast, local business and other interests which presumably were no part of the vicious political machine were constantly objecting that the "bad publicity" was hurting the city. They were quite oblivious to the city's acute suffering as the result of their own failure to face the facts and do something about them. The great record of accomplishment during the last two years since Kansas City's housecleaning has brought into clear relief what was lost in decency, self-respect, and money during the Pendergast dynasty.

Take the strange case of Boss Hague's Jersey City. It is a curious thing to outsiders that even highly intelligent and informed residents of that community are quite likely to stand staunchly by the boss and insist, "Well, Mr. Hague runs the place efficiently, doesn't he? And he's such a fine man personally; he doesn't drink or smoke, and he does such good work among boys." Can anyone be so naïve as to think that Jersey City is a paragon of virtue simply because no one has yet succeeded in blowing off the lid on which the boss sits so heavily, or removing the

¹See "High Jinks in Detroit," by J. M. Leonard, page 547 this issue.

"private property" signs which make his ownership of his subjects' minds so clear?

An occasional scandal is no evidence that a city is not "best governed," or at least well governed. There are scores of communities which sorely need a few healthy scan-

dals to shake them out of their mistaken belief that all is well. The chief reason they don't have the scandals, which are almost certainly there, is that those in power are able to keep things quietly under control. Scandals have frequently been stepping stones to improvement.

Now Is the Time

WHETHER we are in the midst of a boom, a depression, a war, or "normalcy," exponents of the status quo are always quick to argue that "this is no time to make a major change." The current cry, of course, is based on the idea that the people's attention should not be diverted from the paramount task of winning the war. Between the lines, however, can be read the hope that the people's attention will be diverted from maladministration and waste of public funds.

There never has been a more appropriate time to put our houses in order, never a time when it was more important to cut out unnecessary waste. Whatever it costs to win this war, the people will pay without a whimper. But they are bound to become increasingly conscious of non-war expenditures and it is not surprising that these are being looked at more closely.

Currently the National Municipal League is making administrative and financial surveys of a New England town and borough and of another community of 35,000. It is co-operating closely in a third survey of a community of 10,000. In each case the League's aid was sought by a

group of citizens who want to know whether they are getting in services what they are paying for and whether they are paying more than they can afford.

While the surveys are still in progress and the complete results are not yet available, it appears likely that the smallest of the three communities will be shown how it can cut at least \$100,000 a year from its budget without even reducing its overly high salary scale and without impairment of services. Why should the citizens wait until after the war to reveal and correct such a condition?

A group of Minneapolis citizens, in announcing recently its determination to press for needed reforms, said:

"The burdens of ever-increasing taxes, mounting costs, and an all-out war will require sacrifices of each and every home, the like of which the people of this city have never known. The city cannot properly meet this situation with a multiplicity of boards, bureaus, and divided authority. Its house must be put in order."

It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a community in which improvements cannot be made. Now is the time to make them.

Britain Tries Regional Government

The long debated experiment of creating regional areas has been tried and its value proved in civil defense; will it endure or last only for the duration?

By C. KENT WRIGHT, *Town Clerk*
Stoke Newington, England

GREAT BRITAIN is divided for civil defense purposes into twelve regions, each of which has a man of national standing at its head as regional commissioner.

These commissioners are charged with the duty of coördinating all civil defense measures in their regions, and in so doing exercise such authority as may be necessary for the government's measures to operate smoothly and efficiently. Representatives of all government departments, as well as the Navy, Army, and Air Force, are in close touch with the regional commissioner's office and keep him informed of the views and activities of their departments, particularly in matters affecting emergency plans.

By reason of their coördinating functions, the commissioners are responsible for insuring that the emergency plans of the various government departments and local authorities are workable and harmonious, and that, efficiently applied, they are capable of meeting any contingency that may arise out of invasion or heavy air raiding.

Specific powers have been delegated to the commissioners by the

Minister of Home Security and the Minister of Health in respect of certain civil defense matters, particularly in connection with expenditure, and the regional commissioner, by powers derived from the defense regulations, is in charge operationally of the civil defense services. In the event of a breakdown of communications, the regional commissioner would take complete charge in his region on behalf of the central government. He would become the civil government in that area and would make decisions on his own responsibility.

Each region has one or more deputy regional commissioners.

The commissioners hold office under Parliament. They are appointed by King George on the recommendation of the Minister of Home Security, who is answerable for them in the House of Commons.

There has been criticism by some local authorities of the present regional organization. Nevertheless, arrangements functioned well during the blitz, and many local authorities would have been unable, without the help of their regional commissioner, to provide emergency services on anything like the necessary scale.

But the question of continuance after the war of this system in its present form, or in a similar form, is

AUTHOR'S NOTE. The views expressed in this article are those of the writer and do not in any way represent the views of the local authority.

viewed with some apprehension by the local authorities, on whose existing structure the regional commissioners' organization has been superimposed.

Future of Regionalism

At its annual meeting on July 22, 1942, the Association of Municipal Corporations adopted the report of a special committee which had carefully considered this matter.

"We are clearly of the opinion," the committee reported, "that although the system may have been suitable for emergency purposes during the war, and indeed might be essential in the event of invasion and consequent interference with communications, it would be not only unnecessary, but quite unsuitable, in times of peace. In our opinion local authorities should have direct access to the government departments in Westminster, without the intervention of regional or subsidiary governmental bodies.

"Much of the progress in existing social and local services in the country has been derived from local initiative and experiment—the benefits of which have been subsequently incorporated into general legislation—and we regard it as of vital importance that this local initiative, which is the very foundation of local government, should be maintained unimpaired. A system of regional administration, especially if not directly responsible to elected representation, interposed between local authorities and the central authority, would not only detract from local responsibility and initiative and tend to lower the status of local authorities, but is, in

our view, calculated to give rise to undesirable delays in execution of policy and result in an appreciable addition to the cost of government, without any gain in the efficiency of local government services."

The trend of British local government during the past quarter of a century has been towards enlarging the area of local administration, and the transfer of functions originally controlled by special authorities, such as the old poor law guardians, to one "all purposes" authority.

Stated in general terms, three main factors affect the problem of the optimum area for local government: (1) efficiency of public services in a particular area; (2) adequacy of the financial resources of the area to meet the reasonable expenditure of the local authority; (3) preservation of local patriotism and interest and the attraction of suitable elected representatives from all sections of the community.

Administration and Services

Regionalism may be described as the problem of relating public administration and public services to the areas served, otherwise than by centralized national mechanism on the one hand or by small-scale local provision on the other. A region is essentially an area of an indeterminate size, and presupposes a large national unit above it and a small local unit below it.

The word has been loosely used and applied in some cases to the setting up of new bodies with either mandatory or advisory powers to supervise a number of smaller authorities within a defined area, and in

others to the extension of the area of certain local government services, such as town and country planning, water supply, sewerage, and transport, which lend themselves to large-scale administration, either by a system of joint boards or by the complete amalgamation of existing authorities into larger units of administration.

Existing "Patchwork Quilt"

In considering the future development of local government in England and Wales, there are certain anomalies in its present structure, largely due to its gradual and haphazard development, which must be understood.

What is that structure? For local government purposes the country may be regarded at the present time as falling into two broad categories: first, urban areas; second, rural areas.

The authorities exercising local government functions within these areas are:

Urban Areas:

- (a) County borough councils, or
- (b) County councils in association with
 - (1) municipal borough councils, or
 - (2) urban district councils.

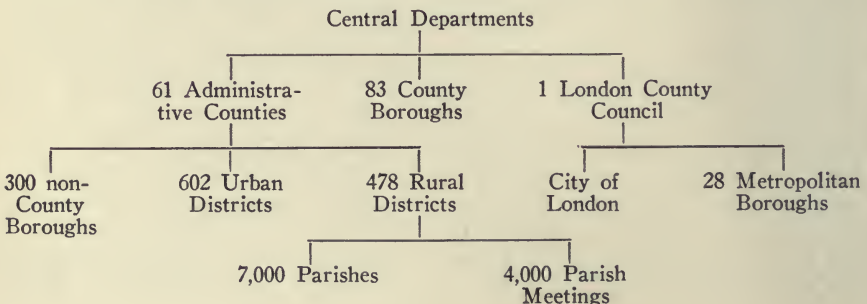
Rural Areas:

- (a) County councils in association with
 - (1) rural district councils,
 - (2) parish councils, and
 - (3) parish meetings.

The table set forth below gives a bird's-eye view of the number and type of each authority.

In a memorandum on the reorganization of local government, recently prepared by the Association of Municipal Corporations, it is pointed out that substantially the present system was set up more than fifty years ago. Where the growth of population and development of industry, accompanied by improved standards of living, have necessitated the introduction of new local government services or the extension of existing ones, new duties have often been placed upon the existing authorities, the choice of the authorities having no doubt been determined more as a matter of convenience than of logic.

Instead of there being a single authority responsible for all the services in a given area, there is a major authority—the county council—which has jurisdiction throughout the administrative county, and a series of minor authorities—non-county bor-



oughs and urban and rural district councils—which are responsible frequently for similar or related services in particular parts of the county. Only in the case of the county borough council, of which there are only eighty-three in the whole country, is power concentrated under the direction of a single authority. The county district may be a non-county borough, an urban district, or a rural district. If the last-named, it will contain parishes, which will in turn have organizations of government and possess functions of their own.

This division of power and duties between various bodies often causes difficulties; and it is sometimes with surprise that one realizes that, despite difficulties, the machinery functions effectively: the water flows, the police keep order, and local officers do their jobs.

Methods of Cooperation

The methods by which local authorities may combine or coöperate in connection with large-scale services are as many and diverse as are the types and sizes of the local authorities themselves.

The following is a brief summary of the kinds of coöperation which had been effected between local authorities before the war:

I. *Compulsory Coöperation*

Example

- (a) of self-supporting services —Electricity supply
- (b) of rate-supported services —Land drainage

II. *Voluntary Coöperation*

- (a) of self-supporting services —Water boards under statutory bodies
- (b) of self-supporting services —“Through running” of by means of bulk supplies transport services
- (c) of rate-supported services —Hospital boards under statutory bodies
- (d) of rate-supported services —Police, education. by payment for services

One of the fields in which coöperation is most required among local authorities is in the supply of water. In many cases water has to be brought to an area from a distant source, and it is usual in such cases for Parliament to require the undertakers to supply water to the areas en route. This system has, on the whole, worked well and has resulted in economy of capital outlay.

The advisory committee upon water set up by the Ministry of Health reported in 1928 that if the remaining sources of water supply are to be made available at a reasonable cost, and expensive conflicts avoided, more systematic foresight is required than hitherto. Hence the urgent need for the setting up of water advisory committees covering large areas.

The function of these committees would be to ascertain the needs of each of the separate districts and formulate a definite policy designed to meet their present and prospective requirements. They would consist of representatives of each local authority of water undertaker in the area. At present there are eight water advisory committees in existence and probably an early development after the war will be the conferring of statutory powers upon them.

Studies of individual services have produced many unsatisfied demands for further enlarging the areas of administration of those services. County police forces are controlled by a standing joint committee composed as to one half of county councillors and the other half of justices of the peace appointed in Quarter Sessions.

In addition, other kinds of joint action may be adopted by the police forces. A standing joint committee in one county may appoint as chief constable a person holding the same office in an adjoining county, subject to the consent of the police authority in the latter area. This arrangement was in operation before the war in the three divisions of Lincolnshire and also in Cumberland and Westmoreland. Moreover, several county boroughs are policed by the county police under agreements between the county borough councils and the county police authority.

A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1932 to consider and report upon the amalgamation of small police forces with larger units of police administration. That committee found there were no fewer than forty-eight police forces which contained twenty-five men or less and a further forty police forces with a strength of between twenty-five to fifty men. The committee also declared themselves in favor of larger units of administration. "It is obvious," they stated, "that the existence of the numerous small forces . . . greatly complicates the police administration of the country in many ways; it increases the difficulty of securing the standardization of the conditions of service, training, and

working methods of the police, to which we attach the greatest possible importance."

It recommended that no county borough should be deprived of its rights to maintain a separate police force but that provision should be made for the merger of the separate police forces of non-county boroughs with a population of less than 30,000.

The recommendations of the committee have not up to the present been carried out, but the merger of the small police forces is now being considered.

Has Regionalism Come to Stay?

Is regionalization expected to be permanent or merely for the duration? In its present form it is not expected to be permanent. But the long-mooted experiment of creating regional areas having been tried, and its value proved in civil defense, it seems probable that after the war the regional commissioners' organization may be replaced by elected regional councils. There might be twenty or thirty regions instead of the existing twelve.

Planning should start in the first case on a national scale with such matters as the location of industry, trunk roads, major water supply developments, national parks, and so forth. The second stage is planning at the regional level. The powers assigned to the regional councils might include the following: (1) to prescribe and enforce minimum standards in regard to a particular service throughout the region; (2) to require uniform or consistent technical methods or equipment; (3) to require a local authority within the region to

provide a particular service, and to act in default if it fails to do so; (4) to plan the siting of such institutions as schools, public swimming baths, municipal cemeteries, and so on, throughout the region.

Postwar Reconstruction Schemes

Below the regional councils there might be a second tier of authorities, which would have separately elected councils. These authorities should be of such character and status as to make them suitable units for the administration of postwar reconstruction or redevelopment schemes. The blending of rural with urban areas would prevent "over-spills" from the urban into rural areas, with a consequent escape of financial responsibility. By appropriate town planning it should be possible to limit the growth and population of each area.

Such a reorganization as is outlined would involve the disappearance of the county councils. Omitting the county boroughs and the county of London, the sixty-one administrative counties of England and Wales have an average area of only 935 square miles—say thirty-one miles square—and an average population of fewer than 365,000. The smallest counties run down to 150 square miles and 17,000 inhabitants.

Because these areas have been found too small for many problems, a number of *ad hoc* supercounty units have already been created—quite apart from the regional commissioners' organization. The traffic commissioners, electricity supply, the agricultural marketing schemes—all these are organized in units, each of which contains several counties. The actual

units are rarely, if ever, the same for any two purposes. But it is of less importance that the areas are geographically haphazard than that the machinery of administration has to be improvised afresh for each new need. If there were "all purposes" regional authorities already in existence, there is no doubt that many of the existing functions of local government would be handed over to them.

Another thing which would be avoided if the problem of local government were tackled on a logical and comprehensive basis would be the constant attempts by the county and non-county boroughs to enlarge their boundaries. These attempts always met with bitter opposition from the county councils from whose domain it was proposed to take territory, population, and taxable value.

"Many persons," wrote Dr. Robson in *The Development of Local Government*, "are under the impression that there is something undemocratic and opposed to the true principles of local government in enlarging the areas of municipal administration. This is a misconception. Local government is not menaced merely by enlarging the unit of jurisdiction. If our ideas of what constitutes a locality become larger, as they in fact have within living memory, it is a natural consequence for the units of government to increase in size to a corresponding extent. The essential core of local government, the vitalizing force which informs all its most excellent manifestations, is the sense of community existing between a body of citizens and the association of that sense with a given territory in which they dwell and work."

Lubbock's Manager Plan Major Factor in City's Success

By J. C. WATSON
Lubbock Chamber of Commerce

DURING the twenty-five years since the council-manager form of government was adopted in Lubbock, Texas, the community has experienced a 1004 per cent increase in population. A major part of that growth came in the last half of that period, since 1930. Then the total population of the city was 20,520; today it is estimated to be in excess of 40,000. The official 1940 figure was 31,853.

One of the chief factors in making possible this phenomenal, substantial, and steady growth and development has been the condition and operation of the municipal government. Under the manager system the city has been in position to meet all demands and needs for service necessary to attract and obtain new commercial and industrial activities, new citizens, and new money.

Furthermore, in spite of the fact that the city tax rate has been kept consistently at an extremely low level, the city has maintained a financial position of such substantial status as to make it a desirable customer for all concerns having service, equipment, or supplies to sell.

Lubbock's most substantial development and growth came during a period of worldwide depression. Many municipalities were unable, during that decade, to provide money for necessary repairs and replacements in their physical properties because of burdensome debts incurred during the "frenzied 20's."

Much refunding and many municipal bankruptcies were recorded.

In Lubbock the record has been quite different. Substantial evidence in support of that statement is furnished by a series of comparisons:

The city had 18.2 miles of paved streets in 1931; 46.4 miles in 1940, and 61.2 miles at the beginning of 1942.

Total value of the water, electric, and sewer plants owned and operated by the city of Lubbock increased from approximately \$1,500,000 in 1930 to \$2,312,327 in 1940, and \$2,791,095 in 1942.

Increases in the total assessed valuation of property in the corporate limits for ad valorem tax purposes have been from \$3,957,980 in 1920, three years after the manager charter was adopted, to \$24,357,586 in 1930, and \$29,386,865 in 1942.

Property in Lubbock is taken on the city tax rolls at approximately 60 per cent of actual value. That formula has been used for over twenty years. The tax rate was 65 cents at the start of the council-manager system in 1919. It was \$1.25 in 1920 and 1930, and \$1.00 in 1940 and 1942.

When the property tax rate is compared with that figure for other Texas cities, it is found that the Lubbock adjusted rate figures 45 cents, as compared with the next lowest in the state, among cities of similar population, of 56 cents, and the highest in this group of \$1.61.

Tax collections have grown from \$21,698 in 1917 to \$49,825 in 1920; and \$267,162 in 1940. It is esti-

mated that the 1942 collections will exceed \$300,000. Net receipts from water, electric, and sewer operations were \$113,082 in 1920; \$300,555 in 1930; \$474,441 in 1940, and the total collections for those services in 1942 will go over \$500,000.

Lubbock's electric rate is the lowest in Texas for cities of the same population bracket, when figured on the basis of 100 kilowatt hours for residential use. The net water rate is also extremely low when compared with the same group of municipalities.

Finances Improve

In the face of all its expansion and development, Lubbock has constantly improved its credit and increased its solvency. Total outstanding capital indebtedness in 1920 was \$272,857; in 1930, \$2,365,000; 1940, \$2,708,158, and in 1942, \$2,545,075. All bonds and other indebtedness are in excellent condition and the obligations of the city are sought by investors.

All services of the city are complete and efficient. The municipal airport, recently leased to the United States Army for an Air Force Training School, is one of the best in the southwest. Its construction represents expenditures of around \$550,000.

Lubbock's growth and development as a commercial center during the last twenty-five years has attracted worldwide notice.

Business Week, in its April 19, 1941, issue, carried a feature story on the city and its progress. The

following excerpts were outstanding:

"Lubbock inhabitants point out that they are not passive receivers of lucky breaks. While nature dumped blessings all around, it took get-up and gumption to cash in on them. Lubbock's story—like much of Texas—starts with cattle, runs to cotton and other farming, accelerates with the discovery of oil, enters now a manufacturing phase.

"Instead of leaving a wrecked economy with each shift, all prime activities have continued to develop."

City Likes Manager Plan

Lubbock was incorporated under a mayor and city council plan in 1909. The population of the city, according to the 1910 United States Census was 1,938. The council-manager charter was adopted in 1917—25 years ago—and the 1920 census gave the population as 4,051. Figures for periods since then have been enumerated above.

Leaders of the city assert that they are convinced that the manager system has been a major factor in the general success and progress of the municipality. This is based on the general idea that the affairs of the city have been so efficiently and economically handled as to make Lubbock an attractive place for investments, as well as one which offers all desirable and convenient services and facilities.

Lubbock people are for the city manager program and no efforts are undertaken to make any changes in the general setup.

Manager's Business Methods Give Sault Ste. Marie Sound Financial Structure

By GEORGE A. OSBORN, Editor
Sault Ste. Marie Evening News

THE citizens of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, are thoroughly convinced of the value of the council-manager type of government and would not think of returning to the old methods. The campaign for a new charter started as early as 1914. It culminated in the adoption of the manager plan which went into effect in the fall of 1917. A committee of representative citizens faithfully studied modern government and today there is practically unanimous approval of their recommendation to throw out the ward-council form of government.

Sault Ste. Marie is entirely free from a bonded debt of about \$750,000 that existed in 1917 largely because of the businesslike methods insisted on by the present manager, Henry A. Sherman, who has been at the helm since 1920. As bonds came due, Mr. Sherman paid as many as possible and the balance was refunded as serial bonds. It was not long before all bonds were of the serial type and now all have been paid in full. Today the city is free of bonded debt except for \$20,000 owed on an endowed community building. There are special assessment debts for curbs, gutters, sewers, etc., which are financed largely by the persons benefiting, with the city assuming about 20 per cent of the cost.

One of the secrets of the city manager's success is his ability to make an intelligent budget and live within

it. The tax rate has been relatively low, about \$11 to \$12 per thousand assessed valuation during the past twenty-two years. Today it is about \$15 because of increased costs due largely to the war.

There is a definite program of street improvement provided in the budget each year. Construction of sewers and extension of water mains come largely from demands by the people. A city zoning law has aided in the prevention of over-expansion and residential districts have been kept fairly secure.

Snow removal, which involves plowing of snow on the streets, walks, and alleys of the city and the removal of snow on the main downtown thoroughfares, costs the taxpayers from \$20,000 to \$30,000 a season, depending on the precipitation.

The city has a good airport, a growing park system.

The municipal financial picture is bright because of the centralized responsibility in a manager and because Sault Ste. Marie has had the right type of manager with both engineering training and business ability. Even during the depression stability was maintained and our bonds have been rated as high class securities, calling for as low as one per cent in interest.

Because of the manager's conservatism government relief plans have been at a minimum although there have been some benefits from WPA and other federal relief programs.

The council-manager plan has had
(Continued on Page 549)

Cities Must Seek Cheap Power to Hold Their Industries

Keeping kilowatts working effectively will be a prime factor in a community's position for production and industrial advancement.

By JOHN BAUER, Director
American Public Utilities Bureau

WHILE American cities have been forced by events to assume constantly increasing responsibilities for community welfare, they have been cramped correspondingly in financing these services. This situation has already become acute under the pressures of defense and war activities, and will probably reach critical stages under postwar necessities.

When the war ends, all cities whose people have been engaged heavily in war industry will face the immediate and crucial problem of shifting back to peacetime production and activities. They will be confronted with the threat of industrial collapse, unemployment, and demoralization.

To prevent such breakdown will be the responsibility of government, which will rest, first, upon the federal government, but finally on the cities which are the centers of industrial employment.

To avoid postwar disaster will require definite planning, appropriate legislation, adequate financial means, and a program for prompt action the moment war ceases. In coordination with the federal and state governments, cities must be ready with scheduled public works and other useful activities to absorb disemployed war workers and soldiers, and

to facilitate transition to full peacetime production and employment.

What should be clear is that cities must assume direct and continuous economic responsibility for their communities both during and after the war to an extent they have never before encountered. Apart from meeting war necessities and facilitating prompt transition to peacetime occupations, they must be alert in securing and preserving for their localities the most favorable conditions for continuous industrial and social advancement.

One of these conditions will be the availability of adequate and low-cost electric power. This will be essential for all mechanized and assembly line processes, and will be increasingly basic to all phases of production. To keep kilowatts working most effectively will be a prime factor in a community's position for production and industrial advancement. While adequacy of electric power will be easily attained, low cost will require incessant collective effort.

This can come only through city officials, who must see clearly that localities with low rates will have a basic advantage; those with high rates will be handicapped.

That there are great variations in rate levels between different sections of the country has been generally

known. Comparisons and discussions, however, have been limited largely to residential rates, whose differences have been emphasized through relative ratings made and published by the Federal Power Commission.

While, of course, residential rates are important to community welfare, commercial and industrial bills are of more direct significance for competitive production. To present broadly the regional differences,

Table I gives the monthly bills for typical quantities and classes of consumption in the leading industrial cities of each section of the country.¹

¹All figures are taken from the Federal Power Commission's report on *Typical Electric Bills in Cities of 50,000 Population and More, 1942*, based on rates effective January 1, 1942. Where two or more rate schedules are available to consumers the lowest bill has been included in the statement. The grouping corresponds with the FPC regional classification.

TABLE I

	<i>Residential</i> 100 kwh	<i>Commercial</i> Light 1,500 kwh	<i>Commercial</i> Power 6,000 kwh	<i>Industrial</i> Power 120,000 kwh
<i>New England</i>				
Boston	\$4.90	\$81.50	\$181.05	\$1,493
Springfield	3.66	63.75	120.00	1,406
Providence	4.82	65.10	104.50	1,551
New Haven	3.88	64.50	173.00	1,370
Hartford	3.62	68.00	170.55	1,583
<i>Middle Atlantic</i>				
New York City-Bronx	4.75	88.71	303.24	1,816
Newark	4.35	74.00	187.50	1,446
Allentown-Bethlehem	4.74	60.60	167.50	1,505
Philadelphia	3.37	51.22	141.66	1,068
Pittsburgh	3.80	48.80	137.59	1,211
Buffalo	3.06	29.25	91.00	869
<i>East North Central</i>				
Cleveland	3.35	43.70	131.50	1,445
Cincinnati	2.50	51.30	122.00	1,113
Indianapolis	3.85	49.15	109.75	1,423
Detroit	3.28	45.00	146.25	1,622
Chicago	3.65	60.63	180.00	1,308
Milwaukee	3.35	45.13	126.07	1,435
<i>West North Central</i>				
Minneapolis	3.56	52.16	116.85	1,452
Des Moines	3.51	43.81	141.00	1,389
St. Louis	3.13	50.06	157.15	1,239
Kansas City, Mo.	3.75	56.80	179.45	1,144
Omaha	3.64	56.33	97.50	1,140
<i>South Atlantic</i>				
Baltimore	3.78	47.21	160.10	1,395
Washington, D. C.	2.56	33.66	120.19	1,100
Richmond	4.25	56.50	142.00	1,185
Charlotte	3.20	40.95	86.00	1,180
Atlanta	3.50	49.56	105.71	1,326
Jacksonville—M	4.60	53.50	98.00	1,354
<i>East South Central</i>				
Louisville	3.00	45.45	137.95	1,260
Chattanooga—M	2.50	27.50	90.00	864
Knoxville—M	2.50	22.80	78.00	864
Nashville—M	2.50	26.22	89.70	994

TABLE I—(Continued)

	Residential 100 kwh	Commercial Light 1,500 kwh	Commercial Power 6,000 kwh	Industrial Power 120,000 kwh
Memphis—M	2.88	31.63	89.70	994
Birmingham	2.75	50.50	130.00	1,120
<i>West South Central</i>				
Little Rock	4.10	68.25	162.25	1,392
New Orleans	4.40	68.35	161.00	1,292
Oklahoma City	4.08	57.50	122.78	1,204
Houston	3.32	48.25	128.48	1,257
Dallas	3.92	46.25	147.39	1,262
<i>Mountain</i>				
Denver	3.80	65.00	138.00	1,458
Salt Lake City	3.75	60.35	116.10	1,224
Phoenix	4.17	60.15	195.74	1,845
<i>Pacific</i>				
Spokane	2.76	29.25	79.60	889
Seattle—M	2.95	40.05	63.25	951
Tacoma—M	1.70	17.50	51.00	570
Portland	3.00	27.93	62.00	1,020
San Francisco	2.92	38.70	68.00	980
Los Angeles—M	2.97	41.33	83.94	922

M denotes municipal plant

Rate Groupings

For practical comparison a four-fold grouping of rate levels may be made for each class of consumption: very high, high, moderate, and low. While no absolute division between these grades can be made, approximate amounts can be taken as roughly representative. The following standards² will be taken as the *low range* for each of the first three ratings (very high, high, and moderate), and as *top* for the fourth (low):

Despite variations within a given region, or individual city differences, approximate regional grouping can be made according to the four rate levels. For the most part, the levels in the leading industrial cities are representative of levels in the smaller communities in the same region, though there are exceptions.

Very high: New England, eastern New York, New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania (except Philadelphia), and the Mountain states.

TABLE II

	Very High	High	Moderate	Low Under
Residential—100 kwh	\$4.00	\$3.25	\$2.75	\$2.75
Commercial light—1,500 kwh	65.00	50.00	35.00	35.00
Commercial power—6,000 kwh	160.00	125.00	85.00	85.00
Industrial power—120,000 kwh	1,400.00	1,200.00	1,000.00	1,000.00

²To make clear these comparative standards, those for residential (100 kilowatt-hours per month) will be explained: (1) a monthly bill of \$4.00 or over is considered very high; (2) \$3.25 to \$4.00 is high; (3) \$2.75 to \$3.25 is moderate; (4) under \$2.75 is low. Like explana-

tions apply to commercial light, commercial power, and industrial power. For any community or region a balance of the four ratings shows its general rate level. While the showing is not precise, reasonable application gives substantially correct groupings.

High: The Philadelphia and Pittsburgh areas in Pennsylvania, East North Central, West North Central, and West South Central.

Moderate: South Atlantic and East South Central (outside of TVA territory).

Low: Buffalo area, TVA territory, and the Pacific states. If the bills for these distinctly low areas are averaged, they furnish a significant showing and yardstick for other localities:

Residential, 100 kwh	\$2.71
Commercial light, 1,500 kwh	30.20
Commercial power, 6,000 kwh	76.93
Industrial power, 120,000 kwh	902.00

These averages are well under the top standards presented above for the low rate groupings, especially for commercial and industrial power. Furthermore, they apply to areas large in extent and vastly important both for war production and postwar development.

Low Rate Competition

The low rate sections will furnish decisive regional competition for development throughout the country. What can be done by New England, eastern New York, New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and other localities to meet the low rates in the Buffalo, TVA, and Pacific territories?

The answer must be supplied by each state and particularly by each community; concerted public effort will be essential. To some extent sectional differences will continue, because of underlying costs. Mostly, however, they can be practically eliminated through vigorous public action, either by determined efforts

to get rate reductions from private companies or through establishment of public ownership.

In most regions where rates are high there are state utility commissions before which rate reductions can be sought. In such actions the important factor to be presented is inter-regional competition. If costs are determined on the basis of proper organization and efficient management, and if regulation is made effective, excessive rates can be cut and low rate levels approached.

It is important to note that in the regions with low rates public ownership of electric power dominates. This is true not only in TVA and the Pacific states, but also in the Buffalo area which is affected by the low Ontario rates. If any community cannot get proper rate reductions from the local private company, it should have recourse to public ownership. It cannot afford to tolerate higher charges than necessary under proper organization and efficient management.

Relief Through Municipalization

Proposals for municipal ownership naturally raise the question as to what municipal plants have accomplished, and what results can be reasonably expected. The answers are indicated by a regional comparison of electric bills, showing that the low rate areas appear where public organization of electric power prevails. This is further confirmed by comprehensive comparison of municipal plants with privately supplied service.

The tabulation in Table III presents the electric bills for all municipal plants in cities of 50,000 popula-

TABLE III

	Rank ^a	Residential 100 kwh	Commercial Light 1,500 kwh	Commercial Power 6,000 kwh	Industrial Power 120,000 kwh
Tacoma, Wash.	1	\$1.70	\$17.50	\$ 51.00	\$ 570
Chattanooga, Tenn.	2	2.50	27.50	90.00	864
Knoxville, Tenn.	2	2.50	22.80	78.00	864
Nashville, Tenn.	2	2.50	26.22	89.70	994
Cleveland, Ohio	9	2.65	38.85	122.40	1,298
Lansing, Mich.	10	2.70	35.75	125.75	1,519
Kansas City, Kans.	13	2.80	45.00	150.00	1,203
Memphis, Tenn.	15	2.88	31.63	89.70	994
Glendale, Calif.	16	2.91	38.40	83.94	979
Seattle, Wash.	20	2.95	40.05	63.25	951
Los Angeles, Calif.	21	2.97	41.33	83.94	922
Kalamazoo, Mich.	22	3.00	57.00	147.00	1,695
Springfield, Ill.	27	3.02	19.50	82.20	1,197
Lincoln, Nebr.	32	3.03	38.52	126.02	1,472
Hamilton, Ohio	40	3.13	28.38	84.63	1,225
Pasadena, Calif.	56	3.30	35.90	89.50	798
Columbus, Ohio	65	3.40	38.38	104.03	1,249
Fort Wayne, Ind.	70	3.50	46.00	103.90	1,691
Austin, Texas	86	3.65	45.30	145.00	1,491
Holyoke, Mass.	98	3.75	39.25	72.00	1,295
Jacksonville, Fla.	181	4.60	53.50	98.00	1,354
Average		3.02	36.51	99.05	1,173

^aThe municipal plants are presented in the order of their relative ranking in the 210 residential ratings as given by the Federal Power Commission—21 municipal and 189 private.

tion and over on the same basis as in the preceding inter-regional statement. These bills come extensively within the low rate standards.

The average bill for each class of consumption in these cities makes an excellent showing when compared with corresponding averages for the 189 rankings for municipalities served by private companies:

	Municipal Average	Private Average
Residential, 100 kwh	\$3.02	\$3.89
Commercial light, 1,500 kwh	36.51	55.81
Commercial power, 6,000 kwh	99.05	144.91
Industrial power, 120,000 kwh	1,173.00	1,407.00

There are, of course, some municipi-

pal plants where rates run higher. The differences, however, reflect actual rate policies rather than what can be accomplished by a municipal plant in achieving low rates. Mostly where bills are substantially higher than the low rate standards, the municipal management is concerned with objectives other than low cost electricity for consumers and industrial advancement. It may be either making heavy contributions to the general budgets of the cities, thus relieving taxes, or accumulating profits for debt amortization and plant expansion, or both. If these special objectives are taken into account, what can be expected from municipal organization and management is shown by the low rate plants rather

than by the averages for all the municipal systems.³

Whatever may be said as to the advisability of operating a municipal electric system for profit, or to relieve taxes or for purposes other than low cost electricity for industrial advancement, the results are retained for public benefit. Survey of each of the twenty-one municipal systems listed above shows excellent performance. The rate differences are due more to financial policies than to underlying economy and efficiency; all are in position to furnish low rates. To a considerable extent the managements have followed a middle course of fixing rates below the prevalent private levels in nearby communities, yet making substantial profits for the relief of taxes and other purposes.

³When the electric rates charged by municipal plants are proclaimed to be low by public ownership enthusiasts, private utility defenders commonly retort that such low rates are limited to residential consumption, and are offset by high commercial and industrial charges. The contention has been that if commercial and industrial bills, also the payment of taxes, are taken into account, private rates are lower than public.

The comparison above for the principal classes and typical quantities of consumption shows that municipal bills average much lower throughout than private. As to taxes, no comprehensive figures for the past few years are available. In earlier studies covering 1936 electric operations, however, the Federal Power Commission showed that on an average municipal plants contributed nearly twice as much in tax equivalents as private tax payments. The relative proportions may have changed somewhat since, but private tax payments up to 1942 have probably remained well below the level of municipal plant contributions to public budgetary purposes. See "Municipal Utilities: Profits vs. Taxes," by John Bauer, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1939.

For the future, practical choice will require more critical consideration of community policy and consequences. Managements must decide whether to keep rates up and taxes down, and so hamper industrial development, or get rates down to a minimum consistent with cost and endure higher taxes (and so promote industrial expansion).

Open-minded consideration will probably lead to the conclusion that minimum rates, with maximum industrial progress, will be better than higher rates and less industrial development. From the standpoint of municipal budgets alone, low electric rates with time will produce lower tax rates, but with increased tax revenues through greater industrial enlargement.

Good policy will be for the municipal plant to contribute to other municipal and state purposes on the same relative basis as private business in general but not to make high plant profits to relieve taxes. The objective should be minimum rates consistent with cost. Operation should be financially self-sustaining, covering all regular operating expenses and maintenance, depreciation, reasonable tax allowances, interest on plant debt, and moderate amortization or plant expansion. These direct annual costs and allowances are properly covered by rates, but additional provisions for profits should be scrutinized rigorously from the standpoint of effect upon the industrial position of the community.

Every city of considerable size, even one of less than 50,000 population, can attain substantially low

(Continued on Page 552)

High Jinks in Detroit

Citizens cling to ideal of a graft-free city; act promptly and courageously in indicting and convicting those public servants "found wanting."

By J. M. LEONARD

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

DETROIT'S claim to being the best governed city in this country received a body blow within the past two years with the indictment and conviction of a former mayor, the superintendent of police, some eighty other police officers (not all convicted), the county sheriff and prosecuting attorney, and three of the nine city councilmen. Later followed the conviction of two members of the county board of auditors and removal from office of the third, for bribery and an assorted group of other crimes.

Has Detroit's government suddenly gone askew and are the claims to "best government" too sweeping for any but ironical comment?

Scarcely. Detroit still remains the only large city without a vestige of political party domination, free from petty grafting bureaucrats, and still possessed of the ideal that graft-free government must obtain.

One day in August 1939 a Mrs. MacDonald, who had been jilted by a small time gambler, killed herself and her daughter, leaving a number of notes claiming that the police department was honeycombed with graft. The unseemly haste of the police department to clear itself by claiming the woman was crazy fanned the current rumors that all was not well with the administration of the police department. An investigation by a one-man grand jury followed, resulting in the indictment of the mayor and various police officers but not the commissioner. The police commissioner in Detroit is a civilian appointed by the mayor. Theoretically he possesses full authority to operate the department. The indictment of the prosecuting attor-

ney and the sheriff (in practically the same cases) indicated the extent of the breakdown in morale. The police could never have been so graft-conscious without the coöperation of the prosecutor and sheriff.

The indictments all centered in one of the most difficult crimes facing the police—that of vice, chiefly gambling involving the "numbers" racket. Many police departments solve this complicated situation by placing the regulation of such ventures with the political party in the control of the city. But there was no organized political party in Detroit.

For years Detroit has followed a liberal vice-control policy. It was considered an industrial city which did not want too vigorous enforcement of the vice laws. Under such a policy Detroit went through the 1920's with little or no difficulty. But during that period the police department was in charge of an outstanding police officer, William P. Rutledge, who governed with intelligence and rare ability. Such graft in the police department as existed was of small amounts and infrequent. After 1930, however, a succession of police commissioners followed; some able, but many neither able nor independent.

But Detroit had been accustomed to see evidences of vice and had become convinced that vice did not necessarily mean inefficiency or graft. The gradual decadence of the police administrators was unappreciated by the public, so the way was open for none-too-honest police and public officials to follow the path trod by many before them. The picture was the usual one, from sporadic payments to a system of regular levies, and

then the usual rapaciousness of ever increasing payoffs.

It is evident that Detroit and similarly situated cities should either clamp the lid on all kinds of vice, or it should make reasonably sure that the police commissioner and the mayor are possessed of considerable integrity.

The Council

In the award of a contract for a large public housing project, the question of steel versus concrete construction became the major consideration. The Housing Commission after some discussion recommended concrete on the ground that the type of steel construction contemplated was still unproved construction. The problem, which was really none of its business, came before the council, which after some more discussion approved the contract for concrete.

Then it developed that three councilmen received \$15,000, \$10,000, and \$5,000 respectively. In each case it was said they intended to vote for concrete, liked concrete, and would not think of anything else but concrete. One councilman at his trial claimed that his payoff was not bribery because he always intended to vote for concrete; the payment was just a present from the contractors for doing what he was convinced was right.

Detroit councilmen receive \$5,000 a year. One of the convicted men, however, had a considerable additional income as business agent for the bricklayers union. It appears that one councilman was talented above his two colleagues, for he got \$15,000. Probably word of his ability in this direction was too much for the other two.

Protection against this form of bribery is difficult. Electing better men is probably an offhand answer. One of the councilmen convicted had been serving since 1922, another for four years, and the third, who received the \$15,000, had

two years service but had been a member of the state legislature before running for council. The voters did not transfer any resentment for this betrayal to the other members, for the remaining six were all re-elected last November. In nonpartisan elections a good vote-getting name is to be treasured above all else, and so it is doubtful if there is any real check on the integrity of councilmen.

The County

In Wayne County, of which Detroit represents 80 per cent of the population, the three-man board of auditors is the chief administrative body. But there are elected six other constitutional officials and three other statutory officials, a total of twelve. The legislative body of 161 members, none of them elected to the board by direct vote of the people, completes the picture of a government which should be preserved in a museum.

Two of the auditors have been indicted on a varied list of crimes involving bribery and fee-splitting. These crimes antedated those in the police department. The third member was removed from office on general grounds remarkably similar to those of the indictments, but of a lesser degree. The removal hearings of the third auditor indicated that some form of minor derelictions in duty to the financial benefit of the auditors has existed for some years.

The difficulties in the county result from the lack of any responsible county government. An overlarge and unrepresentative legislative body, too many elected officials, and a three-man administrative board all form a melange which cannot be unscrambled by persons who have made a business of trying to understand it. The three auditors, supposed to check upon each other, found it more profitable to coöperate fully in the spoils of office. Coöperation extended even to the two Democratic members helping to

secure the election of their Republican brother.

In addition to its archaic form, the county government is financially insignificant as compared with the towering government of Detroit. Such political interest of the voters as is concerned with local government is confined to Detroit.

The indictments and requests for removal of the auditors more than justifies the demands of civic groups for a responsible and effective county government to replace the present enfeebled form.¹

Summary

Nonpartisan government emerges from the present mess without any scars. Detroit's government still can claim the distinction of the "best governed" large city because of the promptness with which it attacked the cleanup. Perhaps the most severe arraignment is that Detroiters sold themselves the "good government" idea a little too strongly.

Wayne County indictments accent the repeated demands for a reorganization of the county government along modern lines of a small representative council, centralization of power, and nonpartisan elections. The present defections point out the necessity of public, daylight controls.

The police department episode shows that Detroit has the choice of closed-up vice, or a strong police commissioner backed by an honest mayor, with perhaps the preference on the closed-up city because it is easier to check. The council

derelictions are more difficult to prevent but perhaps Detroit can work toward checks on councilmanic interference with administrative decisions on which councilmen are not informed or competent.

In one sense Detroit should rejoice that the disclosures came before the practices became so settled that little or nothing could be done. So far, the citizens have courageously faced the problems and supported those who have been most earnest in eradicating the conditions.

SAULT STE. MARIE'S MANAGER PLAN

(Continued from Page 540)

its problems but there have been a minimum of politics and comparatively little meddling with the functioning of the manager. His job has been threatened at times but when any serious attack has been made, enough citizens rallied to his support to withstand any possible attempts at removal.

Because of his successful business administration Manager Sherman is one of the oldest managers in point of service of all the communities in the United States which have adopted the manager plan.

A great majority of the voters consider the council-manager form of government as a fixed institution which is largely responsible for the efficient and progressive administration of Sault Ste. Marie.

¹See "Home Rule for Wayne County?", by A. W. Bromage, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, p. 386.

Letter to the Editor

"Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea"

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

The article by George A. Warp in the June number of the REVIEW, entitled "Can the King Do No Wrong?", while reaching a wrong conclusion, is so well written and displays such a thorough knowledge of the subject discussed that it should not remain unanswered.

Mr. Warp, after pointing out the intricacies and injustices arising from the application of the rule that municipal corporations are not liable for tortious acts of officers and persons in their employ while engaged in performing a governmental rather than a proprietary function, concludes:

Discredited in theory and unwarranted in fact, the arbitrary, absurd, and unjust governmental-proprietary rule should be eliminated from municipal law. Liability should be made to depend not upon the nature of the function but upon the nature of the act. If the act is such that a private corporation would be liable, then a municipal corporation should be liable too, regardless of the nature of the function being performed.

Undoubtedly the writer means that no matter how clearly governmental the function of a municipal corporation may be, the rules of private liability should apply to its action—namely that it should be liable if any injury to person or property is caused by the negligence or unlawful acts of its officers or employees in the course of their service. Negligence would no doubt consist of doing something which a person of ordinary prudence and wisdom would not do, or failing to do something which a person of ordinary prudence would do.

Since under this new order the fact that the injury was caused in the course of the performance of a governmental function is no defense, the city council would always be in danger of involving the city in liability in tort, just as a board of directors may involve a private corporation. A zoning ordinance not infrequently causes injury to the value of property, the use of which is controlled by such ordinance. If Mr. Warp's proposal is accepted, and the owner of such property could convince a jury that the city council lacked ordinary prudence in adopting the ordinance, the city would be held liable for the damage thus caused. If, on the contrary, the city council imprudently neglected to adopt a zoning ordinance, an owner of residential property who suffered injury from the intrusion of business and manufacturing enterprises into his neighborhood might recover his damages thus caused from the city.

Similarly, if a city had power to adopt an ordinance limiting the speed of automobiles, but the city council was satisfied to let the state law control, the city might be held liable for almost all automobile accidents occurring within its limits. If, however, it adopted such an ordinance and set the rate of speed unreasonably low, the storekeepers who thereby were faced with additional cost of delivery of their goods might recover this extra expense from the city.

Courts Deny Liability

These suggestions are not fantastic: there are a number of cases in the law reports in which it was seriously contended that a city was liable for injuries resulting from the adoption of or failure to adopt ordinances of a regulatory nature. In such cases the

courts have denied liability because the function of legislation is governmental, but if we eliminate the "arbitrary, absurd, and unjust governmental-proprietary rule" we would necessarily have juries drawn by lot sitting in judgment over legislation adopted by the duly elected representatives of the people whenever an individual citizen felt himself aggrieved—a negation of democracy.

Administration Too!

The first exception to Mr. Warp's new order would, it would seem, be the elimination of the legislative function from its operation. If, however, we confine the rule to administrative functions, the results may be no less startling. One of the bases for the present doctrine is that governmental activities are usually performed gratuitously; indeed, it is this circumstance which commonly distinguishes them from the proprietary activities of a municipality. But this circumstance, we are told, should no longer be considered a defense. Accordingly, any person whose goods were stolen or who was himself the victim of assault by private wrongdoers might maintain an action against the city whenever he could convince the jury that if the policeman on the beat had been more vigilant his loss or injury would not have occurred. Every destructive fire might involve the city in litigation, based on charges, true or untrue, that the fire department was dilatory or ineffective. Every epidemic might be attributed to the negligence of the city department of health. This again is not a fantastic suggestion; many such actions have been brought and dismissed on the ground that the activity in question was governmental.

Clearly the second exception to the new rule would be the elimination of liability for nonfeasance—an exception

that would require some careful interpretation in its application to actions for injuries from defects and want of repair in public buildings and on public grounds. Even in the case of misfeasance, it must be remembered that we require drastic action from our public servants in order to preserve public order and public safety, and that interference with the persons and property of our citizens is a normal and expected feature of many governmental activities, whereas it is rarely a normal function of the activities of private corporations.

If a city must stand a suit for false imprisonment every time a person arrested by one of its police officers is eventually discharged by the court, or a suit for assault whenever rioters or persons resisting arrest get the worst of a battle with the police, the maintenance of public order will be seriously hampered. If the owner of a house where a fire has started, which if unchecked might endanger the whole city, feels that the firemen, who arrived promptly and quelled the fire at its inception, laid about them with their axes too vigorously or poured on too much water, has the acts of the firemen reviewed by a jury long after the danger had passed, the next fire may lay the whole city in ashes. If questions of discipline in the public schools commonly end up in the court house in the form of suits against the city, public education will be impaired.

The exemption of municipal corporations from liability in tort for negligence in connection with their governmental functions is neither arbitrary, absurd, nor unjust. It is based on fundamental principles which underlie our whole theory of democracy.

It must be conceded, however, that while the application of the distinction between governmental and proprietary functions is usually very clear, it is one of the most nebulous of legal distinc-

tions to explain and, in close cases, to enforce. To establish a definite, comprehensible, and readily applied line of distinction through a restatement of the law or a uniform statute would require most skillful draftsmanship.

It is better to go on as we are, mitigating the hardship of the relatively few cases of injustice that arise by provision for compulsory liability insurance for the operators of all publicly-owned motor vehicles and similar devices, rather than to open the Pandora's box of troubles that would afflict us if we attempted to assimilate in the application of tort liability two things that are so definitely different as the governmental functions of a municipal body and the business activities of a private corporation.

PHILIP NICHOLS

Boston, Massachusetts

CITIES MUST SEEK CHEAP POWER

(Continued from Page 546)

rate levels through municipalization, provided that it has adequate legal powers for that purpose. Such public organization has four basic advantages.

First, the city can acquire the local properties at their real fair value, and so escape the burden of the prevalent over-capitalization of private systems. Second, it can finance acquisition and subsequent plant enlargements at a low rate of interest. Third, it can avoid the extravagant overheads that prevail almost generally in private organization. Fourth, it can keep the management directed to public objectives, without inherent conflicts with private interests. There can be escape from the four chief obstacles to low rates in the localities served by private companies.

Municipalization will also escape federal taxes, even if it provides for normal state and local tax equivalents. While the saving of federal taxes is not a factor of direct economy and efficiency, it will have substantial future advantages for municipal operation. Since the existing public systems will probably have that advantage permanently, there is a fifth reason for municipalization—to escape the relative discriminatory burden of federal taxes in communities served by private companies.

In brief summary, municipal officials will have open two alternatives, which can be simultaneously considered, to meet future low-rate requirements. First, through public rate regulation; to be effective, this will require comprehensive readjustment of regulatory standards and procedure so as to eliminate prevailing conflicts between public and private interests and to provide systematic revision of rates as a matter of regular administration.⁴

Second, if the regulatory processes prove too unwieldy, there is recourse to municipalization. This will encounter deepseated bias and organized opposition, if not legal obstacles. But, whatever the difficulties, the necessity for low rates cannot be avoided without industrial stagnation. This is the reality with which municipal officials will be compelled to struggle both for the future advancement of their communities and for the fiscal position of municipal administration.

⁴See "Supreme Court Hints New Utility Rate Base," by John Bauer, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1942.

Contributors in Review

THE name **John Bauer** (*Cities Must Seek Cheap Power to Hold Their Industries*) and public utilities have been practically synonymous for years. Dr. Bauer gave up a professorship of economics at Princeton in 1917 to become chief of the accounting division of the Public Service Commission of New York State and ever since he has been the man to whom, in an even broader sense, public utilities have rendered themselves accountable. His writings and official positions in connection with utilities have been numerous. Dr. Bauer's chief work since 1925 has been the directorship of the American Public Utilities Bureau.

THE author of *High Jinks in Detroit*, **J. M. Leonard**, is an authority on Detroit. In re himself he is considerably more reticent. Says Mr. Leonard: "The life of a researcher in Detroit is remarkably quiet and uneventful. I started out life as an electrical engineer but got interested in politics and have been with the Detroit Bureau for the last twenty-two years. That sums up J. M. Leonard in more ways than one."

SINCE 1912 **George A. Osborn** (*Manager's Business Methods Give Sault Ste. Marie Sound Financial Structure*) has been publisher and editor of the Sault Ste. Marie News, with a concurrent foray into the publishing business in Fresno, California. Public affairs is an avocation; Mr. Osborn has been a member of the Michigan Unemployment Insurance Study Commission and president of the Michigan Merit System Association.

TEXAS is a subject on which **J. C. Watson** (*Lubbock's Manager Plan Major Factor in City's Success*) is well versed. He was born there and has lived there all his life. Moreover, his work has been in the public relations field, with emphasis on newspaper, chamber of commerce, and trade association affairs. Mr. Watson is now public relations director of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce.

AS TOWN CLERK and invasion defense officer of the municipal borough of Stoke Newington, near London, **C. Kent Wright** (*Britain Tries Regional Government*) is responsible for preparing and coördinating the organization of the civilian population so as to help it give active assistance to the armed forces. Mr. Wright has trod the path of local government service ever since leaving Oxford University in 1924. He is past chairman of the Council of the Institute of Public Administration in Great Britain and has written numerous books on local government.

Researcher's Digest: November

GRA meeting stresses war problems; Pennsylvania and Illinois research; war organization viewed by New York bureau; how to cut budgets through staff functions.

WAR'S effect on state and local government and on citizens' organizations concerned with government was the central theme of the thirty-first meeting of the **Governmental Research Association**, held September 7 to 9, 1942, at Princeton, New Jersey. About eighty-five persons attended the meeting, almost all being directors and staff members of research bureaus and taxpayers' associations.

A few of the highlights from the discussions were:

The impact of the war has so far been very uneven, and the full effect of the war's dislocations has not yet been felt.

State and local revenues generally remained at a high level in the first part of 1942, but the near future may bring a shrinkage of assessed valuations and decreasing tax revenues, causing severe crises for some governmental units.

The basis of scientific assessment systems has been shattered, so that assessment formulas which were adequate in the 1920's will not work now.

Philadelphia's tax on wages earned in the city has helped solve that city's acute financial problem. This type of tax, applying to suburban residents who work in the central city, was considered by some of the participants as a means of partially integrating metropolitan areas which are legally divided into dozens of separate municipalities.

Municipalities may increase their ability to meet wartime demands by introducing more economical organization and operating methods.

Police departments in many cities could operate more efficiently if they placed less emphasis on foot patrol, made greater use of one-man cars, assigned men on the basis of actual

crime experience, and improved the methods of selecting personnel.

Fire protection can be organized more efficiently in many communities with fewer fire stations and by having the station force as well as a special force do the work of an inspection bureau.

In public health work it is important that hospital beds and other facilities be used for the purposes for which they were intended. Powdered milk and skimmed milk offer another means of saving.

Welfare costs can be kept at a minimum only with an integrated welfare organization.

Legal departments, often overlooked in the search for economies, should be organized in accordance with the same administrative principles that apply to other services—selection on the basis of merit, functional organization, etc. An adequate clerical staff—about two and one-half clerks per lawyer—relieves the higher-paid personnel with resultant savings.

In a session devoted to postwar planning, the desirability of preparing to meet problems which will exist after the war was acknowledged, but the difficulties involved were emphasized.

Failure in the past to organize planning activities as an integral functioning part of the government has nullified planning efforts in many instances.

Fears were expressed that federal dominance of postwar public works construction might impair local autonomy; and that overemphasis on a construction program, such as new schoolhouses in rural school districts, could actually handicap the necessary reconstruction of local governmental organization.

The principal effect of the war on

citizens' research agencies and taxpayers' associations to date has been the loss of staff members to the military services and to governmental agencies. With one or two exceptions, the organizations have been able to continue, with about the same type of program as previously.

Public opinion measurement was suggested as a possible new tool of citizen agencies. The Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations and the Civic Research Institute, Kansas City, Missouri, reported experiments in this field. The latter organization has incorporated public opinion measurement by use of stratified samples as a regular part of its program.

The annual award for the "most noteworthy piece of research" completed by a GRA member in 1941-42 was presented to Charlton L. Chute and members of the staff of the Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, for the *St. Louis Police Survey*. Bruce Smith of the Institute of Public Administration collaborated in the study. Honorable mention in the competition was given Richard A. Atkins and the Boston Municipal Research Bureau for *Wage Policy and Cost of Living* and to Loren B. Miller and the Civic Research Institute for *Enrollment Trends in Kansas City Schools*.

GRA officers for 1942-43 will be D. Benton Biser, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Baltimore, chairman of the Executive Committee, and Harold L. Henderson, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, St. Paul, vice-chairman. Other Executive Committee members include C. A. Crosser, Bureau of Municipal Research, Des Moines; Harland C. Stockwell, Civic Federation, Chicago; S. S. Sheppard, U. S. Bureau of the Budget; and Bruce Smith, Institute of Public Administration.

LAURENCE MICHELMORE,
Secretary-Treasurer

Governmental Research Association

Pennsylvania Institute Reports

Recent research studies of the **Pennsylvania Institute of Local and State Government** are high-lighted by the announcement that the Samuel S. Fels Fund will continue for an indefinite period of years a grant which provides \$40,000 annually for its support. Judging from the reports, the Institute deserves the money!

A progressive viewpoint is clearly evidenced by *Annual Public Reporting in Pennsylvania* and its successor, *Preparing the Municipal Annual Report*. The Institute plumps for reports that are briefer, simpler, more physically attractive, and more attuned to the interests of meek John Citizen. (And in the simplicity and clarity of its own reports the Institute shows that it knows how to take its own advice.)

Delinquent Tax Administration for Smaller Pennsylvania Municipalities takes the stand that municipalities should press the collection of delinquent taxes now, partly because of the rise of current government operating expenses, partly because it is a good idea to prepare the municipality for possible post-war economic dislocation. A model system for raking in laggard funds is outlined without too much verbiage.

As a result of firsthand experience gleaned by members of the Institute staff in working with local defense councils, the Institute also has issued a pamphlet on *Training the Pennsylvania Citizens Defense Corps: the Allocation of Responsibility*. In part a manual, in part a report on progress in the state, the bulletin treats a subject which is in the forefront of current governmental interest.

Latest Institute publication is *A Motor Equipment Records System for Small Municipalities*. The staff, which tried out its system in Upper Darby Township, Pennsylvania, now passes on to everyone else what it learned.

Mid-West Research

A sheaf of research material comes also from the **Illinois Legislative Council**, which has recently issued *Registration of Vital Statistics in Illinois*, *Immunization Against Disease*, and *Current Illinois Highway Problems*. Each is a report made as a result of proposals sponsored by individual members of the legislature. The former report reflects recent nation-wide interest in the simple problem of proving one's identity in order to take part in the war effort. Present Illinois statutes are discussed, and proposals for improvement and practices in other states are described. It is the practice of the Legislative Council not to take a stand on any controversial matter so that conclusions are left to the reader.

Immunization Against Disease is the result of a proposal that there be a compulsory immunization statute governing school children. The Council explores current practice in other states, reviews the arguments for and against the proposed statute, and restates the current statutory provisions in Illinois.

"To the continuing problems of highway policy and administration have been added the problems of adapting highway programs to the conditions imposed by the war. The usual issues of how and where to build or improve highways are subordinated in large part to the military needs of the nation for specific highways and for labor and materials in the war production program. The financial issues of highway construction and maintenance are modified by declining motor vehicle revenues, by the wartime-changed emphasis on strategic highways, and by expected postwar demands for employment." This is the Council's introduction to an entirely timely reconsideration of a function that has always been "big money" in federal, state, and local government. There

are plenty of problems, apparently. Should repairs or new construction get financial priority? Who shall pay, and how much—locality, state, federal government? What controls shall be exercised over highway spending? Shall politicians, engineers, or the practical necessities of finance control the type and location of highways to be built? Shall the state rule the highways, or the local government? To cast light upon these questions the report describes the state highway system physically, financially, and governmentally and traces both history and trends into the future.

Trip to the Capital

The **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc. of New York State**, feeling that New Yorkers should be concerned with conditions which may affect the winning of the war, has made a foray into Washington to determine the truth of charges that the war is being inefficiently run by the federal government. The bureau interviewed Washington people whom it considered were well informed in order to find out whether journalistic criticisms of the war effort applied to remediable defects, and if so, what were the remedies. Result of the bureau's investigation: twelve steps for reorganization to win the war. Included in the prescription: delegation of definite responsibility with full powers to act, consolidation of eighty separate governmental agencies into the twelve major executive departments, reduction of the war cabinet to seven members, control of the fighting forces by a single executive, control over war production by a single executive, control over all foreign relations by a single executive, elimination of committee responsibility for executive actions, elimination of dual control mechanisms.

Scissors

Concerned with the need for cutting governmental costs, the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** is issuing a series of manuals intended to be helpful to citizens who want to speed the amputation locally. *Pruning the Municipal Budget, Part II*, is confined to an *Analysis of Staff Functions*, with suggestions for cost-cutting through devices such as the budget, accounting methods, insurance, motor vehicles, etc. The report takes an eminently practical slant, and the suggestions are entirely specific.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Defense Organization

Training the Pennsylvania Citizens Defense Corps: The Allocation of Responsibility. Pennsylvania Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1942. 17 pp.

Health

Immunization Against Disease. Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, Springfield, 1942. 12 pp.

Registration of Vital Statistics in Illinois. Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, Springfield, 1942. 26 pp.

Highways

Current Illinois Highway Problems. Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, Springfield, 1942. 49 pp.

Motor Vehicles

A Motor Equipment Records System for Small Municipalities. Pennsylvania Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1942. 23 pp.

Reporting

Annual Public Reporting in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1942. 15 pp.

Preparing the Municipal Annual Report. Pennsylvania Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1942. 27 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Delinquent Tax Administration for Smaller Pennsylvania Municipalities. Pennsylvania Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1942. 17 pp.

Pruning the Municipal Budget, Part II: Analysis of Staff Functions. Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, Boston, 1942. 32 pp.

On the Local Front

Communities tackle problem of good food for war workers through health or nutrition committees.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

ALTHOUGH modern warfare depends on industry just as much as on armed forces, measures to maintain the health and morale of defense workers are far inferior. This is true all along the line. Soldiers, sailors, and airmen are subjected to rigorous medical examinations before being accepted for service. Workers whose tasks may be just as important and exacting are frequently employed after the most casual inspection. The best possible conditions are provided for the military recruit as regards housing, medical care, physical training, and especially diet. The new war worker gets along as best he can. In housing, transportation, and illness, and particularly in eating, he must fend for himself.

And many is the time when in fending for himself he cannot find what he needs in the way of food because it is difficult to get a good meal during working hours.

This would be bad at any time. In wartime it is folly. Longer working hours, speed-up of work, insufficient rest, the extremes of temperature to which workers are frequently exposed, and the over-crowding under which many of them live, all help increase energy consumption and raise nutritional requirements. Eating the right food can be translated into greater working efficiency, fewer absences, and a decrease in accidents.

Realizing that providing the proper food for war workers is essential to maintaining their health and preventing absences from work which retard

our production effort, the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services has set up as a part of the National Nutrition program a Nutrition Advisory Service to provide practical recommendations and help to communities for meeting specific industrial nutrition problems.

Communities, through health or nutrition committees of their defense councils, are recognizing this urgent need and many of them are tackling the problem.

The programs which some of them are carrying out will illustrate what is being done and can be done by the community to improve the health and efficiency of its war workers through better nutrition.

The Bridgeport Plan—"Pack a Lunch a Man Can Work On"

Bridgeport, Connecticut, has some 70,000 war workers employed in industrial plants making airplanes, bombs, and other vital war supplies. It has adapted the aims of the national nutrition conference to its community needs. The plan is sponsored by the Health Division of the Civilian Defense Council in coöperation with the Fairfield County Committee on Nutrition in Defense. Some of the activities carried on under this plan follow:

A manual has been prepared for distribution to about twenty-five personnel and welfare managers in industrial plants. It consists of a loose-leaf folder with selected leaflets and other materials. Plant executives are thus able to look over the leaflets and to order,

for distribution among their men, materials which it is felt are most pertinent and telling. The purpose of the manual is fourfold: (1) It will acquaint plant managers with the importance of nutrition; (2) It will give them adequate material which they may order for bulk distribution to employees; (3) It enables them to pass on material and suggestions to managers of plant cafeterias; (4) Material may be used for plant publications.

At the beginning of the city-wide campaign, attention was focused on one meal—the lunch. There were several reasons for this. A cursory examination before the plan was put into operation indicated that many plant cafeterias were inadequate to take care of the expanding ranks of workers. The great majority of the war workers carried their lunches from home—lunches that for the most part were inadequate from a nutritional standpoint. Workers themselves were inclined to the view that they could “just grab a bite.” Finally, it was felt that the rules of nutrition would be more understandable if discussed in relation to a single meal. Housewives, it was believed, would apply what they had learned in regard to lunches to other meals which involve the entire family.

Adopt Slogan

The slogan “Pack a Lunch a Man Can Work On” was adopted for the lunch box phase of the plan. Leaders of the campaign realized that to be successful, a program must enlist some women who are directly affected. Since women seem to prefer advice about cookery from the woman across the fence rather than from an outsider, the Kitchen Soldier idea was conceived. Each week the *Bridgeport Post* names an outstanding homemaker the Kitchen Soldier of the Week. These women, all of whom pack one or more

lunches for workers in war industries, share their favorite recipes, menus, and lunch-box packing tips with readers for an entire week. Since in Bridgeport many nationalities are represented, the menus submitted take into account family prejudices, customs of various nationalities, religions, etc., and will eventually form the basis for a lunch-box cookbook.

Preparatory to beginning the lunch-box phase of the campaign, seventy-five women—members of the Volunteer Registration Bureau—interviewed over a thousand homemakers. Over eight hundred revealed they packed daily lunch boxes. Questions included were: Do you use enriched bread for sandwiches? When is the lunch packed? Do you include fresh fruit and vegetables? With the information thus compiled leaders were able to determine what points should be emphasized in encouraging the women to pack better lunches.

A course of instruction for volunteer lecturers in lunch-box packing was completed and now these women go out to all sections of the city carrying the message of good lunch-box menus, telling how to put pep and energy into the meal that is taken from home.

A study of eating habits is being conducted in the industrial plant cafeterias, preparatory to making recommendations for improving the type of food offered the workers. Further expansion of the Bridgeport Plan includes a movement now under way to canvass all public eating places where workers buy a meal or part of a meal. With the coöperation of the City Health Department, a concentrated drive to encourage proprietors of public eating places to join in this city-wide campaign has begun.

Nutrition centers, where interested persons may secure advice and help, handy leaflets with menus and recipes, and other publications, have been set

up in department stores, the gas light company, a hospital, and a welfare center. They are manned by volunteers from the Civilian Defense Nutrition Council.

In order to insure the continuation of the "Bridgeport Plan" as a permanent community responsibility, it has been set up on a "project committee" basis. Outstanding civic, business, industrial and labor leaders were named to an advisory committee. Headed by the Mayor as honorary chairman, this group determines policies for the entire organization.

Evansville "Food for Health" Program

Stimulus for the industrial nutrition program in Evansville, Indiana, came from a local industry. Having proved that the provision of good food at the plant for its own workers had decreased the number of absences and accidents, this war industry felt that its experience would prove of value to other war industries in the community.

A meeting with representatives of the Nutrition Committee of the Defense Council, civic organizations, local industries, and the press was called to make plans for improving the nutrition of Evansville's war workers. These plans took into consideration the food served in the company cafeterias and food wagons, the meals eaten at neighborhood restaurants and at home, and the lunch box.

All the major industries agreed to study the needs of their workers and do what they could to improve eating facilities at the plant. The Nutrition Committee undertook the job of enlisting the support of restaurants which served meals to workers, and of promoting classes, demonstrations, and other educational programs for the wives of war workers.

Cafeterias in the war industry plants

were expanded where necessary; posters, emphasizing the importance of nutritious foods, were placed in strategic spots; and leaflets containing simple rules for good nutrition were given to the workers to take home. Food wagons placed special emphasis on nutritious foods to supplement the lunch. Milk, orange juice, and tomato juice soon outsold soft drinks, and fruit became more popular than candy.

"Victory" Meals

A special feature, in both the war industry plant cafeterias and the coöperating restaurants, was a low-cost nutritious meal called the "victory lunch." Workers were encouraged, both by the low cost and by posters, to select this special each day.

To round out the Food for Health program workers' wives were provided with simple easy-to-understand information to use in preparing workers' meals served at home. They were also encouraged to attend classes and demonstrations on the principles of good nutrition sponsored by the nutrition committee.

Evansville is now planning a special nutrition week to be spent on an intensive campaign for the improvement of nutrition in the community, working through schools, churches, civic organizations, and retail stores as well as the war plants and restaurants.

Springfield "Food for War Workers" Campaign

In Springfield, Massachusetts, the first regional nutrition campaign for industrial workers was sponsored by the *Springfield Evening Union* with the close coöperation of the Nutrition Adviser of the New England Regional Office of Defense Health and Welfare and the Massachusetts State Extension Service, industrial and civic leaders serving on an advisory committee.

Surveys of food facilities at many

war industrial plants indicated that cafeterias in factories and restaurants in the neighborhood of war plants could not provide for the food needs of the ever-growing army of the "soldiers of production," as war workers are called in that region.

A ten-day demonstration of adequate lunches for war workers at a small industrial plant was arranged as part of the campaign. The Springfield chapter of the American Red Cross and a member of the Industrial Advisory Committee coöperated in the demonstration as a war service and a means of providing practical canteen training. The day war was declared the members of the Red Cross Canteen Corps and Motor Corps served a hot noon lunch to seventy-five war workers in the factory garage which was the only available space.

Canteen Service

One result was a request from a war plant for canteen service to the midnight shift workers. Through sleet and wind, every night at three o'clock through the long cold winter nights, the volunteer canteen workers drove their station wagon to the plant and served the men on the midnight shift. Not once did they fail in their volunteer task from January to May. A well equipped cafeteria in a new building was completed in May and now carries on the service. The management of the plant, as well as the men, said the women gave real war service, as well fed men lose less time for sickness or for accidents, and increase production.

A daily series of food news articles written by the director of the campaign, and a series of food guides and daily "packed pep" lunch guides were used throughout the campaign in the *Springfield Evening Union*. It was originally planned to carry these articles

for four weeks. The popular response was so great, the managing editor asked that they become a regular daily column feature.

Frequent meetings with industrialists, nutritionists, and civic leaders and two large conferences were held. Articles and posters were used on bulletin boards in plants, clubs, libraries, and schools. "Proof of the Pudding", Metropolitan Life Insurance Company film, was shown in all the neighborhood theaters of the region.

Among the activities stimulated by the campaign were:

1. Increased interest in problems of industrial feeding;

2. Building of several new cafeterias in industrial plants;

3. Installation of milk vending machines in plants and in colleges;

4. Increase of milk consumption in industries from 33 1/3 per cent to 100 per cent (in a plant employing 10,000 workers, nearly 15,000 half-pint bottles of milk are sold daily despite competition of soft-drink vending machines);

5. A Health for Victory Club was organized in the Springfield Westinghouse plant for the war workers' wives;

6. Thousands attended victory cooking schools conducted by public utilities;

7. A permanent nutrition center was established by the gas utility company in the downtown shopping district;

8. Nutrition classes were organized for women workers and homemakers, evenings as well as afternoons, by Red Cross and County Nutrition Committees;

9. Industrial and civic leaders coöperated in meeting community feeding problems;

10. The Red Cross Canteen demonstration established a national policy permitting emergency service to war industries upon request.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Civil Servants and the War Effort

President Roosevelt Stresses Skilled Personnel Management

IN EXTENDING greetings to the Annual Conference on Public Personnel Administration of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, held in St. Paul, Minnesota, October 1-3, President Roosevelt emphasized the importance of competent, efficient public personnel and personnel management during the war. In his message he said:

"In this fight those essential civilian services which only government can provide share in importance with the strength of our Army and Navy, and with the output of our factories and farms. In time of war our citizens look more than ever to their institutions of government for capable, efficient administration to their needs by public servants who are trained and qualified for their work. If these services should falter, if the wheels of government run backward instead of forward, there would be little to prevent the man in the street from doubting in this period of crisis the fundamental premises on which our democracy rests.

"Upon officials in every governmental jurisdiction then—federal, state, county, and city—rests the responsibility for using their forces and resources as shrewdly as an able general directs a campaign. Manpower shortages that are a necessary outgrowth of this period make this a problem requiring the utmost of management skill, and call for all the assistance that sound per-

sonnel administration can and should supply.

"In the federal civilian service the tremendous expansion required to man the war agencies has placed a staggering load on the machinery for personnel administration. To carry this load it has been necessary to strip off some time-honored practices, and to revamp methods that were shaped to meet peacetime needs. Speed and more speed is now the watchword. Yet with all this quickened tempo I am of the conviction that the essential principles of the merit system have remained inviolate. In like fashion, I am informed, personnel administration in many of the states and cities has responded to the powerful stimulus of war.

"Much still remains to be done. It is heartening to know that your gathering is dedicated to the purpose of perfecting as far as possible those methods and processes which will be of maximum help to public management in the great task that yet awaits."

Federal Personnel Conference Meets in Chicago

A six-day conference in Chicago, principally for regional personnel officers in federal war agencies, ended September 1; some eighty people were in attendance. The chief concern was as to ways and means of assuring the efficient functioning of personnel offices in wartime. The conference was under the auspices of a special advisory committee of participating agencies and the United States Civil Service Commission.

Topics included legal aspects, war service regulations, position classification, salary administration, employment and placement practice, recruiting, transfers, promotions, separation and retirement, efficiency ratings, employee relations, and training.

Politicians Delay New Jersey Constitutional Revision

The people of New Jersey will not have a chance this year to vote on whether or not they want to revise their ninety-eight-year-old constitution.

As already reported in these columns,¹ the advocates of revision had decided to seek enactment of a law which would in effect enable the people at the November election to constitute the 1943 legislature a constitutional convention.

Revisionists hoped that the first step toward such action would be a favorable report by a joint legislative committee, which held weekly hearings on constitutional revision throughout the summer. In spite of the feeling that the committee of eight members, appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the Assembly, was hostile, overwhelming testimony at the hearings in favor of revision made it difficult to imagine what excuse the committee or the legislature could offer for further delay.

Highway Commissioner Spencer Miller, Jr., speaking as chairman of the New Jersey Committee on Constitutional Convention at the last hearing on September 18, said:

"I doubt if any single civic project in the history of this state has ever brought together such a cross-section of the informed opinion of our people. Read the list of organizations that now urge that the people be asked this November to say whether or not they wish the 1943 legislature to submit a revised constitution for their adoption or rejection a year hence. This list includes all the great organizations of labor, the great civic organizations of women, the statewide taxpayers organization, the accredited organization of New Jersey businessmen, the two statewide consumer organizations, and

numerous other civic and professional bodies."

It was only about an hour after Mr. Miller spoke that the opposition played its ace in the hole. This was a series of statements by members of veterans' organizations. Eleven of the fourteen World War veterans, members of auxiliaries, and Gold Star Mothers, who appeared in a well disciplined array, were from Jersey City. The following charge by William G. Dodd of Jersey City, national vice-commander of the Disabled American Veterans, gives a fair impression of the appeal:

"Submission of this question while the war is in progress will be treachery and a stab in the back to thousands of men now serving in the armed forces who are not allowed to vote."

Mr. Dodd then proceeded to introduce the other speakers.

The leading newspapers, the Governor, and the chief advocates of revision, including many war veterans, pointed out the fallacious, not to say dangerous, nature of the appeal. Nevertheless, it furnished six members of the joint committee, the majority of the legislature, and both party conventions with the "out" for which they had been looking.

Strong minority reports by Assemblyman Dominic Cavicchia of Essex County and Mansfield G. Amlicke of Passaic County were submitted and given wide publicity by friends of revision. Assemblyman Amlicke asked why the legislature should not let the parents, wives, and relatives of the men in our armed forces decide whether or not constitutional revision would tend to strengthen that democracy for which the men overseas are fighting. This question bids fair to be the keynote of the campaign of the revisionists from now on.

Not a single leading citizen or organization which has been advocating

¹See September 1942 REVIEW, p. 448.

revision has indicated any intention of giving up the fight for the duration. In fact, Governor Edison, Spencer Miller, Jr., and many others have already launched an intensive speaking campaign throughout the state, and plans are under way for carrying the campaign of education into every community.

In spite of the support of Governor Edison and the Republican candidate for U. S. Senator, Albert W. Hawkes, both party conventions ignored revision in their platforms and thus went back on promises made last year. Mr. Hawkes shocked many of the local politicians by asking in his keynote address that the party go on record for a referendum on revision.

JOHN E. BEBOUT
University of Newark

Council-Manager Plan News

Prospects for the adoption of Plan E—council-manager and P.R.—which will be voted on in **Lowell, Massachusetts**, on November 3, were regarded as favorable by Frank E. Barrett, political columnist writing in the *Lowell Sun*. He pointed out that the reported opposition of city employees is far from universal, especially in the schools; that the situation in the latter is critical; and that the recent victory of Councillor Bart J. Callery, Plan E advocate, in a district where the plan must be defeated in November if it is to be beaten in the city, is a good omen.

Efforts to bring about a vote on Plan E in **Gloucester, Massachusetts**, this fall have met with reverses. Mayor Donald J. Ross, who favors the plan, has been called to active service in the navy and, whether from over-confidence, delay, or otherwise, the committee seeking petition signatures did not succeed in getting the requisite number in time. Hence, the question cannot go on the ballot until November of 1944.

The town meeting of **Bloomfield, Connecticut**, voted on October 5 to abandon the manager plan, which went into effect last year.

The council-manager plan for **Minneapolis, Minnesota**, which was expected to be voted on this fall, will be postponed. The City Manager Charter Association, sponsor of the plan, intends to revise it in view of new developments regarding the schools, which had been left under the control of the independent school board. A forthcoming report of a committee appointed by Governor Stassen to investigate school problems will be carefully studied and a new section on schools will be added to the proposed charter. The Charter Commission of the city was therefore asked to keep the charter question off the ballot this fall.

A combined committee from the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and other civic organizations of **Laramie, Wyoming**, has been at work to bring about city manager government. A short, vigorous campaign was undertaken prior to the November 3 election. Under Wyoming law the councilmen, who employ the manager under the prospective plan, are selected by electors chosen at open ward meetings. The state constitution requires all officeholders to be qualified electors with at least one year's residence, thus limiting the choice of a manager, according to Dean J. A. Hill of the University of Wyoming, an active committee member.

A citizens' committee in **El Cerrito, California**, with the aid of the Chamber of Commerce, is making a study of the manager plan.

The annual conference of the International City Managers' Association, held at French Lick Springs, Indiana, October 11-15, was attended by 105 managers.

Managers from seven cities in as

many states from New York to California have accepted field assignments of thirty to sixty days to assist the Bureau of Governmental Requirements of the War Production Board in estimating the critical material requirements of state and local governments, according to the *News Letter* of the International City Managers' Association.

Planning Uses for Tax-Reverted Land

Need of collaboration between finance officers, city planners, housing officials, and other local and state governmental departments, in handling the problem of land reverting to the state or city because of tax delinquency, is stressed by Public Administration Service in a recent study. Mere restoration to the tax rolls is not a basic cure for delinquency, which may again be a thorny problem after the war.

Modern city planning organizations, under appropriate ordinances and statutes, master plans harmonized with county, regional, and state plans, revamped zoning ordinances, and up-to-date building codes, are among the recommendations.

Cities with their own real estate offices for managing tax-reverted properties benefit in at least three ways. They know, by periodic inventory and concentration of records, the exact amount of land taken over; it is easier to rent or lease the properties; and they can be more readily utilized for parks, playgrounds, and other public purposes.

The City Plan Commission of Detroit, Michigan, is one that now has authority to determine future use of city-owned property, especially property obtained through tax-delinquency, under a procedure for elimination of land-use abuses, according to the American Society of Planning Officials. This calls for approval by the City Plan

Commission before a piece of city-owned property is sold or leased under terms prohibiting recovery by the city within six months. Certain properties will be retained by the city until it can be decided how they will fit into the master plan for the development of Detroit. If the real estate division of the corporation counsel's office does not believe a recommendation for withholding justifiable, it may request reconsideration by the plan commission, and if there is a continuing disagreement as to disposition of the property the matter will be referred to the City Council for final decision.

The Michigan Department of Conservation, in charge of a program of "land-use clinics" for officials of the 141 cities and towns in the state's forty-seven northern counties, has approved land-use plans submitted by a large majority of the municipalities for tax-reverted land within their boundaries. The clinics are training schools where officials learn to conserve urban land resources and make plans for their best use.

The state has deeded 3,137 parcels of such land to 117 cities with land-use plans, for use as parks, playgrounds, streets, parking lots, building areas, airports, forest preserves, docks, and schools. These are a part of over 20,000 parcels that reverted to state ownership in 1939 for tax delinquency. Of the remainder, 283 have been deeded to schools, sixteen to churches, and eight to counties and townships; 4,173 are being held at the request of cities and 13,371 have been or will be offered for sale at public auctions at recommended minimum prices.

War Labor Board Enters City Labor Dispute

The first occasion of the War Labor Board intervening in a labor dispute between a municipality and its employees was on October 6, in Newark,

New Jersey, where a strike had been in effect for six days in the Department of Public Works, crippling refuse collection. The strike was called by a local of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America (CIO). As the strike ended, health authorities had begun to express concern over the accumulation of refuse. On October 3 the Greater Newark Industrial Union Council, central body for the local CIO unions, appealed to the WLB to take jurisdiction, the Council promising to urge the workers to return; and on October 5 Governor Edison requested the intervention.

Five cities recently entered into labor union contracts, according to *Public Management*, organ of the International City Managers' Association. Four of these were in Michigan, where Bay City, Wayne, and River Rouge signed contracts with the SCMWA, while Highland Park signed with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL). Alexandria, Louisiana, made an AFL contract as to firemen. The River Rouge and Wayne agreements provide for a "closed shop." The SCMWA has contracts with fourteen other cities, and the AFSCME has them with twenty-seven others. Including the five new contracts, the total for both unions is thus forty-six, in sixteen states.

287 Areas under Federal Rent Control

The Office of Price Administration on October 11 issued orders reducing and stabilizing rents on November 1 in ninety-seven defense areas, bringing the total number to 287, in which 70,000,000 people reside. All large cities but New York are included, and a survey of rents in that city is under way. For almost all of the areas rents are to be stabilized as of March 1, 1942.

Wisconsin City Attorneys Take Training

A one-week Institute for the Training of Municipal Attorneys was conducted in the late summer by the League of Wisconsin Municipalities at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. The course was taken by twenty-five city and village attorneys. The Vocational Schools Division of the Wisconsin Department of Education coöperated and paid the compensation of the Institute's director.

Police Chiefs Seek to Maintain Forces

The International Association of Chiefs of Police held its forty-ninth annual convention in New York September 21-23. Sessions were devoted entirely to problems confronting police during the war. One thousand heads of municipal, county, and state police departments, and representatives of federal law enforcement agencies and of the army, etc., from all parts of the nation, were in attendance.

One of the most urgent problems discussed was the loss of trained personnel to the armed forces, and difficulties of replacement because of wage competition of war industries—which in turn create added needs for police protection. The chiefs were advised by a government official to file papers asking exemption for every man considered irreplaceable or in a critical position, and to appeal if local selective service boards ruled against them.

Resolutions were adopted urging upon members the enforcement of thirty-five-mile speed limits and other aspects of the tire and car conservation program, and advocating that police departments throughout the country aid salvage efforts.

Wartime Recreation Explored at Conference

The War Recreation Congress, a co-operative undertaking sponsored by the National Recreation Association and other responsible leaders in the recreation field, met in Cincinnati, September 28 to October 2.

The Congress provided an opportunity for presenting the special programs and needs of the various agencies serving the war effort through recreation—local public recreation bodies, the Army and Navy, the American Red Cross within base hospitals and elsewhere with the armed forces, WPA activities in providing facilities and leadership to supplement local resources, USO services in communities where local resources are inadequate, the United Seamen's Service for men of the merchant marine.

Recreation for industrial workers, particularly those in war industries, was one of the topics of greatest concern to the delegates. Personnel managers, recreation directors from industry, representatives from the AFL, the CIO, and other organized labor groups, together with executives in public recreation departments and private agencies concerned with recreation for industrial workers, discussed the problem together. It was pointed out that industry and organized labor, as well as community recreation agencies, should provide leadership.

Other special problems to receive attention were the need of making recreation facilities available to colored groups, and to women and girls. Leaders also expressed concern over the question of personnel, both executive and in the ranks. The cities' losses to emergency recreation, to the armed forces, and to industry are being partially met by volunteers, more women workers, and the older boys and girls at recreation centers.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Vancouver, B. C., Forms Municipal League

*Will work for manager plan
and better government*

THE Municipal League of Vancouver, B. C., has recently been organized to develop interest in the council-manager plan and to keep citizens informed of the successes and failures of their municipal government.

Arthur B. Langlie, governor of the state of Washington and former reform mayor of Seattle, spoke at the meeting which launched the organization.

Vancouver leaders, including E. B. Day, a trustee of the new League, have been consulting with the National Municipal League for several years. Officers of the Seattle Municipal League and the Seattle Breakfast Club recently visited Vancouver to advise on forming the new organization.

A carefully selected Board of Trustees will represent a cross-section of the social and economic life of the city, including churches, service clubs, women's groups, etc. President Charles T. Hamilton is district governor of Pacific Northwest Kiwanis. Vice-President Miss M. L. Bollert is Dean of Women (emeritus) of the University of British Columbia.

Immediate impetus for forming the new organization came when a mayor's committee on reorganization of the city's government, which had been packed with anti-manager plan members, was disbanded "for the duration." Vancouver backers of good government were not willing to see all attempts to improve the local operation of the democratic process delayed until the end of the war.

Concerning its formation and program the League has issued this statement: "Citizens are criticizing the administration of their city. Some criticism is personal spleen and must be ignored. Enough genuine criticism of a constructive type is offered by many citizens with common sense that should be harnessed and directed to be a power for good.

"A fair and just attitude to the present municipal authorities is only right. Blame should be attached to them only if they refuse to act when their duty demands action.

"Let us kill the rumors, dig out the facts, and use our common sense of right and justice to put the truth before the public when they may see and know.

"With actual uncolored details of public administration, wide open to all, voters will exercise intelligent judgment as to who can best represent them."

The executive manager of the League will attend all public meetings of the City Council.

A regularly published *News Sheet* will give members the facts on such questions as law enforcement, caliber of municipal administration, records of candidates for the city's elective offices. Also included in the *News Sheet* will be pro and con arguments on public issues, information on schools, social services, housing, sanitation, town planning, taxes, bond issues, public utilities, relationships of the city to the governments of the province and dominion, experiences of other cities confronted by problems similar to Vancouver's, and civilian defense.

The League will be non-political and non-sectarian. Memberships will be available for one dollar, five dollars, and those who can do so are being urged to subscribe ten dollars, fifty dollars, or one hundred dollars.

New York Voters Directory Out Early for Army Use

Seventy-five thousand copies of the thirtieth annual *Voters Directory* of the **Citizens Union of the City of New York** started rolling off the press on October 9. This was two weeks earlier than usual, in time to be mailed to army camps and naval bases so that voters in the armed forces, lacking the usual sources of information about candidates, will be able to make use of it in filling out their "absentee" ballots.

The directory contains biographical information about candidates for all statewide and New York City offices, and for Congress and the state legislature from New York City and suburban districts, with nonpartisan recommendations on local candidates and those for the legislature from New York City.

This year's directory contains recommendations in eighty-one contests out of 120. Thirteen Republicans and thirteen Democrats are "endorsed," which means that the Citizens Union "commends the candidates to the voters and believes their election highly desirable." Many other Republican, Democratic, and American Labor party candidates are marked "qualified," i.e., such candidates are deemed "fitted for the office," and in most contests one candidate is indicated as preferred.

Recommendations are made after exhaustive investigation, including studies of the records of incumbents, answers to an extensive questionnaire on important current issues, and personal interviews, by a Committee on Local Candidates made up of twenty-eight volunteers who serve with no more selfish motive than the Union's own aim of "securing the honest and efficient government of the City of New York."

Recommendations were sent to the newspapers before the directory was

out, and were given good publicity as usual, in spite of the war, in the metropolitan dailies. Detailed biographical sketches of candidates, however, are contained only in the directory itself.

Before the directory was in the hands of the printer this year the Union had received requests for about 45,000 copies. Civic organizations and political clubs distribute several thousand every year and for several days in October the Union office looks like the mail room of a department store at Christmas time. Requests do not cease coming in until election day is over.

Directories are paid for by contributions to the Citizens Union campaign fund and are distributed to the public free of charge.

ELEANOR C. TANZER,

Assistant Secretary

Citizens Union of the City of New York

Chicago City Club Plans Active Program

The **Chicago City Club** has announced its 1942-43 program. Its work will be adjusted to war conditions, and at the same time the Club states its determination "not to neglect local problems."

The work of the Club's committees will cover war questions and pressing problems affecting Chicago's municipal operations. Every member has been asked to make a selection of two or more committees on which he would like to work.

To help members make a choice, a recent issue of the Club's *Bulletin* outlines the past work and future programs of each committee. Here is a resume:

War Effort: Has two active subcommittees, one studying war production problems, the other war finance, particularly inequalities in the income tax law resulting from division of income between husband and wife in com-

munity property states. Civilian defense matters also will come under committee scrutiny.

Local Government: Will be principally concerned in securing passage of city manager enabling legislation and hopes to give more emphasis to proportional representation as a part of the manager program. The committee also will study general problems of local government outside the field of work done by other Club committees.

City Planning and Housing: In the past year has studied blight, zoning, land use, parks, neighborhood improvement methods, racial problems in connection with future planning. The committee hopes to develop thinking on postwar building and planning.

Education: Expects to set up subcommittees to deal with the 1943 school budget, improved health service in the schools, policy in teacher compensation, war work training and personnel, and office organization. It hopes also to coordinate its work with a similar committee of the **Women's City Club** to present a united stand on the next school budget.

Taxation: Is studying local revenue problems resulting from unprecedented spending by the national government, dislocation of state and local revenue that will come from gas rationing and other war-connected regulations. The committee hopes to make useful suggestions for the coming session of the state legislature.

Public Personnel: Reconstruction of the city's civil service commission and elimination of politics will be the major concerns. This recently created committee already has reported on the personnel situation in the Chicago Public Library and has prepared a statement issued by the Board of Governors of the Club urging appointment of a properly qualified civil service commission for the city and

recommending various changes in procedures.

Election: Immediate objective is to train canvassers and poll watchers for nonpartisan duty in regular elections. Long-range objective is to study the registration canvass.

Local Transportation: Will first try to bring about adoption of measures to meet war transportation needs.

Public Health: Plans to sponsor public health legislation at the next General Assembly to include measures dealing with compulsory smallpox vaccination, foods, drugs and cosmetics, vitamin enrichment of flour in bread, and restrictions on the sale of certain drugs. The committee also will continue its work to improve certain public health institutions in the Chicago area.

Social Welfare: Is giving increasing attention to employment opportunities for persons on relief and WPA, and to the broad social implications of both war and postwar dislocations.

Other active committees of the Club include those on constitutional revision, civil rights, and a new committee on streets, alleys, and traffic.

Seattle League Publishes Effective Voters' Guide

Previous to the autumn primary election, the Candidates Investigating Committee of the **Seattle Municipal League** reported to the voters of King County on 203 candidates for office. Nominees were chosen for the county offices of auditor, clerk, treasurer, prosecutor, sheriff, assessor, superintendent of schools, commissioners, coroner, and for seats in the state legislature. With but one exception every county candidate nominated had received favorable comment in the League's report, which was mailed to thousands of voters, in addition to

members of the League, and was given widespread publicity through the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, the *Seattle Times*, and several community newspapers.

The following statement of policy appears at the top of each report on candidates: "It shall be the policy of the Municipal League to report upon the qualifications of candidates for office to be elected within Seattle and King County, reporting in such a judicial and nonpartisan manner and in such a way that the League shall in no sense be political or considered as sponsoring a slate."

Procedure Followed

After filings for office closed, the Candidates Investigating Committee sent questionnaires to all candidates requesting information on their education, background in politics and business, reasons for filing for office, plans to be put into effect if elected, and personal references. Candidates were then apportioned to the members of the committee, and as many as possible were interviewed personally. All references given by candidates were sent mimeographed forms asking their opinions of the person involved.

The committee then scheduled a series of six consecutive afternoon meetings at which the candidates were invited to appear. Each one—and well over a hundred accepted the invitation—was asked questions designed to give the committee an idea of the candidate's intelligence, grasp on governmental problems, and other qualifications for office.

Following these meetings, the committee formulated its report which then went to the Board of Trustees for final approval before its release to the papers.

ROBERT B. DUNN
Seattle Municipal League

County and Township*Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

**County Governments
Engage in
Civilian Defense*****Broad authorization
granted by state laws***

PRELIMINARY survey of civilian defense on local levels tends to indicate that, while municipal defense units may be more spectacular, the county unit is the more common form of organization.

Where statutes on civilian defense have been enacted, they almost uniformly use only a few brief sentences in authorizing the creation of local councils. Under the broad authorization thus given, however, it may well be that counties will forge ahead since by their nature they can with few exceptions cover the entire population whereas municipalities cannot. Since the United States was not at war when the original defense legislation was passed in 1941, many changes probably will be made by the 1943 state legislatures which undoubtedly will reflect the trends in local organization.

Investigation of existing defense laws indicates that several state legislatures failed entirely to mention local organization. Illustrative examples are the 1941 laws of Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and Wyoming. Some states apparently contemplated that civilian defense would be primarily a municipal activity, others prepared to make the county the primary unit, and in New England, of course, the tendency remained for the town to absorb this new function.

Most defense legislation is permissive rather than mandatory. Thus the California law declares: "Every county,

city, and city and county may establish a local council of defense by ordinance duly enacted by its governing body. . . . One or more cities, one or more counties, or one or more counties and one or more cities may . . . establish one joint local council of defense." Similar features permitting establishment of local councils either by ordinance or by proclamation are provided in the statutes of Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Utah, and West Virginia.

Rhode Island injects the proviso that the approval of the governor must be secured in each instance. The Colorado law directs the state council to "guide and assist in the organization and operation of such local councils" subject, however, to the direction of the governor. Ohio and Washington remove all discretionary powers from local units by declaring that the governor may establish such councils when he finds them necessary. The Michigan law provides the governor shall establish such councils only after investigation and recommendation by the state council. State councils are empowered to establish local councils or grant authority to local units to establish them in Delaware, Florida, and Montana.

On the other hand, the expression "there shall be" is found in the laws of New Hampshire and New Jersey. The New Jersey legislature gave its act additional force by declaring that if the local unit had not acted within thirty days after passage of the act, the state council should proceed to establish a local council in every municipality so delinquent.

The method of appointing members of defense councils frequently is not given, but where stated it is the uniform practice that the agency empowered to create the council is given power to appoint its members. Fre-

quently the chief executive officer, or where there is none the chairman of the governing board, is empowered to make the appointments. For example, the Illinois law states: "The chairman or president of each county in the state may establish in and for such county a Council for Defense and appoint the members thereof."

No Pay for Services

Where pay of council members is mentioned, it is always to the effect that such members shall receive no pay for their services. They may be reimbursed for actual expense incurred in performing their duties. With the exception of New Jersey no attempt has been made to define by statute the functions of local councils. It is usually stated merely that they are to cooperate with the state council, that they are to operate under its direction, or that they are to perform those functions assigned to them by state councils. The New Jersey statute, however, describes the organization, procedure, and functions of local councils in rather minute detail.

The New Hampshire law contains the unusual provision that the "county cooperating committee" shall be composed of one man and one woman from each town and city ward in the county.

Where dissolution of the council is considered in the law, it is provided either that the agency empowered to establish local councils can dissolve them at will or that local councils shall be dissolved automatically when the state council is dissolved, although New Jersey sets a termination date in 1943.

It is probable that 1943 state defense legislation will reveal a trend toward fewer differences and greater uniformity of practice resulting primarily from guidance of the national Office of Civilian Defense.

Statutes to which reference is made are as follows:

California, 1941, Ch. 561
 Colorado, 1941, H.B. 1373
 Connecticut, 1941, Ch. 106
 Delaware, 1941, S.B. 12
 Florida, 1941, H.B. 30
 Illinois, 1941, S.B. 154, S.B. 547
 Indiana, 1941, Ch. 194
 Iowa, 1941, H.B. 192
 Kansas, 1941, H.J.R. 4
 Maine, 1940, Ch. 308 (Spec. Ses.)
 Maryland, 1941, Ch. 567
 Michigan, 1941, P.A. 93
 Missouri, 1941, H.B. 540
 Montana, 1941, Ch. 128
 Nebraska, 1941, B. 232
 New Hampshire, 1941, H.B. 339
 New Jersey, 1940, Ch. 238; 1941, Ch. 45, Ch. 179, and Ch. 182
 New York, 1941, Ch. 22, Ch. 210, Ch. 457, and Ch. 511
 Ohio, 1941, S.B. 178
 Oklahoma, 1941, S.B. 236
 Pennsylvania, 1941, A. 3
 Rhode Island, 1941, H.B. 564
 South Carolina, 1941, H.B. 471
 Utah, 1941, H.B. 11 (2nd Spec. Ses.)
 Washington, 1941, Ch. 177
 West Virginia, 1941, H.B. 369
 Wyoming, 1941, S.B. 76

Wayne County, Michigan, Struggle Heightens

The *Detroit News* has thrown its influence in favor of home rule for Wayne County, Michigan. The question is to be decided by the voters of the state through referendum on a proposed constitutional amendment November 3.¹ Louis Tendler, in his series of articles appearing in that paper, calls the Board of Supervisors of 161 members a relic of ox-cart days. He points out the advantages of creating the proposed 21-member board in its stead, of securing a single administrative head, and of abolishing certain offices no longer performing sufficient functions to justify their continuation.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, p. 386; September 1942, p. 462.

Montgomery County, Maryland, to Vote on Charter Board

The Charter Committee of Montgomery County, Maryland, has succeeded in its efforts to place the question of home rule before the voters of the county in the general election this month.² As required by Maryland's county home rule law, the committee has filed a petition nominating five persons to constitute the Charter Board which would draft the new plan of county government. An additional slate of five, all of whom are opposed to charter change, has been nominated by the Montgomery County Commissioners.

Dane County, Wisconsin, Considers Small Board

The Dane County, Wisconsin, Board of Supervisors may submit by referendum the question of reducing the size of the board from its present eighty-two members to approximately fifteen. Attempts to secure reforms in Dane County government by constitutional amendment were defeated by the state legislature in 1939 and 1941. It is now proposed to ask the voters in the November election the question, "Shall the state legislature provide for a smaller government body for Dane County?"

The Board recently appointed a special committee on county government to hold three or more hearings on the question. Although attendance has been small, sentiment at the hearings has been overwhelmingly favorable inside the city of Madison but opposed outside the city. Many witnesses speaking for the proposal declared the issue of a single executive head was just as or more important than that of a smaller governing body.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Gas Collection Trend Reviewed

***New mileage restrictions
will bring further changes***

ALTHOUGH state gasoline tax collections continue to show declines below last year, a distinct leveling off tendency is apparent. For the rationed states, in fact, only negligible changes have been shown since June.

These are among the facts shown in the September *Trend of Highway Revenues*, a monthly summary of gasoline tax and highway revenue collections edited by Dr. Edna Trull, and published by the municipal division of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc. Of the eight months period Dr. Trull writes:

"Collections generally in January, in the main reflecting normal December gasoline sales, were well above the comparable month last year. The median increase for ten representative states now under rationing, however, was measurably less than the median increase in seventeen representative states outside the area now rationed. Apparently the temporary rationing in the former group in the fall of 1941 and the threat of a gasoline shortage was exercising an influence on the trend.

"In January the restrictions on the sale of tires and motor vehicles, which were announced December 31, became effective. This development was reflected in February collections, which, though still above 1941, were less markedly so than in January. The medians for the two groups moved down rather consistently and at about the same rate through February, March, and April, neither of the groups being un-

²See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1942, p. 520.

der rationing at that time. However, since the now rationed group started the year lower it fell below the previous year's level a month earlier.

"The eastern states were feeling the pinch of a gasoline shortage early in the spring, however, and on May 15 they were put under rationing. The median collection trend for the two groups began in May, consequently, to diverge. In that month the downward trend for the unrationed states continued at the previous rate while that of the now rationed states dipped more sharply. In June the decline for the rationed states continued, slightly less sharply, while the unrationed state median actually gained over the previous month.

"This diverging trend failed to hold in July, however, for the unrationed state median took a sharp dip while that for the rationed states tapered off. A partial explanation of this may be found in changes in interstate travel. The unrationed states were not getting the influx of visitors that usually accompanied the advent of the summer season.

"Looking at the picture generally for the past three months, however, it is apparent that the rate of decline from last year was tending to level off. This is conspicuously the case for the ra-

tioned states, which have shown only negligible change since June; while in August the decline from last year for the unrationed states was slightly less than in July.

"The situation is still far from being stabilized, however, for present rationing is not fully reflected in the figures and nation-wide mileage restriction is a large impending factor. The revised and somewhat more drastic rationing system which went into effect in the rationed states on July 22 will not show fully in gasoline tax collections until the September data are available. This should not retard the leveling off process materially, however. Mileage restrictions, applied in the unrationed states, will, of course, bring about a material further change in the overall trend, eliminate much of the divergence in the trends now being shown for the two groups of states, and possibly give rise to less satisfactory outlooks in several states of major interest to highway bondholders which have not yet been subject to definite gasoline curbs."

The following are the median figures on which the summary is based, showing median per cent changes for ten representative states with gasoline rationing, for seventeen states not rationed, and for the 27 states combined:

	<i>Jan.</i>	<i>Feb.</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Apr.</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>Aug.</i>
10 Rationed	9.9	6.3	-4.1	-7.2	-16.5	-22.1	-23.9	-22.4
17 Unrationed	17.3	9.1	1.3	-4.1	-9.9	-8.7	-14.0	-13.5
27 States	12.9	7.9	-3.5	-6.6	-12.4	-13.0	-18.3	-17.3

SEC Seeks "Full Disclosure" on Municipal Bond Sales

Considerable debate is coming to a head on a recent rule of the Securities and Exchange Commission. It has aroused the opposition of some municipal officials and organizations and of municipal bond dealers. This is the so-called "full disclosure" rule, X-15C1-10, which makes it a fraudulent prac-

tice to sell a security without making known to the purchaser pertinent facts regarding the bid and asked prices for such security prevailing at the time of the offering. The point of contention is the application of the rule to securities issued by state and local governments.

Before passing judgment on the proposal, it is pertinent to note that the

rule as a whole serves a useful purpose. Protection of the investor in so-called "listed" securities is provided through controls regulating the activities of the stock exchanges and their members and setting up provisions with which a security must comply to be listed on the exchange. The quotations on listed securities, of course, provide the price information.

A considerable volume of securities is sold on the "over-the-counter" market, however, and a great part of these securities are not listed on the exchanges. Broadly, regulations of which the "full disclosure" rule is a part extend to the unlisted securities market the control secured more directly over trade in listed securities.

While there can be no quarrel with the principle that purchasers of unlisted securities as well as buyers of securities listed on the exchanges are entitled to information on the going market price of the security, it must be admitted that the technical problems presented in the listed and unlisted fields differ in some significant respects. A rather general characteristic of unlisted securities is that only a limited market exists for them, or that the market is irregular, with sales so infrequent that no market for any particular security can be said to exist in the sense in which this can be said of the more actively traded securities listed on the exchanges.

A limited and irregular market is a major characteristic of trading in the securities of state and local governments. Save for the bonds of some of the states and larger local units, in which a considerable volume of debt is outstanding, it can scarcely be said that a market exists for the bonds of any given local unit. Ordinarily municipalities are bought for investment rather than for speculation as is the case with corporate securities, and their buyers tend to hold the securi-

ties to maturity. Moreover, geographical limitations serve to restrict the market for the securities of the smaller units, such as it is, to a comparatively small area. The fact that many units, particularly smaller ones, issue bonds only infrequently places another limitation on the extent of their market.

Under the circumstances, it is difficult to see how full disclosure of bid and asked prices could be made in every sale of state and local bonds. The great volume of sales in municipalities is in new issues. In the case of a few score issuing units, such sales occur with sufficient frequency so that sale price data are available, but even in the case of some of the larger cities sales are so infrequent that such data would necessarily be so old that it would be of little value.

In the case of small units, which issue bonds infrequently and have their securities traded generally only in the event of the liquidation of an estate or other such special occurrence, the presentation of bid and asked prices would be an impossibility. Further, it might well be doubted whether the market for municipalities is sufficiently broad so that bid and asked prices are of the same significance that they are in the case of stocks and corporate bonds; the bid of a tax-exempt fiduciary would certainly be something different from that of a wealthy individual or estate seeking the haven of tax exemption, to cite just one factor in the market not found in that for stocks and corporate bonds.

Although it seems to this column that the weight of practical difficulties makes full disclosure of bid and asked prices impossible in all but a few municipal bond transactions, the opponents of rule X-15C1-10 are most vociferous in objecting that it constitutes a federal infringement of states' rights and threatens local self-government. This seems to be a rather tenuous and

unsubstantial argument, however, on examination. In the first place, the disclosure rule applies to sales by dealers etc., not by the governmental units themselves. In the second place, granted that the rule might be so applied as to discriminate against certain local units, there is still every reason to believe that in this event the courts would disallow such discrimination. On the whole, it is believed that the rule is objectionable for the more substantial reason that in the case of municipals the facts required to be disclosed do not generally exist.

Congress Continues Tax Exemption of Municipal Bond Income

The new revenue act, passed by House and Senate October 20, provides for continued exemption of state and municipal bond interest from federal income taxes. The Senate committee, at the insistence of the Treasury, had included a provision making taxable the income from future issues only, but this was removed by Senate amendment and the House concurred.

However, the issue is regarded as being far from dead. This is because higher rates on the personal income tax—with further increases prospective next year when the Treasury submits its program for an additional \$6,000,000,000—are making the exemption feature progressively more valuable to holders of tax-exempt securities.

This, together with extension of direct federal taxation to millions of new taxpayers, many of whom formerly felt that they were tax-exempt too, is expected by some observers to result in such pressure for the elimination of tax exemption that Congress will before many months accede to the Treasury's demands. Under these circumstances, it is not unlikely that outstanding as well as future issues will become taxable.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Yonkers Council Unanimous Against P. R. Repealers

***No Vote in New York
P. R. for Long Beach?***

IN AN unexpected move on October 13 the Yonkers City Council, three of whose five members had been elected with Democratic or Republican party endorsement, and one of whose members is a leading figure in the local Democratic organization, voted unanimously for a resolution condemning the two P.R. repeal proposals which were put on this fall's ballot by the local Democratic and Republican organizations.

The resolution stated, "It is felt that certain revision of the charter may be advisable but that neither of the proposed amendments provides for the needed revision"; also "it is believed the adoption of either proposed amendment is more likely to confuse rather than clarify the situation."

Charter Commission Created

The resolution, sponsored by Councilman Thomas B. Sheridan, the new independent Democratic member chosen to fill a temporary vacancy by the recent recount of the 1941 councilmanic ballots,¹ also called for the appointment of a charter revision commission to report by March 31. It asked the commission to "consider the revision of the charter and to make recommendations for constructive modifications thereof" and to include specifically:

¹Described in this department for September 1942.

"1. Provision for a Common Council of at least seven members;

"2. Provision for automatic selection by the voters of the person who is to be mayor and who is to be the presiding officer of the Council;

"3. Provision that any appointments authorized to be made by the mayor at the advice and consent of the Council shall be submitted by the mayor to the Council to be laid upon the table for a period of at least ten days before action thereon."²

The first of these proposals is in line with a recommendation of the City Manager League, under whose auspices three of the five present councilmen were elected. The League originally intended to put a charter amendment on the ballot this fall reducing the quota from 10,000 to 7,500 so that seven members would be elected instead of five. The proposal was withdrawn to concentrate attention on the defeat of the P. R. repeal amendments.

The second proposal is to prevent "deals" by councilmen-elect for the purpose of being chosen mayor by their fellow-councilmen. It could be accomplished without a separate election of the mayor either by designating the first councilman elected or the one with the most first-choice votes, or better, by continuing the preferential count to determine which of the councilmen chosen is the majority choice of the voters themselves.

A "Vote No" Committee

Active opposition to the P. R. repeal proposals has been organized in a "Vote No" drive sponsored by a large citizens committee, called The United Citizens of Yonkers, with Ralph B. Feriola, a prominent banker, as chairman. Aiding in the defense of P. R. are the City Manager League, the Yon-

kers Committee of 100 (a local good government organization), the small American Labor party organization, and the *Yonkers Herald Statesman*.

A New City Manager

The situation has improved greatly since the accession of Mr. Sheridan to the Council. Acting with the two faithful City Manager League councilmen, Mrs. Edith P. Welty and Curtiss E. Frank, he has brought about the retirement of City Manager Raymond J. Whitney, the appointment of a former reform mayor, William A. Walsh, as city manager, and the end of the domination of the Democratic "machine" headed by Councilman James A. Sullivan. The fact that under P. R. the recent vacancy could be filled with such widely approved results by a re-examination of the ballots by which the original Council was chosen is being used as a strong argument against the two repeal proposals.

P. R. and Manager Recommended to Long Beach

The Long Beach (New York) Citizens Union, an active group of substantial citizens formed to improve the government of their city, recently engaged the State Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research to make a short survey of the city's government to serve as a basis for constructive improvements. Long Beach is a city of about 9,000 population on the south shore of Long Island, with a summer population of about 30,000.

The report of the survey is now being published by the Long Beach Citizens Union in a series of bulletins. Bulletin No. 12, released October 17, is devoted to "Conditions Indicating Need of Changes in the City Charter." It reads in part as follows:

"*Proportional Representation* offers un-
(Continued on Page 580)

²*Yonkers Herald Statesman*, October 14, 1942.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Tax Delinquency and Rural Land-Use Adjustment. By the Subcommittee on Tax Delinquency of the Land Committee, National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. iv, 103 pp. 50 cents.

The NRPB committee that prepared this well set-up report, eighth in a series of technical papers supplementing the major NRPB reports, consists of George Wehrwein, chairman, Philip Cornick, Hugo Schwartz, and Joel Wolfsohn. The Land Committee of the NRPB announces that "the report demonstrates conclusively that a very considerable part of tax delinquency stems from land-use maladjustment, as well as that adequate tax enforcement procedure, vigorously used, can become an effective, yet just, method of bringing maladjusted land into public ownership for rehabilitation, replanning, and rededication to a more appropriate use."

The nature of land-tax delinquency is set forth according to its fiscal, legal, and land-use aspects; and new or revised procedures are suggested for tax reversion or redemption, tax lien enforcement, and state land programs. The study concludes with stress on the need for coordinated planning and action by the appropriate agencies in a constructive and long-range treatment of such land. Incidentally, reorganization and simplification of local government is urged.

Appendices present specific descriptions and studies of tax delinquency in various parts of the country.

H. M. O.

Financing the War. A Symposium. By Robert Warren, etc. Philadelphia,

Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. ix, 357 pp. \$2.50.

This book is the first of its kind to appear since the United States entered the war. It comprises eighteen authoritative chapters covering various phases of war finance prepared by as many experts.

As James W. Martin, of the University of Kentucky, states in the foreword: "No public finance discussion could be more timely than *Financing the War*. Moreover, the caliber of the authors who have collaborated and the care with which each has done the job he tackled will be a basis for reader satisfaction."

Police Records—Their Installation and Use. By O. W. Wilson. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. xxiv, 336 pp. \$6.

This volume contains a detailed and practical plan for the installation and operation of a police records system, based on procedures tested in a number of police departments for a period of ten or more years.

Its author is well qualified for his task. He had a brilliant career as chief of police in Wichita, Kansas, where he reorganized, staffed, and led a police force that accomplished much in law enforcement at small cost. He has also conducted numerous surveys and reorganizations of police departments in other parts of the country and has observed the workings of European police systems.

The book presents the principles and procedures which serve as a basis of development for police records in both large and small departments. It is sufficiently flexible so that certain forms and procedures may or may not be

used, according to the size of the department and the preferences of the administrator. It is a must for the police department head.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

City Charters

The Charter, Administrative Code, and General Ordinances of Kansas City, Missouri. By Burroughs N. Mosman. Kansas City, Director of Finance, 1942. 1116 pp. \$6.

Employment

Economic Effects of Steady Employment and Earnings. A Case Study of the Annual Wage System of Geo. A. Hormel & Company. By Jack Cherrick. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1942. xi, 75 pp. \$1.25.

Federal Government

United States Government Manual Fall 1942. By Bureau of Public Inquiries, Office of War Information. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. iv, 705 pp. \$1.

Fire Departments

A Survey of Fire Departments in Wisconsin Cities. A Survey of Fire Departments in Wisconsin Villages. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1942. 30 and 18 pages respectively. 50 cents each.

Housing

The Rôle of the Housebuilding Industry. By Miles L. Colean. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1942. 29 pp.

International Relations

International Development Loans. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1942. 38 pp. 25 cents.

Land Subdivision

Land Subdivision Activity in Oakland, California, 1931-1942. Oakland, City Planning Commission, 1942. 25 pp.

Personnel

Personnel Rules and Regulations for the City of Traverse City, Michigan. Prepared by the Municipal Personnel Service, Ann Arbor. Traverse City, City Commission, 1942. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Retirement System (Ordinance No. 188). Kalamazoo, Michigan, The City Manager, 1942. 22 pp.

Washington-Field Relationships in the Federal Service. Lectures and Papers by Donald C. Stone, Earl W. Loveridge and Peter Keplinger, William L. Mitchell, and James W. Fesler. Washington, Graduate School, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1942. 60 pp. 35 cents.

Proportional Representation

A New Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform. Annual Report for the Year 1941-1942. London, Proportional Representation Society, 1942. 20 pp. Threepence.

The Post-War House of Commons. How Should It Be Elected? By Arthur C. Turner; Foreword by A. K. White. Glasgow, Craig & Wilson, 1942. Eightpence.

Public Health

Directory of Clinics for the Diagnosis and Treatment of Venereal Diseases. By Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. 136 pp. 20 cents.

Recreation

Recreation and Delinquency. A Study of Five Selected Chicago Communities. By Ethel Shanas. Chicago, Chicago Recreational Commission, 1942. xxxi, 284 pp.

Rural-Urban Problems

The Rural-Urban Fringe. Proceedings of the Commonwealth Conference, University of Oregon, April 16-17, 1942. Eugene, University of Oregon, 1942. iv, 80 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Local Government Debts in Pennsylvania. Problems and Methods of Control. By Ronald Eugene Gregg. Philadelphia, 1942. xi, 169 pp. \$2. (Apply to author, 312 Colton Building, Toledo, Ohio.)

Oklahoma Sales Tax. Including Operations of the Use Tax. Statistical Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1942. 19 pp.

Tax Problems in State and Nation. War Time Tax Reductions Without Economy—Need of a Sound National Policy. By William J. Brede. New York City, Taxpayers Federation, Inc., 1942. 8 pp.

The Total Tax Bill for 1941. The Total Tax Bill for 1942. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 1 p. 5 cents each.

What's Happening to City Revenues? Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 9 pp. 25 cents.

War

Directory of War Activities for the Duration. Pittsburgh, Civic Club of Allegheny County, 1942. 40 pp.

New York State War Transportation Manual. Albany, State War Council, War Transportation Committee, 1942. 58 pp.

Proportional Representation

(Continued from Page 577)

usual possibilities in Long Beach to help remedy these conditions which exist, essentially, because the city government has not been made truly repre-

sentative of the substantial caliber of home owners who live in the city. Most of those have moved into the city in recent years and now dominate in numbers but not yet in government.

"In such circumstances, where a wide gap exists between the standards of city management and the civic standards of the population, a form of voting which, of its intrinsic nature, helps to produce representative control, seems to offer particular utility and a promise of a broad ramification of benefits.

"The *council-manager plan*, with P. R., under provisions like the Model Charter,¹ in the opinion of the consultants of the Long Beach Citizens Union would find an exceptionally fertile field to produce benefits in this city."

Repeal Attempt Dropped in New York City

Councilman Louis Cohen's proposed charter amendment to repeal the use of P. R. in New York City, reported in this department in June, was not pushed this year by the Democratic organization majority and was allowed to remain in the Council's Committee on Privileges and Elections. The proposal was exactly similar to the one that was voted down overwhelmingly by the voters of the city in the election of 1940.

The decision not to report the Cohen bill for consideration before this fall's election and the absence of any petition proposal affecting P. R. this year mean that a fourth P. R. Council election in New York City a year hence is assured. The first time that any repeal proposal could now be brought to a vote is the regular fall election of 1943. There appears to be a general inclination in New York City to postpone such issues till after the war.

¹The *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League, referred to earlier in the report.

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Issues

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Cleveland's Merit System for
Unskilled Labor

Christian L. Larsen

Tax Rates for American Cities

Rosina Mohaupt

Lowell Adopts Manager Plan and P. R.

Henry W. Connor

December 1942

Vol. XXXI, No. 1

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXI, No. 11

Total Number 317

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Dawn Over Jersey City

ONE of the most encouraging results of the November election was the fact that, at long last, an opening seems to have been found in the heretofore invincible armor of Boss Hague.

It would be optimistic in the extreme to hope that the career of one of the most baneful influences in local government is about to end. It will take more than the failure to re-elect his senator to break the power of this overlord of Jersey City; but at least the election of Albert W. Hawkes has demonstrated to the people in the rest of the state that it is possible for them to vote without facing the certainty that their choice will be nullified when Hague's men get through counting in Hudson County.

People in other parts of the country cannot fully understand the statewide power wielded by Jersey City and Hudson County. Heretofore whatever margin was needed to carry a statewide election in New Jersey emerged from Hudson County with the infallibility of sunrise. And when anyone doubted that everything was on the up and up, why, Hague just bellowed in indignation and someone burned the registration lists.

That something of a "catastrophe" has occurred, however, may be judged by the fact that, ten days after the recent election, Hague confessed that Jersey City may face bankruptcy. This can scarcely come

as much of a surprise to financial experts and students of government. It has, indeed, been considered strange for many years that this community has been able to bear up under the crushing burden of a political philosophy which looked upon public office not as a public trust but as a blank check to pay the fantastic costs of dictatorship.

As was to be expected, Boss Hague blamed everyone but himself for the approach of the day of reckoning although his boast for thirty years that "I am the law!" has been distressingly near the truth. Despite his unquestioned sway, his unchallenged spending, his breath-taking incurring of public debt, he has the temerity to attempt to put the responsibility on the first New Jersey governor in years who has dared to challenge his right to dominate the entire state, to dictate all appointments.

Of course, no one—not even his own followers or the investors who want to draw interest on the \$65,030,255 worth of Jersey City bonds they hold, or, more important, those who have failed to exercise their power to do something about Hague—takes this buck-passing with anything less than a ton of salt. The financial situation is Hague's responsibility and his alone.

In his extremity, Boss Hague warns that it may be necessary to reduce the number of city employees (he specifically cites the Medical

Center, the schools, and the fire and police departments because it scares people to think of having anything happen to them). Well, something of this sort has been in order for a long time. No other city of 300,000 spends \$44,000,000 on its government, nor has a debt of \$172.33 per capita. It might be healthy, as a starter, to end the secret of how many city employees there are, who they are, how much they get, and what they do for their wages.

It will take considerable doing to rescue Jersey City. Governor Edison, suggesting that perhaps at last

"the game is really up," believes "the only solution is a thoroughgoing reorganization." Such a procedure has started many a plundered city on the way back to solvency, it is true. When and if the dictator retires bitterly to one of his million-airish estates to contemplate that all he has to show for his lifelong devotion to political "leadership" is great material wealth, the people will probably turn to better leadership which up to now has had to brave physical violence, imprisonment, and all manner of intimidation and abuse if it dared lift its head.

Victories on the Home Front

THE ADVICE given some months ago to local civic leaders by John G. Winant, United States Ambassador to Great Britain and president of the National Municipal League, to hold fast to the gains they had made and to continue to make the home front strong by improving municipal affairs was followed impressively in a number of outstanding instances in the November elections.

The voters of Missouri, at the close of a successful campaign launched a year ago at the League's 47th Annual National Conference on Government at St. Louis, voted to revise their state constitution.

Montgomery County, Maryland, suburban to Washington and therefore plagued by growing pains and a tendency toward urbanization of services, elected a board of citizens to draft a home rule charter.

The voters of Yonkers, New York, soundly trounced, by a two to one

margin, an alliance of two party organizations which sought to undermine that city's charter by asking the abandonment of the proportional representation system of voting—in the very best tradition of the divide-and-conquer theory by which they would ultimately have killed or nullified the council-manager form of government which in Yonkers has faced a succession of hurdles raised by the politicians.

Lowell, Massachusetts, adopted "Plan E" (the council-manager plan with the council elected by proportional representation) because, in the words of a local editor, "our present system of city elections on the narrowest of ward and party lines is outmoded, cumbersome, venal, even vicious; that to it can be laid much of the dismal failure of our city government. The election proved also that the people's eyes have been opened."

(Continued on page 646)

New York State Faces War Housing Issues

One of the major problems has been to effect close cooperation among the three levels of government, that no time be lost in putting programs into effect.

By **EDWARD WEINFELD**
New York State Commissioner of Housing

HOUSING problems are not new to New York State. If they were the magnitude and complexities of today's task of housing war workers would be more overwhelming than they are and most certainly we would have neither the means nor machinery for dealing with them.

When Congress initiated the first large scale defense program, following the fall of France in the summer of 1940, New York State, it was estimated, lacked adequate dwellings for about one million families. That shortage had accumulated steadily for many years. In the industrial towns and cities within New York's borders could be found some of the most extensive slum areas as well as some of the worst.

This is the setting into which trekked an unending stream of thousands of workers to take their places on airplane assembly lines, in tank and gun factories, steel mills, chemical plants, iron mines, and a host of other essential industries working on billions of dollars of war contracts.

We had one thing more. In July 1939, two months before the Nazis marched on Poland, the new State Public Housing Law had become effective, launching the first state-aided low-rent housing program in the nation, and vitalizing the State

Division of Housing. That program made available to cities, towns and villages \$150,000,000 of state funds for housing loans and authorized grants up to a total of \$5,000,000 annually to achieve low rents in projects built with state loan funds.

All of this stemmed directly from the huge peacetime shortage of adequate homes for low income families and the determination of the people of the state finally to do something about the festering slums. Both needs were so vast that the federal program, spread thinly over the entire nation, could work only small miracles of new housing in any one state.

The new state housing program had a twofold effect. Not only did it make the \$150,000,000 loan fund available, but the responsibility of carrying out the program was vested in a new and expanded Division of Housing, giving it a dynamic impetus which proved of immeasurable value. Continuing close contacts, established with localities in the first days of the new public housing program, a few months later felt the first pulsations of what we then called defense housing needs, and made possible the accurate diagnosis long in advance of what we now know as the acute shortage of war housing.

That large-scale preventative measures were not taken by cities and towns in time to avert the critical stages that have since developed may be traced to one of the first problems encountered—a problem which remains in substantial degree in housing as well as in other fields.

Vacancy Survey

As early as August 1940 the Division of Housing established that some thirty-five industrial cities and towns of the state would be called on to play a major part in the production of armaments. The pattern was clear. These production centers, in many instances, had extremely low vacancy ratios and it was apparent that local labor supply would have to be supplemented by immigrant workers. The mayors were called together at a meeting in Albany, at which the problem was laid before them, and they were urged to begin immediately to plan to deal with the expanded demand for dwellings which was bound to come.

Few of us have learned to anticipate crises, especially when the pressure of other day-to-day problems completely absorbs our time and energies. These mayors, for the most part, were no exception. Although the Division of Housing offered to make its staff available, by and large there was little interest and less concern. The vacancy surveys which were suggested as a first step were made in very few instances. So there was little local planning and virtually no program for dealing with the conditions which were bound to develop.

Attention to another type of plan-

ning was also recommended as essential: city planning, which would protect the long-term interests of the community, regulate where desirable the type of building and expansion which might be expected, and plan for the extension of community facilities or the full use of existing services. To this end the Commissioner of Housing had urged careful re-study of existing zoning ordinances and their modification or change where indicated. Not until six months later, after the state government had set up its state and local defense councils and the imminence of our own war danger had been brought home to the great mass of our citizens, did the problem of housing defense workers receive serious attention locally. In other words, although they were forewarned they waited until the full force of the impact was felt.

From that time forward events followed each other in rapid succession. The vacancy surveys which had been urged many months previously were now rushed to completion and even in the early summer of 1941 already showed a number of cities where the lack of housing was so great that immediate steps were essential. From the outset it seemed to the Division of Housing that the problem presented three main facets: First was the immediate and pressing need of providing additional homes; second, exercising a degree of control over new building which would protect the community against the creation of new slums; and third, the necessity for planning new construction so as

not to burden the communities by demands for large scale extensions of municipal services such as water supply, sewers, schools, and police and fire protection. This latter consideration was of prime importance since everywhere there was the natural desire on the part of the community to foster and encourage private enterprise construction of homes—on the part of business to keep the building industry at the highest possible level of activity and on the part of municipal officials to add taxables at the full rate to the assessment rolls.

Opposition Encountered

A corollary of this widely held point of view was the resistance in varying degree on the part of some groups to all public housing programs, whether from Washington or from the state, even though time and again it was demonstrated that construction by speculative builders failed in most instances to meet the income requirements of the men who were actually building the planes, tanks, and guns. The few builders that did attempt to serve this lower income market achieved their purpose only by sacrificing basic minimum standards with the result that we have again in some localities instances of building brand new slums—either in the cities where zoning and building codes are lax or in the unzoned townships which surround localities where more adequate zoning and building standards are enforced. I have in mind one city of the state which for months stonily set its face against any additional

low-rent housing with state or federal assistance, while in the surrounding unzoned townships hundreds of houses were built not only with second-grade materials and shoddy workmanship, but with a surface well water supply and a cesspool for sewerage for each house on its forty- or fifty-foot lot.

We had this situation in mind when the Division of Housing suggested and the legislature enacted amendments to the State Public Housing Law which were designed to meet both the war housing emergency and the long-range low-rent housing needs of the cities of our states. In communities having a permanent need for low-rent housing as well as the immediate emergency need for war housing, the Commissioner of Housing was authorized to lend state funds for the construction of projects which would serve war workers immediately, and after the war be made available to low-income families as low-rent public housing. The loans would also include funds for the acquisition of blighted areas for postwar replanning and redevelopment. This modification of the program, we felt, would make it possible to supply urgently needed war housing now and postwar low-rent housing later without burdening the community by an over-supply after the war, or disturbing real estate and taxable values.

In the face of the pressure for private enterprise construction this program at first made slow progress. But the conditions of shortage to which the Division of Housing had been calling attention at frequent

intervals for months would no longer be denied.

By the fall of 1941 a number of the communities in the state saw that prompt action was essential if any provision was to be made for housing war workers who could not afford to buy or to pay the rents which prevailed in private enterprise housing. Two communities immediately sought to avail themselves of the assistance offered by the state, and since that time a total of six state-aided war-housing projects have been started which will provide homes for 4,900 war-workers' families. For the building of these six projects, and the acquisition of blighted areas which are to be replanned and rebuilt after the war, the state has agreed to make loans totalling about \$30,000,000.

Although the provision of new dwelling accommodations and the postwar clearance of substandard areas was the corner stone of the state housing program, the responsibility of the Commissioner and the Division which he heads are far more extensive. He must be concerned with the overall housing situation in every locality and he must likewise be equally concerned for the permanent welfare of these communities. All of which means that the problems with which the Division has dealt go far beyond the projects made possible by the state program. The impact of private enterprise construction and federally-aided projects on the community were matters which required constant attention.

There were difficulties of this sort almost from the beginning. Those

familiar with housing know that building homes is only part of the answer—that it is equally essential to provide promptly water supply, sewerage disposal, schools, and other municipal services. It is at this point that the very closest coöperation between local, state and the federal agencies involved is absolutely essential and where careful forethought must be given to protecting the permanent interests of the city or town.

Cooperation Effective

A situation like this developed in connection with the construction of sorely needed housing in the Buffalo-Niagara area. A city of 13,000 population was to be the location of a project for 800 dwelling units to be built by the federal government, which would mean an increase of 25 per cent in its population. For a time it looked as if construction would begin without definite assurance to the locality that its municipal services could be expanded to meet this tremendous increase, or that funds would be available to operate them after they were installed. In another case there was a question of sewer extensions and in still others there were problems of school facilities, police and fire protection. By close coöperation with both federal and local groups the State Commissioner of Housing has been able to work out satisfactory solutions in such situations.

Throughout the defense and war periods the expediting of housing programs has been a major requirement and developments such as have been described can be, and frequently are,

serious stumbling blocks to speed. Thus one of the major problems has been to effect close coöperative relationships among the three levels of government to the end that no time be lost in putting programs into effect.

Still another type of problem has developed which, by its nature, presents even more acute housing situations than the influx of workers into industrial centers. These emergencies have arisen and continue to arise in connection with the construction of large-scale military establishments and industrial facilities requiring the short-term employment of great numbers of construction workers. Frequently such military installations and plants are located in rural areas, far from expandable housing facilities. They demand that accommodations be found immediately for sometimes 8,000, sometimes 15,000, and sometimes 20,000 construction workers which will be required for a period of from four to eight or nine months only. Fortunately most construction workers move without their families. But there seems to be an irreducible minimum who come with a family group and complicate the problem no end.

Emergencies Handled

Our introduction to this type of housing problem took place in the summer of 1941. At that time we had not yet perfected the liaison with governmental contracting agencies which has since kept us advised well in advance of the undertaking of such operations. And so our first word was an agitated call from the State Department of Health, in-

forming us that three or four cases of typhoid had broken out in a certain rural area where a military depot, extending over an area of several thousand acres, was being built, with a force of three or four thousand workers which would soon grow to almost ten thousand. The men were coming into the area in automobiles, trucks, and trailers, by train and by foot; were camping out wherever they happened to light, and usually where no provision had been made for water supply or sanitary facilities.

At the request of the State Commissioner of Housing, the Acting Governor assigned a detail of state police to coöperate with a field representative of the Division, and in forty-eight hours a list of every available room within a radius of twenty-five miles had been compiled and Homes Registration Bureaus had been established at two central points in the construction area. Accommodations for single men were thus provided but the problem of men with families still remained. Through the appropriate federal agency it was possible to establish a trailer park with water and sanitary equipment where almost one hundred trailers were provided for such families.

The experience gained in dealing with this crisis has served to prevent a repetition. Since that time a number of other construction operations of even greater magnitude have been handled successfully by adequate preparation in advance, which made it possible to have lists of available rooms and dwelling units ready when the first construction workers appeared.

Even under normal peacetime conditions, housing problems are never static. In our present war situation this has been doubly true. In the earliest stages of the defense program there was no reason to question the supply of either construction materials or labor, and every reason to seek to make the housing needs of the moment serve the permanent well-being of our communities and their residents. The public low-rent housing program, it was felt, should go ahead full speed with whatever modifications in the occupancy regulations might be necessary to make these dwellings available for workers in defense industries where the need was manifest. Let us call that the first phase.

Priorities

By the summer of 1941 the defense program had assumed such vast proportions that some regulation of the flow of construction supplies became necessary and it was realized for the first time we could not do all of the building that was needed to serve both civilian and military needs. Call this the second phase, which began with a limitation of new housing construction to such needs as resulted directly from the war effort. It was at this point that all thoughts of a simon-pure public low-rent housing program had to be postponed for the duration and the definite shift to defense and war housing was made. In the case of our state program, it still held out the advantage of building housing for war workers now which after the emergency would become public low-rent housing.

Shortly after Pearl Harbor we entered upon a third phase in which it was made plain that only the most essential war-housing needs could be met with available materials and therefore only a minimum of new construction could be considered. That is our status at this moment, the only change being an increasing shortage of materials and labor and, therefore, even further shrinkage of the new construction program.

Here too the Division of Housing has been able to play a part. In March and April of this year, the effect of "raising our sights," as the President put it, on arms production began to make itself felt. More and more of our material supply was drawn into armaments and it became obvious that much more intensive use would have to be made of existing structures to accommodate further expansions of our industrial employment. New and expanded contracts for war production meant not only the absorption of more critical supplies in armament but also more men and women at the machines to make those supplies. Rooms had to be found for them—dwellings if possible.

The Division of Housing undertook "Rent a Room for Victory" campaigns in several communities, the purpose of which was to persuade families which ordinarily do not take lodgers to do so now as a patriotic duty. For the first campaign of this kind, undertaken in Niagara Falls, Governor Lehman issued a special appeal, and the leadership of the community got solidly behind the plan. The result was gratifying

and added accommodations for 1,289 war workers to those previously available. A second campaign in Rome was equally successful, but neither met the total need. Additional campaigns are being planned for communities where there is a need for rooms.

The recently announced Homes Use Program of the National Housing Agency which provides federal funds for the conversion of existing structures into family dwelling units is the step upon which we are now engaged. The Division of Housing has taken over this program for the NHA in New York State and already has campaigns under way in four cities, urging owners to make application to lease their buildings to the federal government for remodelling to multi-family use.

Absorbed as we are in immediate problems and emergencies, neither the State of New York nor the Division of Housing has lost sight of the postwar period or the difficulties it will present. In so far as housing is concerned, we have sought, first, to insure against creating postwar difficulties by what we do today, and second, by building up a reserve shelf of projects which can get under way immediately after victory is won,

to construct large-scale improvements which will be of permanent benefit to the community and will help to cushion the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy.

The housing undertakings on the reserve shelf are of two kinds. One consists of the replanning and rebuilding of blighted areas in war industrial centers which has been provided for as part of the war-housing projects now under construction.

The second is the planning of low-rent public housing projects also involving the clearance of blighted areas but on which no actual construction will be done until after the war. Even in these instances the projects are being completely planned, land is being acquired, and building plans and specifications drawn so that actual building need be delayed scarcely a day. In a word, everything short of actual demolition and new construction is being done now. The State Division of Housing has already approved ten such projects, calling for loans from the state totalling \$63,000,000 and three additional projects to a total of \$22,000,000 are in the application stage.

Call this a fourth phase and may it come soon.

Missouri Wins Constitutional Revision

Citizens decide that regardless of the war — or possibly because of it — the time is ripe to attempt an all-out fight for new constitution.

By STRATFORD LEE MORTON, Chairman
St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee
for Revision of the Missouri Constitution

ON NOVEMBER 3 Missourians voted "yes" to the query: "Shall there be a constitutional convention to revise or amend the constitution of the state of Missouri?" The question carried by a majority of five to three throughout the state, while in St. Louis and St. Louis County the vote in favor of revision was three to one.

The opening gun in the campaign for revision was fired at the annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, held at St. Louis in November 1941. The closing session of the conference was attended by proponents of revision who elected a state chairman and a St. Louis and St. Louis County chairman for the campaign.¹

Immediately following the League's conference the St. Louis committee organized with an executive committee of thirty-six, representing a cross-section of the city's leadership in business, politics, religion, the professions, labor and club circles, on a strictly nonpartisan basis and without discrimination as to race, creed, color, or sex.

Before the state committee could be organized the attack on Pearl Har-

bor startled the nation. A meeting called in February 1942, however, decided not to let the question, which according to the Missouri constitution must appear on the ballot every twenty years, go by default. Regardless of the war—or possibly because of it—the time seemed ripe to attempt an all-out fight for revision.

Difficulties were appraised. The opposition seemed to be: first, the entrenched political machine, headed by the Secretary of State, maintained by patronage and supported by at least one county newspaper in each of the 114 counties of the state which are favored with large printing awards prior to each election; second, those who professed to favor revision but believed it should not be attempted until after the war. There were some sincere friends in this category, but there were others who, not desiring to be openly against revision, used this excuse as a cloak; also those conservatives and reactionaries whose motto was "Better leave well enough alone." The opposition of these groups, plus preoccupation with the war, the fact that 1942 was an off-year which might result in a small vote, and the difficulty of raising money for a campaign, were some of the obstacles which loomed ahead.

¹See also NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for July 1942, p. 403.

The movement was favored by other factors, however. First, the question must appear on the ballot. Second, the attempt of the Democratic party to steal the governorship aroused great resentment. Third, the performance of the past legislature had reached an all-time low.

A tremendous educational job was needed. The campaign was so designed as to make only a small budget necessary. This could be done with thorough organization, full citizen activity, and participation by all the groups in the state that could be mustered to the cause.

Campaign Office Opened

With a few hundred dollars and donated office space, headquarters were opened in St. Louis on July 5. A finance committee in St. Louis raised enough money to open state headquarters at Jefferson City, publish some literature, and make a start on state organization under State Senator McReynolds as chairman. A Democratic woman lawyer with campaign experience was selected as a full-time paid director, with a Republican lawyer and politician of wide experience as full-time, paid assistant.

A manual suggesting the setup for an organization, patterned on the then functioning St. Louis organization, was drawn up and sent to every senatorial district. It suggested the raising of money for local needs and the use of local speakers, etc.

Next, a letter was sent to seven hundred newspapers of the state with editorial copy; 113 of these newspapers printed four editorials with-

out cost. A total of 600,000 pamphlets were sent to chambers of commerce and to all local political committees of both parties throughout the state, with a letter asking each to distribute them.

Identical planks were prepared for both party conventions in September. The Republicans, being the party not in power except for the governorship, put the plank in their platform, but the Democrats were silent on the issue. To offset this silence a resolution of endorsement was obtained from sixty Democratic leaders throughout the state which was sent to all Democratic committeemen urging support and to all city and rural newspapers. Further, a letter from the State Republican Committee urged support of revision.

A letter was sent to the judges of election as individuals asking them to be on the lookout for the constitutional ballot which was printed separately. A letter to all clergymen in the state asked them to endorse the proposal in their pulpits on the Sunday before election.

A brief was prepared for the Governor and he was asked to take the leadership for revision. He failed to take any position either for or against it.

State headquarters put life into the local groups that needed help by letters and telephone with the result that the vote was about evenly divided outside St. Louis.

As St. Louis and Kansas City had in many ways most at stake on revision, it was evident that the problem was to get out a large vote in those two cities.

Kansas City without the help of any newspaper until the zero hour did a splendid job, led by a revision committee headed by H. W. Luhnnow. It had the support of many local civic groups.

St. Louis Committee

In St. Louis many groups of citizens were tied into the campaign through the composition of the St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee. A large representative Citizen's Committee, that could be called on for help and influence, especially in the financial field, was formed.

In the Citizens' Committee were included all the chairmen and vice-chairmen of all ward, city, and county organizations of both parties. Not one man or woman declined—we had previously lined up every prominent Republican and Democratic leader of all factions on our committee.

Early in the campaign a questionnaire was sent to every organization in St. Louis, together with a sample resolution which the group was asked to pass. Eighty-one of the most representative organizations in the city did so. Information was also requested as to meetings that might be addressed by speakers, whether the organization had radio time they would donate, whether they had house organs which would accept editorial material, and whether they had any speakers or workers they might contribute to the campaign.

Much valuable publicity resulted from the passage of these resolutions, and from information secured from the questionnaires a speakers committee was organized with a schedule of

places for them to speak.

Organizations were asked to set aside their luncheon meeting the week prior to election as Constitution Day. Many did so. Dr. Isidor Loeb, dean emeritus of the School of Public Administration, Washington University, and father of the constitutional movement in Missouri, made his only appearance in the campaign before a large luncheon meeting of the St. Louis Rotary Club. To this meeting were invited the Governor of Missouri and all living ex-governors, together with many prominent St. Louisans. A proclamation of the Mayor of St. Louis was read dedicating the week prior to election as Constitution Week in St. Louis.

All the editors of the local papers were called on and promised news and editorial support. Much of the success of the campaign is due to this all-out support by the press, which included the publication of special articles, cartoons, and instruction on how to vote for revision.

An advertising committee was set up with a representative of one of the leading agencies in charge. The president of the Advertising Club and a representative of a billboard company were also members. Through their advice and services which were donated, the committee secured the use of seventy-five billboards without charge and movie trailer space (not used because of film priorities). Thousands of circulars or voters' guides were placed in the receptacles behind the seats in street cars, panel dash board space was obtained on a hundred street cars and buses. Dash board cards were also placed in vacant

windows and shop windows, radio space and spots were donated through the coöperation of sponsors and radio stations. As a windup friends of revision permitted the committee to take all the spots available on radio stations on the last day, to urge a vote for revision. All three St. Louis papers carried an ad, "It's Up to You," the day before election.

Resolutions were obtained from Ex-Governor Stark (Democrat) and Ex-Governor Caulfield (Republican), and from Mayor Becker (Republican) of St. Louis and the other twenty-three mayors in St. Louis County.

Women in Campaign

One of the most important contributions to the campaign was the work of a women's committee to "get out the vote." These women, under the leadership of Mrs. Ralph Thayer, worked for three weeks checking the voters' lists with a special telephone book arranged on a street basis. All the voters in St. Louis and St. Louis County were called on the telephone to get out and vote for revision.

Of the group of eighty-one St. Louis civic organizations supporting revision special mention should be given the work of the League of Women Voters who, in addition to furnishing speakers, distributing literature, and other committee work, had a women's committee of some four hundred who spent one entire day distributing voters' guides in all the Kroger Stores in the county just prior to election.

Special mention should also be made of the work of the St. Louis District of the Missouri State Teachers Association. That organization prepared special articles for the papers, furnished speakers, published and distributed literature at its own expense, furnished funds for the campaign, and explained to school children why their parents should support revision.

Another woman's organization, the Association of University Women and College Clubs, also gave the movement material aid.

In addition to the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *Globe Democrat*, and *Star-Times*, St. Louis County newspapers, the *Labor Union Advocate*, and the *Daily Record* supported the movement for revision.

The Missouri Library Association gave splendid support by publishing literature and a bibliography at its own expense. Washington University Law School devoted an issue of its publication to revision, as did the University of Kansas City's *Law Review*.

Special credit should go also to William Dee Becker, Mayor of St. Louis, for his proclamation of Constitution Week, for his assistance in raising funds, and his 100 per cent coöperation on anything requested by the committee; also to the twenty-three mayors in St. Louis County for their resolutions and all-out support, and to former Governors Caulfield and Stark for their statements favoring revision.

Cleveland's Merit System for Unskilled Labor

Its major benefit lies in the handicap to the practice of payroll padding, formerly common in the months immediately preceding election.

By CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN
Western Reserve University

CLEVELAND'S voters relieved the city's Civil Service Commission of a major problem in the November 1942 election. They adopted a charter amendment placing the street railway system, purchased by Cleveland from its private owners a few months ago, under an independent transit commission. This transit commission is to operate its own law, finance, and personnel agencies. Hence, the already existing Civil Service Commission will not be required to assume the task of fitting the transit system's personnel into the regular municipal personnel setup. Perhaps that will leave the Commission adequate time for dealing with the problems still arising out of a task earlier assigned to it by the voters.

In 1938 amendments of major significance to public personnel administration were added to the Cleveland city charter. Of particular interest was the requirement that all unskilled labor be added to the classified service. These positions are to be filled from eligible lists based upon order of application for them. The inclusion of unskilled labor in the classified services being not at all common in municipal government, the local personnel agency has had to rely primarily upon its own experimentation

in solving the administrative problems that have arisen.

There was the problem of what to do about those holding unskilled labor positions at the time of the amendment's adoption. The amendment itself gave an advantage to those who had been employed by the city for at least twelve months during the previous two years. They were deemed to have applied on the date they first were hired. Appearance of an individual's name on at least twenty-four semimonthly payrolls for the two-year period was accepted by the Civil Service Commission as proof of employment for the required twelve months.

Of approximately 3,400 so qualified, about 3,000 responded to individual notices to appear for an examination consisting of a medical examination and a brief oral interview relating to their job. Most of this group were accepted by the examiners by reason of the fact that their year's service had proved their qualifications for the job. Their names were placed on the eligible list in order of date first hired if since November 1, 1936, and alphabetically if hired before that date. This group was in effect "blanketed in" since there were more than 3,000 jobs to be filled, and since appointing author-

ities are not given the choice of one from the top three in connection with unskilled labor appointments.

Next arose the question of how to prepare eligible lists from which additional appointments could be made. It was anticipated that there would be many applicants, since this was prior to the major emphasis now placed upon defense and war activities, and there was still considerable unemployment. Resulting eligible lists would be good for two years only, and the anticipated number of additional appointments during that period was fairly small.

Registration List Compiled

To avoid raising false hopes for too many, therefore, and to avoid collecting examination fees from people without hope of appointment, it was decided to create a registration list as a preliminary to the eligible list. All interested could place their names on the registration list. These names then would be transferred to the eligible list as needed and in the order in which they appeared on the registration list, provided applicants passed the examinations.

A registration day was set aside in August 1939 for those unskilled labor employees who had not worked the required twelve months and for all other applicants. Knowing that there would be many more registrants than could be handled at the Commission's City Hall quarters, the municipal stadium was chosen as the site. All concerned unanimously hope that this ordeal may never be restaged.

Approximately 10,000 applicants

registered. Knowing that those at the top of the lists would stand a good chance of employment and those at the bottom of the lists almost none, the lines began to form two nights prior to registration day. All went well at first under a system of informal self-numbering started by the early arrivals. Trouble later developed when police, to their immediate regret, informed later arrivals who asked for numbers that the whole system was unofficial. A rush for the gates resulted, and some who had waited for hours did not get high places on the registration lists.

The unskilled labor positions were grouped into a few major classes and a separate list prepared for each. Applicants were permitted to register for as many of these classes of jobs as they desired. At the time consideration was given to a system of continuous registration under which those interested could report to the Civil Service Commission offices on any day and have their names added to the bottom of the registration lists to be called for examination at a later date. In view of the excessive number of registrants on the original registration day, however, the effective date of the continuous registration program was postponed.

With the exception of institutional help, all regular appointments to unskilled labor jobs since August 1939 have been made from eligible lists derived exclusively from these original registration lists. The registration lists for institutional helpers soon were exhausted because such factors as low salaries, partial salary payments in the form of mainten-

ance, and problems of transportation make these jobs little sought after. Therefore, continuous registration for these jobs was not long postponed. Individuals who indicated an interest in other jobs were permitted to file postcards to be mailed to them whenever additional registrations should be decided upon.

As indicated, examination of those persons whose names appear on registration lists has been controlled by calling in only sufficient numbers of registrants to establish eligible lists to meet actual and anticipated vacancies. What sort of examination can be given to test qualifications of unskilled laborers? An examination of two parts is used by the Cleveland Commission for this purpose. Part one consists principally of an oral interview for the purpose of checking upon possession of the required qualifications. These are citizenship, good moral character, ability to read and write English, one year's residence, and age limits of eighteen and sixty-five. Some evidence of successful experience in the kind of work for which the registrant is applying also is sought at this stage.

Part two is a physical examination for determining whether applicants are physically capable of doing the work to be performed. Before taking part two, applicants pay a fifty-cent fee, which is not refundable.

Time Limit on List?

In November 1941 a new city administration came into office involving a change of party. This was not the cause for as much jubilation on the part of the winning political organization as would have been true

before 1938, for the amendments of that year in addition to putting unskilled labor in the classified service, placed most other municipal jobs there also. As months went by, a job here and a job there was salvaged for the faithful, but pickings were slim. Not even unskilled labor jobs could be anticipated for those who failed to register in August of 1939.

Apparently by way of alleviating this particular difficulty, there was presented to the Civil Service Commission in a semiofficial manner, the contention that a new registration must be held because the old list was more than two years old, and hence void. Now this would be true in the case of an eligible list, but the registration list is something new in this area and, consequently, there have been no judicial rulings on it.

The Commission did not react favorably to this contention, but, as the problem was not put before the agency officially, no formal ruling was rendered. In order to clarify matters a bit, notices to appear for examination were sent to the approximately six thousand individuals still on the lists. Only five hundred showed up, and only about one-half of these could meet the qualifications referred to earlier. This, plus the fact that about 350 provisional appointments to unskilled labor positions had been made, indicated that continuous registration for common labor ought now to be applied.

A decision to that effect was made and June 15, 1942, was announced as the first day of registration. Notices to that effect were posted on the Commission bulletin boards and

the postal cards collected since 1939 were mailed.

Matters did not proceed smoothly on that first day of the new registration period. Before the day was over, Republican members of City Council appeared in the Commission offices with charges that people were coming by truckload to register, but that they were all Democrats. The allegations were that too little time had been allowed between the making of the decision and the first day of registration, and that, contrary to the usual procedure, notice of registration had not yet been printed in the official city publication. Under these circumstances the Democrats got the word to their members more quickly than did the Republicans.

The Commission agreed that it had violated its own rules in the matter of adequate legal publication. Registrations of June 15 were declared void and June 24 was designated as the opening date for new registrations. About 1,100 registered on the first day, but thereafter the daily averages of registrations received has dropped from about a hundred to a mere handful. Three weeks after the opening date the total still was less than two thousand. This represents a definite contrast to 1939 when ten thousand registered in one day.

Thus, a program of continuous registration now is in effect for all unskilled labor positions. An examination program for the first of the recent registrants also has been undertaken in order that their qualifications for placement on the eligible list for common labor may be determined. The necessity for a legal

ruling as to whether the two-year maximum life applies to a registration list as well as to regularly established eligible lists has been postponed. A system of continuous registration would seem to necessitate a ruling on this point before long.

Taxpayer Has Benefited

In spite of administrative difficulties has the placing of unskilled labor in the classified service been worth while? The writer emphatically thinks that it has. Probably no astounding improvement in the type of individuals employed has resulted, since examinations for unskilled labor jobs can scarcely be very selective. The major benefit lies in the handicap to the practice of payroll padding in the unskilled labor ranks, a practice formerly common in the months immediately preceding elections. A check on monthly payrolls for a period of several years preceding 1938 has demonstrated this fact quite conclusively.

Of particular importance is the requirement that the top individual on the eligible list must be appointed. If appointments are seasonal or otherwise temporary, the names of legally appointed employees are placed on lay-off lists in accordance with their seniority. When vacancies later occur, these lay-off lists take precedence over eligible lists. Thus, while the party in power can add names to the payroll prior to elections, in doing so it may have to appoint more members of the opposing party than of its own. With the parties finding no advantage in doing this, greater independence of voting and less waste of public money result.

Comparative Tax Rates of 276 American Cities — 1942

Average tax rate shows slight decline; assessed valuations increase by small percentage; cities of 250,000-500,000 have most favorable record.

By ROSINA K. MOHAUPT

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.

IN SPITE of salary increases to adjust for higher costs of living, and increased costs of materials and supplies, American cities have made a concerted effort to keep the tax rates at last year's level. For the first time in seven years the average tax rate of cities over 30,000 population shows a decrease. The amount of the decrease is small, averaging five cents per thousand dollars of assessed value, and is accompanied by a 1½ per cent increase in assessed value.

Cities over 500,000 population, however, do not fall in line with this general trend. As pointed out in previous tax rate studies, these cities have experienced a series of decreases in assessed valuation which have never been restored to them. This tendency was first apparent in the 1931-32 compilation and can be traced through to the present time. It was a direct outgrowth of pre-

depression assessments based on highly speculative real estate values which collapsed in the "big crash" and continued to fall during the entire decade following.

For the past six or seven years smaller cities have reported mounting assessments annually, but the larger municipalities have consistently continued to show reductions. A noticeable deceleration in the rate of this decrease in assessments may be an indication that the end of this decline is in view. For the past year assessments for the five cities over 1,000,000 (Group I in the tables) decreased less than one dollar per capita.

As in the past, the cities which have been unable to restore cuts in assessed values show the most substantial increases in tax rates over the past year. Cities over 1,000,000 population (Group I) which report a reduction in per capita assessment of forty-four

TABLE I

ANNUAL CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUE AND AVERAGE ADJUSTED TAX RATE OF AMERICAN CITIES

	<i>Per Cent of Change in Assessment</i>	<i>Average Adjusted Tax Rate, Amount of Change^a</i>
1941-42	+1.5%	— .05
1940-41	— .1	+ .02
1939-40	— 1.5	+ .29
1938-39	— .5	+ .45
1937-38	+ .8	+ .65
1936-37	— .3	+ .82
1935-36	+ .1	+ .61

^aPer \$1,000 of assessed value.

cents show the greatest increase in adjusted tax rate, twenty-two cents per thousand dollars of assessed value. All other population groups show decreases in either the unadjusted or adjusted tax rates.

Cities between 250,000 and 500,000 (Group III) show the most favorable record. They report the greatest decrease in adjusted tax rate, thirty-one cents on every thousand dollars of assessed value, and the smallest increase in assessed value. The assessments in this population group have gone up only 1.6 per cent, the smallest increase reported by any group except cities over 1,000,000. Although the adjusted tax rates of cities between

50,000 and 100,000 have gone up ten cents, this is due to the fact that assessments were made at a higher percentage of true cash value than in the past. This is apparent from the fact that the actual unadjusted rates levied went down eight cents.

Table V compares the change in assessed value over a one-year period and a five-year period and shows that the cities over 500,000 (Groups I and II) suffered reductions in assessments of approximately $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent in contrast to the increase in assessments of roughly $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in cities under 250,000 (Groups IV, V, and VI). Cities of medium size (between 250,000 and 500,000) reported

TABLE II
NUMBER OF CITIES REPORTING DECREASED ADJUSTED TAX RATE
1941-42

<i>Population Group^b</i>	<i>Decrease</i>	<i>Increase</i>	<i>No Change</i>
I	1	3	1
II	3	4	2
III	6	11	6
IV	23	15	13
V	34	31	15
VI ^c	49	40	14
Total	116	104	51

TABLE III
COMPARISON OF 1941 AND 1942 AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND
ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 271 AMERICAN CITIES

<i>Population Group^b</i>	<i>Average Unadjusted Rates Per \$1,000 of Assessed Value</i>			<i>Average Adjusted Rates Per \$1,000 of Assessed Value</i>		
	1942	1941	<i>Decrease</i>	1942	1941	<i>Decrease</i>
I	\$48.84	\$48.83	\$+ .01	\$30.79	\$30.57	\$+ .22
II	33.99	33.98	+ .01	28.43	28.56	.13
III	43.24	43.78	.54	27.39	27.70	.31
IV	39.27	40.34	1.07	28.51	28.67	.16
V	38.41	38.49	.08	27.28	27.18	+ .10
VI ^c	35.98	36.30	.32	26.20	26.26	.06
Total	\$38.03	\$38.49	\$.46	\$27.21	\$27.26	\$.05

^bThe United States Census groups cities according to population as indicated in tabulations at end of this article.

^cGroup VI as defined by the Bureau of the Census includes cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study cities under 30,000 are not compiled.

an average increase in assessments of only 1.6 per cent. Table IV shows that the cities which reported little or no increase in assessed valuation (Groups I, II, and III) showed the greatest increase in tax rates over the five-year period. A majority of these same cities reported either increased or unchanged tax rates during the past year, whereas decreased tax rates predominated in the smaller population groups.

Actual Tax Rates

The rates reported in this compilation are those actually levied on one thousand dollars of assessed valuation by the various units of government.

The total actual tax rate, therefore, represents the total amount levied on property by all units of government. In some states there are as many as eight or ten special districts performing services for property. Since the form of this compilation is very compact, it has been necessary to group all of these special districts under four headings: city, school, county and state. The proper classification of the various ad hoc units of government under one of these four headings is not always clear-cut and at times is more or less arbitrary. The general rule applied is to include under city tax rate all levies which are usually considered

TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF 1937 AND 1942 AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND
ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 224 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group ^b	Average Unadjusted Rates Per \$1,000 of Assessed Value			Average Adjusted Rates Per \$1,000 of Assessed Value		
	1942	1937	Increase	1942	1937	Increase
I	\$48.84	\$46.32	\$2.52	\$30.79	\$28.08	\$2.71
II	33.99	31.67	2.32	28.43	26.52	1.91
III	43.24	40.86	2.38	27.39	25.19	2.20
IV	39.63	38.14	1.49	28.81	27.01	1.80
V	38.27	36.56	1.71	26.64	24.92	1.72
VI ^c	36.37	35.12	1.25	26.94	25.82	1.12
Total	\$38.54	\$36.66	\$1.88	\$27.44	\$25.84	\$1.60

TABLE V
CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUE OVER ONE-YEAR AND FIVE-YEAR PERIOD

Population Group ^b	Average Per Capita Assessed Value		Per Cent Change in Assessment	Per Cent Change in Assessment
	1942	1941	1941-42	1937-42
I	\$1589	\$1589	0	-2.2%
II	1615	1573	+2.6%	-2.2
III	1188	1170	+1.6	+1.6
IV	1212	1172	+3.4	+4.8
V	1240	1216	+1.9	+4.4
VI ^c	1205	1167	+3.3	+4.3
Total	\$1394	\$1373	+1.5%	+ .2%

^bThe United States Census groups cities according to population as indicated in tabulations at end of this article.

^cGroup VI as defined by the Bureau of the Census includes cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study cities under 30,000 are not compiled.

in a majority of the municipalities studied, as falling within their jurisdiction. This includes the levies of park, library, relief, and sanitary districts. Levies of districts which do not come under the heading of city or school are included with the county tax rate. Wherever the tax rates of ad hoc units of government were included in either the city or county rates footnotes indicate the amount and nature of such additions.

Adjusted Tax Rates

A comparison of actual tax rates levied in various cities is misleading unless such rates are adjusted for variations in assessing procedures and legal provisions. In a majority of states the law prescribes a legal basis of assessment of 100 per cent of true value. However, this is not universally true. The tax laws of North Dakota and Washington specify that the legal basis of assessment shall be 50 per cent of true value; Alabama and Iowa require assessments at 60 per cent. In Arkansas, the State Corporation Commission has been made responsible for the determination of what the assessment ratio shall be and has set it at 50 per cent. The California law requires that assessments be in proportion to value, but does not indicate what that proportion shall be.

Even in cities where legal requirements specify assessments at full or true cash value extreme care must be exercised in comparing actual rates levied for it is a well known fact that assessments often fall far below the legal requirements. As a matter of fact it may be said that assessment

at full cash value or 100 per cent of the legal basis is the exception rather than the rule.

Because of these variations in legal requirements and actual assessing practices, actual tax rates levied are adjusted by applying to them the estimated ratio of assessed valuation to true cash value for each city. The adjusted tax rates computed by applying these estimated assessment ratios to the actual tax rates are all on a uniform 100 per cent basis of assessment and are therefore comparable.

While it is a fairly simple procedure to apply the assessment ratio to the actual tax rate to obtain the adjusted tax rate, the determination of the assessment ratio is practically impossible. A detailed annual analysis of the assessed values and selling prices of all types of property represented on the assessment rolls is necessary to determine this figure. Great care must be exercised to eliminate all but the bona fide, true sales. The tax commissions of some states have attempted to estimate assessment ratios for the various cities and counties within their boundaries. California, Illinois, Kentucky, New York, Oregon, and Washington make annual studies to determine these ratios. In some cities studies have been carried on from time to time by local bodies, but in a vast majority of instances there is little, if any, tangible evidence to support the assessment ratios reported.

The difficulty of obtaining a fair estimate is illustrated by the frequent differences which arise between state and local officials. This is particularly

true in the states of Illinois and New York and instances of any substantial differences are indicated in the footnotes. A point which is frequently overlooked is the fact that the assessment ratio is an average figure for the entire city and covers all types of property. Where different types of property are assessed at different ratios, to apply the average assessment ratio reported in this compilation to any single piece or type of property is likely to lead to serious errors, and should be avoided.

A closely related problem is encountered in such states as California, Pennsylvania, and Texas where the county assesses property at a different ratio of true value from the city. In such cases the total actual tax rates levied by the city and the county are adjusted individually and added to arrive at the total adjusted tax rate. The assessment ratio reported in the compilation is the weighted average of the two.

In a few instances, Pittsburgh, for instance, land is taxed at a different rate from buildings. In such cases the rate shown is the weighted average of the various individual rates.

Method of Compiling

This is the twenty-first annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population and is made possible through the coöperation of city and county officials, chambers of com-

merce, and bureaus of governmental research throughout the country. The material presented in this compilation is gathered by questionnaire.

This year Canadian cities were not included in the tabulation. Figures are shown for 276 American cities. Tables presenting 1941-42 comparisons are based on the 271 cities for which complete data in both years were available. For the 1937-42 comparisons, 224 complete schedules were available.

The cities are arranged in order of their 1940 population as determined in the decennial census. It should be noted that the composition of the population groups is somewhat different from that of previous years. This change was made to conform with changes initiated by the Bureau of the Census in its recent reports.

Assessment figures reported are those set by the cities and are different from the county figures in those jurisdictions in which the county assesses at a different ratio. Because of different tax rates on real and personal property and varying bases of assessment it is impossible to determine the total tax levies by multiplying the assessed values shown by the total tax rates. This is a common misuse of the figures in this compilation and should be avoided.

(See following pages for complete tabulation.)

COMPARATIVE TAX RATES OF 276 AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1942

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Person- alty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Install- ment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per \$1,000 Assessed Valuation				Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess- ment	Amount of Home- stead Ex- emption
							City	School	County	State			
Group I 1,000,000 or over													
1 New York, N. Y. ¹	7,454,995	\$16,115,642,742	100	July 1	Oct. 1	2	\$22.17*	\$ 7.15*	\$.48*	—	—	1	
2 Chicago, Ill. ²	3,396,808	1,935,481,424	70	Jan. 1	—	2	56.30	35.60	7.00	N	37	2	
3 Philadelphia, Pa. ³	1,931,334	3,136,832,739	79	Jan. 1	Jan. 25	1	17.50	11.75	N	N	100	3	
4 Detroit, Mich. ⁴	1,623,452	2,724,495,430	73	July 1	Aug. 15	2	18.95	10.03	4.85	N	33.83	4	
5 Los Angeles, Cal. ⁴	1,504,277	1,365,765,665	81	July 1	Nov. 1	2	17.01	15.94	19.98	N	50	5	
Group II 500,000 to 1,000,000													
6 Cleveland, Ohio ⁶	878,336	1,260,962,930	84	Jan. 1	Apr. 28	2	16.57	9.90	5.33	N	80	6	
7 Baltimore, Md. ⁶	859,100	1,595,886,470	68	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	Op.	21.20	5.30	N	1.40	100	7	
8 St. Louis, Mo.	816,048	1,064,467,520	87	Apr. 8	Sept. 15	4	17.50	8.70	N	1.20	85	8	
9 Boston, Mass.	770,816	1,466,138,400	95	Jan. 1	July 1	10	27.24	8.88	2.08	2.80	100	9	
10 Pittsburgh, Pa. ⁷	671,659	1,031,839,080	100	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	12	16.69	11.75	7.75	N	80	10	
11 Washington, D. C. ⁸	663,091	1,451,303,009	91	July 1	Sept. 1	2	—	—	N	N	90	11	
12 San Francisco, Cal. ⁹	634,536	826,470,320	86	July 1	Oct. 26	2	36.05	7.91	N	N	50	12	
13 Milwaukee, Wis. ¹⁰	587,472	817,872,040	90	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	10	16.39	11.01	10.63	.35	95	13	
14 Buffalo, N. Y. ¹¹	575,901	909,868,130	100	July 1	July 1	2	25.28	7.34	8.96	.22	84	14	

See also general notes at end of tabulation.

N=None. —Figures or breakdown not available.

Op.=Optional.

These cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and county, or for land and buildings. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

NO STATE LEVY ON PROPERTY in the following states: California, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon (this year), Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, and Virginia. No state tax levy on real estate in Pennsylvania.

New York City. Rate shown is for borough of Manhattan. Total rates for Bronx is \$29.80; Queens, \$31.40; and Richmond, \$30.00. Total rates include levy for reassessment of special assessments which are borough-wide in character. Breakdown of total rate estimated from appropriations. Local authorities report assessments far in excess of 100% of true cash value although State Tax Commission publishes 95% assessments for 1942-43. See footnote 6.

Chicago. City rate includes \$11.50 park and \$8.00 sanitary district rates. County rate includes \$1.00 forest preserve. See footnote aa.

Philadelphia. City rate includes levy for county which is consolidated with city. Assessment includes approximately \$725,000,000 "money at interest" taxed at 4 mills by the city and county each. See footnote t.

Los Angeles. County rate includes \$1.70 flood control on land and improvements only and \$4.80 metropolitan water.

Cleveland. Assessed value does not include intangible personally assessed on income at from 2 to 5 mills, but does include approximately \$160,000,000 tangible personal property taxed at same rate as realty but assessed at 50% to 70% of full value. See footnote q.

Baltimore. Assessed value includes \$47,500,000 shares of banks and trust companies, \$224,000,000 deposits in savings banks, and \$36,629,500 railroad securities taxed at \$10.00, \$1.875, and \$3.00 respectively. School rate estimated from appropriations.

Pittsburgh. City rate is average of \$22.50 rate on land and \$11.25 on buildings. Because of varying proportions of land to building on different pieces of property, the rate actually varies from \$10 to \$20. See footnote t.

Washington, D. C. Valuation does not include intangible personally subject to income tax. School rate included in city. Home owners may pay in four installments.

San Francisco. Assessed value does not include \$187,493,850 solvent credits taxable at one mill. Combined city-county governmental organization.

Milwaukee. City rate includes \$2.40 for retirement of debt of Metropolitan Sewerage Commission.

Buffalo. City rate includes \$2.00 debt service for schools.

Group III

Population 250,000 to 500,000

New Orleans, La.¹²

494,537

Minneapolis, Minn.^k

492,370

Cincinnati, Ohio²³

455,610

Newark, N. J.ⁿ

429,760

Kansas City, Mo.¹⁴

399,178

Indianapolis, Ind.^o

386,972

Houston, Tex.^w

384,514

Seattle, Wash.¹⁵

368,302

Rochester, N. Y.^o

324,975

Denver, Colo.¹⁶

322,412

Louisville, Ky.²⁷

319,077

Columbus, Ohio^q

305,087

Portland, Ore.¹⁸

305,394

Atlanta, Ga.¹⁹

302,288

Oakland, Cal.²⁰

302,163

Jersey City, N. J.^a

301,173

Dallas, Tex.^w

294,734

Memphis, Tenn.²¹

292,942

St. Paul, Minn.²²

287,736

Toledo, Ohio⁴

282,349

Birmingham, Ala.^a

267,583

San Antonio, Tex.^w

253,854

Providence, R. I.²³

253,504

Group IV

Population 100,000 to 250,000

Akron, Ohio

244,791

Omaha, Neb.

245,121,328

Dayton, Ohio²⁴

210,718

New Orleans. Figure in county column is levee and flood reparation rate.

¹²Cincinnati. Intangible personality taxed on income not included in assessed

valuation.

^kKansas City. Park rate of \$.25 and boulevard rate of \$.10 on front footage of

only not included.

¹⁴Seattle. County rate includes \$1.30 Port of Seattle rate. See footnote y.

¹⁵Denver. Consolidated city-county rate due to city-county governmental organ-

ization.

¹⁶Louisville. Real estate rate shown. Rate on personal property is \$31.00.

¹⁸Portland, Ore. City rate includes \$1.53 dock and \$.60 port rates. No state prop-

erty tax levied this year.

Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Person- alty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or Instal- ment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per \$1,000 Assessed Valuation				Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess- ment	Amount of Home- stead Ex- emption
						City	School	County	State	Total		
	505,762,489	69	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	21.50	7.00	5.50	5.75	39.75	71½	2,000 ^e
	230,613,836	83	Jan. 1	Jan. 5	4	53.80	25.63	11.90	8.67	100	35	35.00
	869,909,170	86	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	10	10.70	7.49	3.01	N	21.20	80	16.96
	435,610	75	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	31.30	12.10	6.80	2.70	52.90	100	52.90
	695,907,970	70	May 1	June 1	1	14.75	14.00	6.90	1.20	36.85	75	27.63
	509,650,341	70	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	14.35	9.56	7.19	1.40	32.50	75	24.38
	523,786,450	72	Jan. 1	July 1	Op.	19.75	11.10	8.60	7.50	46.95	47½	3,000 ^w
	368,113,900	73	Jan. 1	Feb. 9	2	22.40	13.50	13.60	2.40	51.90	47	21.87
	248,336,903	77	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	4	19.40	10.55	11.03	—	40.98	90	24.39
	526,479,463	100	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	17.15	16.00	N	4.25	37.40	80	29.92
	322,412	71	Sept. 1	May 1	1	16.15	7.85	4.00	.50	28.50	85	24.23
	436,113,403	72	Jan. 1	Jan. 20	2	8.10	8.20	2.60	N	18.90	100	18.90
	381,167,740	78	July 1	Nov. 15	4	21.90	13.60	14.10	N	49.60	57	28.27
	316,443,610	84	Jan. 1	May 1	3	11.20	6.30	13.50	5.00	36.00	59½	21.20
	359,376,399	70	July 1	Nov. 1	2	20.90	15.92	15.48	N	52.30	35	18.31
	273,124,330	—	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	26.12	10.35	13.80	3.46	53.73	100	53.73
	599,595,520	90	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	2	17.00	7.50	7.00	7.50	39.00	53	20.67
	306,151,560	68	Oct. 1	May 1	2	14.80	6.50	8.70	.80	30.80	85	26.18
	301,123,702	71	Jan. 1	Jan. 5	2	43.34	20.00	30.69	8.67	102.70	35	35.94
	132,239,478	83	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	7.86	8.15	2.59	N	18.60	100	18.60
	443,000,000	89	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	4	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	30	10.80
	178,930,321	85	Sept. 1	Apr. 1	1	18.60	10.30	6.50	7.50	42.90	64½	27.28
	214,216,410	75	June 1	Oct. 1	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	110	27.50
	505,017,720	80	Oct. 1	Dec. 20	2	15.12	11.33	3.11	N	29.56	60	17.74
	283,000,000 ^w	70	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	16.25	15.00	4.91	3.04	39.20	70	27.44
	244,791	30	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	8.61	9.30	3.49	N	21.40	80	17.12
	245,121,328	77	Jan. 1									
	313,194,230	100										

¹⁹Atlanta. School rate includes \$1.50 levied on property in city limits for county schools. See footnote d.

²⁰Oakland. County rate includes \$2.00 for municipal water district, \$.08 for mosquito abatement, and \$.50 for regional park district.

²¹Memphis. City rate includes \$1.10 park and \$.30 library rates.

²²St. Paul. Homestead property taxed at \$94.27 (\$32.99 adjusted). See footnote k.

²³Providence. Assessed value does not include \$195,511,800 intangible personal property taxed at four mills. See footnote u.

²⁴Dayton. City rate includes \$2.64 and county rate includes \$.37 conservancy rate for flood control.

Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Person- ality	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or Instal- ment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per \$1,000 Assessed Valuation				Estimated Ratio of Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess- ment	Amount of Home- stead Ex- emption
						City	School	County	State	Total		
41	Syracuse, N. Y. ^o	205,967	100	Jan. 1	4	19.73	9.57	10.53	.22	40.05	40.05	41
42	Oklahoma City, Okla. ²⁶	204,424	88	Jan. 1	4	17.92	19.45	10.31	N	47.68	19.07	42
43	San Diego, Cal.	203,341	77	Nov. 1	2	19.70	18.00	19.30	N	57.00	28.50	43
44	Worcester, Mass. ^h	193,694	90	Jan. 1	Op.	26.45	8.74	.99	1.82	38.00	38.00	44
45	Richmond, Va.	193,042	85	June 1	10	14.50	7.50	N	N	22.00	22.00	45
46	Honolulu, Hawaii ²⁰	179,358	—	June 20	2	25.95	—	N	N	25.95	20.76	46
47	Fort Worth, Tex. ²⁷	168,773	74	Oct. 1	2	21.90	11.00	9.00	5.80	47.70	29.33	47
48	Jacksonville, Fla. ²⁸	173,065	88	Nov. 1	1	20.50	8.00	6.47	N	34.97	24.72	48
49	Miami, Fla. ²⁰	172,172	88	July 1	1	29.90	—	—	N	—	—	49
50	Youngstown, Ohio ²⁰	167,720	87	Feb. 5	2	7.96	8.03	2.61	N	18.60	14.88	50
51	Nashville, Tenn.	167,402	70	Aug. 1	2	17.66	3.34	9.10	11.30	41.40	41.40	51
52	Hartford, Conn. ²¹	166,267	80	Apr. 1	4	18.60	11.65	.54	1.21	32.00	32.00	52
53	Grand Rapids, Mich. ¹	164,292	89	July 1	1	9.16	7.80	3.10	N	20.06	20.06	53
54	Long Beach, Cal. ²²	164,271	82	Nov. 1	2	11.22	14.50	19.99	N	45.71	24.55	54
55	New Haven, Conn.	160,605	—	Jan. 1	2	16.00	10.51	.36	.63	27.50	27.50	55
56	Des Moines, Iowa ²³	159,819	77	Jan. 1	2	18.66	22.45	16.75	1.25	59.11	40.19	56
57	Flint, Michigan ¹	151,543	79	July 1	3	9.47	7.52	3.35	N	20.34	20.34	57
58	Salt Lake City, Utah ²⁴	149,934	66	Nov. 1	1	15.00	13.17	6.50	4.70	39.37	27.56	58
59	Springfield, Mass.	145,554	92	July 1	2	20.38	12.02*	1.38	2.42	36.20	36.20	59
60	Bridgeport, Conn.	147,121	72	Apr. 1	2	21.61	5.52	.20	.97	28.30	28.30	60
61	Norfolk, Va. ²⁵	144,332	87	Jan. 1	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	20.00	61
62	Yonkers, N. Y. ^o	142,598	100	Mar. 15	4	24.14	9.65	5.43	.18	39.40	39.01	62
63	Tulsa, Okla. ²	142,157	81	Oct. 1	4	20.55	18.04	7.05	N	54.64	22.82	63
64	Scranton, Pa. ²⁶	140,404	100	Jan. 15	4	19.80	24.00	9.20	N	53.00	37.10	64
65	Paterson, N. J. ²	139,656	90	Feb. 1	4	17.47	15.92	8.36	2.85	44.60	35.68	65
66	Albany, N. Y. ²⁷	130,577	100	Jan. 1	1	26.99	—	7.82	.17	34.98	33.58	66
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.	128,163	Not reporting	Jan. 1	4	19.39	17.14	8.25	2.82	47.60	40.46	67
68	Trenton, N. J. ²⁸	151,490	83	Feb. 1	4	18.00	11.50	10.50	2.20	42.20	47.60	68
69	Spokane, Wash. ²⁹	122,001	76	Mar. 15	2	21.96	21.80	12.70	1.99	58.45	19.83	69
70	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	78	Nov. 11	2	—	—	—	—	—	29.23	70

²⁰Oklahoma City. First \$1,000 of homestead assessment taxed at \$12.52 (\$5.01 adjusted).

²¹Honolulu. City rate covers cost of school and county government. Land assessed at 60% of true value. Homestead Exemption: First \$1,500 of assessed value plus one-half of value between \$1,500 and \$5,000, maximum \$3,250.

²²Fort Worth. City rate includes \$3.60 water control.

²³Jacksonville. County rate includes \$.25 navigation and \$.43 air base authority rates.

²⁴Miami. School and county rates not available. City assessment is approximately 60% of true cash value.

²⁵Youngstown. City rate includes \$.12 township and \$2.05 sanitary district rates.

²⁶Des Moines. Money and credits (\$38,783.743) taxed at six mills not included in assessed value. See general footnote u.

²⁷Salt Lake City. County rate includes \$.10 water district and \$.20 mosquito abatement rates. See general footnote u.

²⁸Norfolk, et al. School rate included in city rate.

²⁹Scranton. City rate is weighted average of \$27.82 on land and \$13.91 on buildings. See footnote t.

³⁰Albany. School rate included in city rate. See footnote o.

	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Person- alty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Install- ment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per \$1,000 Assessed Valuation				Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess- ment	Amount of Home- stead Ex- emption
							City	School	County	State	Total		
1 Fort Wayne, Ind. ³³	118,410	170,000,000*	77	Jan. 1	May 3	2	6.50	8.80	5.40	1.20	21.90	16.43	71
2 Camden, N. J. ^a	117,536	135,851,846	79	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	20.95	15.04	10.04	2.77	48.80	34.16	72
3 Erie, Pa. ^t	116,955	125,424,320	100	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	Op.	14.75	17.00	7.00	N	38.75	36.30	73
4 Fall River, Mass.	115,428	Not reporting											74
5 Wichita, Kans.	114,966	125,496,202	75	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	15.85	17.98	8.78	1.99	44.60	28.99	75
6 Wilmington, Del.	112,504	163,215,125	98	July 1	July 1	—	14.50	1.50	4.00	N	20.00	16.00	76
7 Gary, Ind. ³⁴	111,719	135,628,305	65	Jan. 1	May 4	12	11.75	12.80	11.05	1.40	37.00	14.80	77
8 Knoxville, Tenn. ³⁵	111,580	131,674,170	73	Jan. 1	May 1	2	26.00	—	15.20	.80	42.00	33.60	78
9 Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	Not reporting											79
10 Reading, Pa. ^t	110,568	142,356,950	100	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	1	11.00	15.00	6.50	N	32.50	30.68	80
11 New Bedford, Mass. ³⁶	110,341	95,703,275	88	Jan. 1	July 1	2	41.64	—	1.77	3.19	46.60	46.60	81
12 Elizabeth, N. J. ^a	109,912	136,446,148	88	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	16.86	16.56	7.12	2.86	43.40	43.40	82
13 Tacoma, Wash. ⁴⁰	109,408	50,058,482	74	Jan. 1	Feb. 15	2	22.33	13.00	13.51	2.62	51.46	25.73	83
14 Canton, Ohio ^t	108,401	152,768,920	78	Jan. 1	June 20	2	5.20	8.70	2.60	N	16.50	13.20	84
15 Tampa, Fla. ⁴¹	108,391	86,500,770	70	July 1	June 1	—	29.00	—	—	—	—	—	85
16 Sacramento, Cal. ⁴²	105,958	130,863,300	87	July 1	Nov. 1	2	18.90	16.95	13.95	N	49.80	29.06	86
17 Peoria, Ill. ⁴³	105,087	81,887,614	69	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	2	29.25	17.50	4.25	N	51.00	17.85	87
18 Somerville, Mass.	102,177	113,069,300	82	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	10	24.06	11.03	1.19	4.72	41.00	41.00	88
19 Lowell, Mass. ³⁸	101,389	93,732,375	92	Jan. 1	Oct. 15	10	41.97	—	1.33	2.70	46.00	46.00	89
20 South Bend, Ind. ⁴⁴	101,268	147,420,200	73	Jan. 1	May 1	2	8.05	11.55	7.20	1.20	28.00	19.60	90
21 Duluth, Minn. ⁴⁴	101,065	47,298,244	78	Jan. 1	Jan. 5	4	42.82	38.41	22.40	8.67	112.30	37.06	91
22 Charlotte, N. C. ⁴⁵	100,899	121,608,690	75	July 1	Oct. 5	12	10.95	2.85	8.40	N	22.20	14.87	92
23 Utica, N. Y. ⁴⁶	100,518	124,527,785	100	Jan. 1	June 1	2	26.73	10.13	8.82	.20	45.88	36.70	93
Group V													
Population 50,000 to 100,000													
24 Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	178,786,058	75	Jan. 1	May 1	2	19.90	9.23	.32	1.30	30.75	24.60	94
25 Shreveport, La. ⁴⁷	98,167	102,544,560	65	Jan. 1	Dec. 1	1	16.00	4.00	2.00	5.75	27.75	17.59	95
26 Lynn, Mass.	98,123	131,805,105	92	Jan. 1	July 1	2	21.51	9.85	1.57	2.87	35.80	35.80	96
27 Evansville, Ind. ⁴⁸	97,062	120,851,700	—	Jan. 1	May 1	2	10.30	10.00	12.10	1.50	33.90	25.42	97
28 Allentown, Pa. ^t	96,904	106,003,700	100	Jan. 5	Apr. 1	4	12.40	15.00	5.00	N	32.40	24.30	98
29 El Paso, Tex.	96,810	80,530,400	73	Mar. 1	Dec. 1	2	13.50	11.50	8.00	5.80	38.80	24.40	99
30 Savannah, Ga.	95,996	Not reporting											100

³³Fort Wayne. City rate includes \$.80 library rate. County rate includes \$1.30 township rate.

³⁴Gary. City rate includes \$1.95 sanitary district rate. County rate includes \$5.37 township rate.

³⁵Tacoma. City rate includes \$2.50 park rate. County rate includes \$2.25 port district rate. See general footnote v.

³⁶Tampa. Rate of District A (53% of entire city) shown.

³⁷Sacramento. County rate includes \$.30 utility district and \$.30 flood control rates.

³⁸Peoria. City rate includes \$2.05 park, \$.80 sanitary district, and \$.30 town rates. See general footnote aa.

³⁹Duluth. Rate shown applies to non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is \$103.87 (\$34.28 adjusted). See general footnote k.

⁴⁰Charlotte. Assessed value for 1942 subject to increase by amount of late returns which come in until June 30, 1943.

⁴¹Evansville. City rate includes \$.80 library rate. County rate includes \$.540 town-ship rate.

Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Person- alty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or Instal- ment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per \$1,000 Assessed Valuation				Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Asses- ment	Amount of Home- stead Ex- emption
						City	School	County	State	Total		
133 Hammond, Ind. ^a	70,184	75	Jan. 1	July 1	2	12.70	—	—	—	—	—	133
134 Newton, Mass. ^b	69,873	90	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	2	—	—	—	—	100	28.00	134
135 Roanoke, Va. ^c	69,287	84	Jan. 1	—	4	25.00	—	N	N	50	12.50	135
136 Lakewood, Ohio ^a	69,160	90	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	7.17	13.00	5.33	N	25.50	19.13	136
137 East Orange N. J. ^a	68,945	92	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	18.14	12.21	7.09	2.86	40.30	40.30	137
138 New Britain, Conn.	68,685	80	Apr. 1	May 15	1	15.71	11.59	.44	1.26	29.00	29.00	138
139 San Jose, Cal. ^{de}	68,439	—	Dec. 1	Nov. 1	2	15.43	16.76	14.02	N	46.21	23.11	139
140 Charleston, W. Va.	67,914	Not reporting								50		140
141 Topeka, Kans.	67,833	57	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	14.46	17.75	6.80	1.99	41.00	28.70	141
142 Madison, Wis.	67,447	81	Jan. 1	Feb. 28	5	8.92	11.42	5.96	.20	26.50	25.97	142
143 Mt. Vernon, N. Y. ^e	67,362	100	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	13.67	12.82	7.31	—	33.80	33.80	143
144 Racine, Wis.	67,195	89	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	7.06	11.42	7.34	.22	26.04	23.70	144
145 Johnstown, Pa.	66,668	Not reporting								91		145
146 Pontiac, Mich. ^f	66,626	67	Jan. 1	Aug. 15	1	12.30	8.11	6.16	N	26.57	26.57	146
147 Davenport, Iowa ^g	66,039	92	Apr. 1	Sept. 1	1	17.00	17.19	10.81	1.24	46.24	27.74	147
148 Oak Park, Ill. ^{de}	66,015	85	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	2	29.90	33.10	8.10	N	71.10	26.31	148
149 Augusta, Ga.	65,919	70	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	3	21.00	14.00	9.00	5.00	49.00	28.56	149
150 Phoenix, Ariz.	65,414	73	July 1	Oct. 12	2	17.90	13.60	1.90	12.60	46.00	30.16	150
151 Evanston, Ill. ^{gr}	65,389	83	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	2	28.27	37.11	7.50	N	72.88	26.97	151
152 Cicero, Ill.	64,712	Not reporting								37		152
153 Atlantic City, N. J. ^a	64,094	91	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	33.37	10.70	10.19	2.94	57.20	57.20	153
154 Dearborn, Mich. ^{es}	63,584	61	July 1	July 1	4	11.54	9.83	5.69	N	27.06	27.06	154
155 Medford, Mass. ^a	63,583	96	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	4	—	—	—	—	41.00	41.00	155
156 Terre Haute, Ind. ^e	62,693	66	Jan. 1	May 4	2	13.61	13.33	11.06	1.40	39.40	31.52	156
157 Columbia, S. C.	62,396	Not reporting								80		157
158 Brockton, Mass.	62,343	Not reporting								60		158
159 Cedar Rapids, Iowa ^{eo}	62,120	78	Apr. 1	Jan. 1	2	14.96	19.56	7.47	—	41.99	25.19	159
160 Jackson, Miss. ^m	62,107	72	Oct. 1	Dec. 15	3	19.55	9.25	11.90	6.00	46.70	32.69	160
161 Covington, Ky.	62,018	74	Jan. 1	June 1	2	14.80	11.40	5.60	.50	32.30	22.61	161
162 Passaic, N. J. ^a	61,394	86	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	21.20	16.30	8.35	2.85	48.70	48.70	162
163 Lancaster, Pa. ^t	61,345	100	Jan. 5	May 1	1	6.00	10.50	1.50	N	18.00	18.00	163
164 Springfield, Mo.	61,238	73	Jan. 1	Sept. 1	1	16.00	14.50	5.50	1.20	37.00	24.05	164

^{ea}Hammond. City rate includes \$2.55 sanitary district rate. Rates for remaining governmental units not available.

^{eb}San Jose. Rates shown do not include tax of approximately \$5.00 on land only for water conservation.

^{ec}Oak Park. City rate includes \$8.00 sanitary district, \$3.30 township poor relief and \$2.90 park district rates. County rate includes \$1.00 forest preserve and \$1.10 mosquito abatement and driveway maintenance rates. See general note aa.

^{ed}Evanston. City rate includes \$3.00 poor relief, \$10 township, \$8.00 sanitary district and \$60 park rates. County rate includes \$.50 mosquito abatement and \$1.00 forest preserve rates. See general footnote aa.

^{ee}Dearborn. School rate shown is average of individual rates of five school districts.

^{ef}Cedar Rapids. Assessed value does not include \$23,700,163 moneys and credits taxed at five mills. See general footnote f.

Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Person- ality	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Install- ment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per \$1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess- ment	Amount of Home- stead Ex- emption	
						City	School	County	State	Total				
65	Wheeling, W. Va. ⁶⁰	49	51	July 1	Oct. 1	4.16	5.83	3.95	.07	14.01	75	10.50	Note ^a 165	
66	Galveston, Tex.	Not reporting											166	
67	St. Petersburg, Fla. ⁶¹	91	9	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	25.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	167	
68	Fresno, Cal.	84	16	July 1	Oct. 1	17.49	9.50	—	N	43.09	50	21.55	5,000 ^e 168	
69	Durham, N. C.	65	35	July 1	Oct. 5	12.30	3.20	6.00	N	21.50	75	16.13	Note ^p 169	
70	Durham, N. C.	79	21	July 1	Sept. 1	11.95	.93	7.50	N	20.38	80	16.30	Note ^p 170	
71	Decatur, Ill. ⁶²	83	17	May 1	June 1	28.90	21.80	4.50	N	55.20	35	19.32	171	
72	Chester, Pa. ^t	100	100	Jan. 5	Mar. 1	14.90	15.00	4.55	N	34.45	86 ^g	29.64	172	
73	Beaumont, Tex.	Not reporting											173	
74	Bethlehem, Pa. ^t	100	100	Jan. 1	Feb. 15	12.00	16.00	8.50	N	36.50	64 ^g	23.42	174	
75	New Rochelle, N. Y. ^e	100	100	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	19.00	10.70	6.50	—	36.20	100	36.20	175	
76	Malden, Mass.	90	10	Jan. 1	July 1	26.32	7.78	1.82	6.48	42.40	100	42.40	176	
77	Macon, Ga. ^d	84	16	Jan. 1	Apr. 15	15.00	11.91	14.09	5.00	46.00	50	23.00	2,000 ^d 177	
78	Corpus Christi, Tex. ⁶³	81	19	Aug. 1	Oct. 1	21.50	13.50	10.40	7.50	52.90	67 ^g	35.20	3,000 ^w 178	
79	York, Pa. ^t	100	100	Jan. 5	Mar. 2	10.50	18.00	4.00	N	32.50	63 ^g	20.60	179	
80	Union City, N. J.	Not reporting											180	
81	Waco, Tex.	Not reporting											181	
82	McKeesport, Pa. ^t	55,982	55,927,975	100	Jan. 5	Mar. 1	14.50	17.00	8.75	N	40.25	26.34	182	
83	Irvington, N. J.	55,355	55,927,975	100	Jan. 5	Mar. 1	14.50	17.00	8.75	N	40.25	26.34	183	
84	Cleveland Heights, Ohio ^a	53,328	Not reporting	93	Jan. 1	Apr. 28	3.87	14.30	5.33	N	23.50	14.10	184	
85	Stockton, Cal.	54,714	107,207,600	87	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	19.80	12.08	18.90	N	50.78	28.76	185	
86	East Chicago, Ind.	54,637	Not reporting										186	
87	Kalamazoo, Mich. ^j	54,097	75,229,183	76	Jan. 1	July 1	9.24	11.79	4.60	N	25.63	25.63	187	
88	Holyoke, Mass. ⁶⁶	53,750	72,307,770	95	Jan. 1	July 1	25.36	—	1.63	2.66	29.65	100	29.65	188
89	Santa Monica, Cal. ⁶⁴	53,500	54,251,985	70	July 1	Nov. 1	19.00	14.38	19.99	N	53.37	26.69	189	
90	Columbus, Ga. ^d	53,280	42,313,720	76	Jan. 1	Aug. 1	14.00	8.00	9.00	5.00	36.00	21.67	2,000 ^d 190	
91	Pueblo, Colo. ⁶⁵	52,162	27,802,123	75	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	30.70	33.55	11.90	4.25	80.40	70	56.28	191
92	Waterloo, Iowa ⁶⁸	51,743	34,200,000*	78	Apr. 1	Mar. 1	14.71	16.65	9.27	—	40.63	24.38	2,500 ^f 192	
93	Amarillo, Tex.	51,686	60,619,950	75	Sept. 30	Oct. 1	11.90	10.30	5.90	7.50	35.60	69 ^g	3,000 ^w 193	
94	Ashville, N. C.	51,310	54,754,000*	85	Oct. 1	Oct. 1	15.30	5.40	8.90	N	29.60	22.20	Note ^p 194	
95	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	89,081,400	73	July 1	July 1	14.65	11.85	4.84	N	31.34	31.34	195	
⁶⁰ Wheeling. Rates reported are weighted averages of rates on class I, II, and IV property. Average rates shown are based on Old Town rates. See general footnote z.														
⁶¹ St. Petersburg. Rate of Old Territory district shown. Rates in other districts vary from \$19 to \$24.														
⁶² Decatur. City rate includes \$5.30 township, \$3.20 road and bridge, \$2.70 park district, \$2.20 sanitary district, and \$1.00 tuberculosis sanitarium rate.														
⁶³ Corpus Christi. County rate includes \$4.44 navigation rate.														
⁶⁴ Santa Monica. County rate includes \$4.80 metropolitan water district and \$1.70 county flood control rate.														
⁶⁵ Pueblo. County rate includes \$1.00 water district rate.														
⁶⁶ Waterloo. Rates shown are for east side and include money and credits rate deducted in past. See general footnote f.														

⁶⁰Wheeling. Rates reported are weighted averages of rates on class I, II, and IV property. Average rates shown are based on Old Town rates. See general footnote z.

⁶¹St. Petersburg. Rate of Old Territory district shown. Rates in other districts vary from \$19 to \$24.

⁶²Decatur. City rate includes \$5.30 township, \$3.20 road and bridge, \$2.70 park district, \$2.20 sanitary district, and \$1.00 tuberculosis sanitarium rate.

^aCorpus Christi. County rate includes \$.44 navigation rate.

^bSanta Monica. County rate includes \$.80 metropolitan water district and \$.70 county flood control rate.

^cPueblo. County rate includes \$1.00 water district rate.

^dWaterloo. Rates shown are for east side and include money and credits rate deducted in past. See general footnote f.

Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Person- alty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Install- ment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per \$1,000 Assessed Valuation				Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess- ment	Amount of Home- stead Ex- emption
						City	School	County	State	Total		
196 Portsmouth, Va. ³⁵	33,407,239	85	Jan. 1	July 6	2	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	70	17.50
197 Hamilton, Ohio ³⁶	67,512,851	82	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	2	8.84	7.51	2.37	N	18.72	70	13.10
198 Hoboken, N. J. Group VI	50,115	Not reporting										196
199 Population 30,000 to 50,000												197
200 Hamtramck, Mich.	77,784,100	55	July 1	July 15	2	20.00	10.50	4.84	N	35.34	80	198
201 Brookline, Mass.	Not reporting											
202 Muncie, Ind.	Not reporting											
203 Pittsfield, Mass. ³⁸	49,698,420	91	Jan. 1	July 1	2	29.18	—	1.62	2.60	33.40	100	201
204 Jackson, Mich. ³	60,887,300	85	July 1	July 20	5	9.31	8.39	4.45	N	22.15	80	202
205 Lexington, Ky.	66,717,033	66	Jan. 1	June 1	2	18.00	7.80	4.80	N	31.10	90	203
206 Woonsocket, R. I. ^u	75,445,830	74	Jan. 1	Oct. 10	4	25.00	—	—	N	25.00	100	204
207 Clifton, N. J.	Not reporting											205
208 Kenosha, Wis.	71,325,040	90	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	8.09	13.69	12.41	N	35.00	83	206
209 Berwyn, Ill. ³⁸	20,749,307	92	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	2	21.00	40.60	15.00	N	76.60	37	207
210 Bay City, Mich. ³	46,469,805	82	July 1	Aug. 1	1	21.33	9.33	6.79*	N	37.45	75	208
211 Stamford, Conn. ³⁸	110,680,644	83	Nov. 3	Sept. 1	1	—	—	—	—	31.60	100	209
212 Muskegon, Mich. ³	54,606,525	78	Jan. 1	Dec. 1	1	9.43	9.46	4.70	N	23.59	100	210
213 New Castle, Pa. ^t	48,694,960	100	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	Op.	11.00	17.50	3.00	N	31.50	98	211
214 Aurora, Ill.	Not reporting											212
215 Cranston, R. I. ^u	79,529,960	88	Oct. 1	Oct. 15	4	23.00	—	N	N	23.00	100	213
216 Raleigh, N. C.	65,695,803	80	July 1	Oct. 5	Op.	13.50	4.80	3.90	N	22.20	70	214
217 Everett, Mass.	74,395,125	87	Jan. 1	July 1	2	22.02	7.74	1.11	4.13	35.00	100	215
218 Haverhill, Mass.	50,022,275	88	Jan. 1	July 1	1	29.40	7.56	1.03	1.16	35.00	100	216
219 Green Bay, Wis. ³⁸	56,234,835	87	Jan. 1	Feb. 28	2	10.34	14.18	7.53	N	39.15	100	217
220 Port Arthur, Tex.	30,121,790	81	July 1	Oct. 1	2	19.00	7.50	8.30	7.50	32.30	80	218
221 Wichita Falls, Tex.	Not reporting									42.30	59	219
222 Elmira, N. Y. ^o	49,316,213	100	Jan. 1	May 15	2	24.88	11.50	6.29	—	42.67	85	220
223 Lima, Ohio ^a	52,064,243	82	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	8.30	7.35	3.55	N	19.20	70	221
224 Lynchburg, Va.	43,412,116	92	Jan. 1	July 1	3	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	222
225 Williamsport, Pa. ^t	29,676,910	100	Jan. 5	Apr. 1	Op.	13.75	22.00	10.00	N	45.75	56	223
226 Lorain, Ohio ⁴	78,462,580	82	Jan. 1	June 1	2	6.12	6.14	2.44	N	14.70	100	224
227 Dubuque, Iowa	Not reporting											225
228 Ogden, Utah	Not reporting											226
229 San Bernardino, Cal. ⁿ	29,867,930	67	July 1	Nov. 1	2	12.91	19.80	18.50	N	51.21	50	227
230												228

³⁵Hamilton. City rate includes \$3.60 conservancy rate.
³⁶Berwyn. City rate includes \$3.80 township poor relief rate. See general foot-note at a.
³⁷Stamford. Rate shown is for first district; rate for third district is \$10.10.
³⁸Green Bay. City rate includes \$2.00 metropolitan sewage district rate.
³⁹San Bernardino. County rate includes \$1.50 flood control rate.

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							City	School	County	State	Total	
229 Battle Creek, Mich. ¹	43,453	69,548,050	74	26	July 1	1	8.50	7.90	3.00	N	19.40	229
230 Warren, Ohio ²	42,837	60,189,102	77	23	Jan. 1	2	6.50	8.00	3.50	N	18.00	230
231 Rock Island, Ill.	42,775	Not reporting										231
232 La Crosse, Wis.	42,707	53,039,570	88	12	Jan. 1	2	9.78	10.09	10.99	.23	31.09	232
233 Jamestown, N. Y. ^o	42,638	56,700,378	100		Jan. 1	1	14.92	14.69	7.61	—	37.22	233
234 Joliet, Ill.	42,365	Not reporting										234
235 Fitchburg, Mass.	41,824	48,283,700	85	15	Jan. 1	2	24.00	10.44	1.33	2.23	38.00	235
236 Chicopee, Mass. ^h	41,664	38,186,390	93	7	Jan. 1	1	—	—	—	—	43.00	236
237 Bloomfield, N. J. ^a	41,623	66,108,070	88	12	Jan. 1	4	13.19	15.06	7.25	2.90	38.40	237
238 Anderson, Ind.	41,572	Not reporting			Feb. 1							238
239 Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	Not reporting										239
240 Chelsea, Mass.	41,259	44,688,010	90	10	Jan. 1	2	34.68	10.28	N	4.84	49.80	240
241 Perth Amboy, N. J. ^a	41,242	46,129,322	97	3	Jan. 1	4	20.07	19.33	12.95	2.95	55.30	241
242 Salem, Mass.	41,213	54,254,530	88	12	Jan. 1	10	17.76	10.07	3.10	2.57	33.50	242
243 Sioux Falls, S. Dak.	40,832	Not reporting			—							243
244 Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	51,414,295	88	12	Jan. 1	2	15.31	11.37	5.76	.23	32.67	244
245 Poughkeepsie, N. Y. ^o	40,478	52,060,884	100		Jan. 1	4	27.29	8.21	6.03	—	41.53	245
246 Quincy, Ill.	40,469	Not reporting										246
247 Portsmouth, Ohio ^a	40,466	50,367,880	92	8	Jan. 1	2	8.75	8.61	3.94	N	21.30	247
248 White Plains, N. Y. ^o	40,327	130,359,428	100		Jan. 1	2	15.22	11.87	6.67	—	33.76	248
249 Waltham, Mass.	40,020	Not reporting										249
250 Arlington, Mass. ^h	40,013	56,215,250	95	5	Jan. 1	2	—	—	—	—	35.60	250
251 Norwalk, Conn. ²	39,849	76,133,393	88	12	Sept. 1	2	—	—	—	—	23.00	251
252 Montclair, N. J.	39,807	Not reporting			Oct. 1	2						252
253 East Cleveland, Ohio ^a	39,495	54,325,500	85	15	Jan. 1	2	7.47	12.70	5.33	N	25.50	253
254 Meriden, Conn.	39,494	63,065,630	81	19	Apr. 5	2	13.60	11.50	.30	.60	26.00	254
255 Cumberland, Md.	39,483	49,402,080	86	14	Apr. 1	Op.	11.00	6.09	7.71	1.40	26.20	255
256 Kearny, N. J.	39,467	Not reporting										256
257 West New York, N. J. ^a	39,439	42,452,909	81	19	Jan. 1	4	23.83	22.32	13.46	3.35	62.96	257
258 Laredo, Tex.	39,274	19,409,427	84	16	July 1	12	18.05	6.25	10.90	7.50	42.70	258
259 Oshkosh, Wis.	39,089	43,314,100	86	14	Jan. 1	2	15.70	15.16	5.74	.60	37.20	259
260 Alhambra, Cal.	38,935	30,651,090	—		July 1	2	12.76	18.60	15.19	N	46.55	260
261 Lewiston, Me.	38,598	Not reporting										261
262 High Point, N. C.	38,495	48,266,058	77	23	July 1	4	11.50	5.09	5.41	N	22.00	262
263 Elgin, Ill. ^a	38,333	22,418,547	77	23	Jan. 1	2	27.70	23.80	3.87	N	55.37	263

^aElgin. City rate includes \$4.40 sanitary district and \$8.40 township rates.

²Warren. City rate includes \$.20 township rate.
^hNorwalk. Breakdown of total rate not available.

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						City	School	County	State	Total		
264 Norristown, Pa. ^t	38,181	100	Jan. 1	May 15	1	12.00	23.00	2.25	N	37.25	18.63	264
265 Hazleton, Pa. ^t	38,009	100	Jan. 5	Apr. 1	1	14.50	27.50	6.20	N	48.20	24.72	265
266 Steubenville, Ohio ^{ms}	37,651	84	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	5.20	8.30	2.30	N	15.80	12.64	266
267 Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	Not reporting										267
268 Plainfield, N. J. ^a	37,469	89	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	15.80	16.05	7.02	2.83	41.70	37.53	268
269 Pensacola, Fla.	37,449	Not reporting										269
270 Taunton, Mass.	37,395	Not reporting										270
271 Mansfield, Ohio ^{ms}	37,154	80	Jan. 1	Feb. 15	2	5.00	8.90	2.50	N	16.40	14.76	271
272 Joplin, Mo. ⁷	37,144	65	Jan. 1	Sept. 1	1	15.80	17.00	6.00	1.20	40.00	20.00	272
273 Butte, Mont.	37,081	Not reporting										273
274 Newport News, Va.	37,067	81	Jan. 1	Dec. 5	1	18.20*	14.30	N	N	32.50	19.50	274
275 Gadsden, Ala. ^a	36,975	Not reporting										275
276 Danville, Ill. ^{ms}	36,919	79	May 1	Apr. 1	2	26.50	23.50	6.00	N	56.00	25.76	276
277 Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	88	June 30	Sept. 15	2	21.28	16.70	N	12.60	50.58	26.81	277
278 Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	77	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	2	12.50	22.84	7.20	4.25	46.79	31.35	278
279 Orlando, Fla.	36,736	Not reporting										279
280 Fort Smith, Ark. ^b	36,584	68	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	4	7.21	18.00	9.00	9.00	43.21	10.80	280
281 West Allis, Wis. ^{ms}	36,364	75	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	15.99	11.08	11.73	.23	39.03	33.57	281
282 Alameda, Cal.	36,256	Not reporting										282
283 Auburn, N. Y. ^c	35,753	100	July 1	July 1	2	19.01	7.42	3.48	—	29.91	29.91	283
284 Orange, N. J. ^a	35,717	93	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	16.96	13.09	7.25	2.90	40.20	40.20	284
285 Meridian, Miss.	35,481	Not reporting										285
286 Albuquerque, N. Mex.	35,449	87	July 1	Nov. 1	2	17.48	4.68	12.16	6.05	40.37	24.22	286
287 Watertown, Mass. ^a	35,427	94	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	10	—	—	—	—	35.00	35.00	287
288 Richmond, Ind. ^{so}	35,147	31	Jan. 1	May 4	2	1.62	13.70	6.90	1.20	23.42	16.39	288
289 Superior, Wis.	35,136	90	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	1	6.19	15.46	18.52	.20	40.37	39.56	289
290 Santa Barbara, Cal.	34,958	—	July 1	Nov. 1	2	14.60	12.00	12.00	N	38.60	20.76	290
291 Greenville, S. C.	34,734	52	Jan. 1	Nov. 10	1	45.00	—	—	—	—	—	291
292 Baton Rouge, La.	34,719	Not reporting										292
293 Riverside, Cal.	34,696	—	July 1	Oct. 1	2	12.00	16.60	17.60	N	46.20	23.10	293
294 Moline, Ill. ^{sa}	34,608	73	Apr. 1	May 1	2	19.20	25.70	5.30	N	50.20	20.08	294
295 Revere, Mass.	34,405	Not reporting										295

^{ms}Steubenville. City rate includes \$10 township rate.
^{ms}Mansfield. City rate includes \$33 township rate.
^{so}Joplin. County rate includes \$2.50 for retirement of road bonds.
^{sa}Danville. City rate includes \$2.50 sanitary district, \$5.40 township and \$3.00 road and bridge rates. See general footnote aa.
^{ms}West Allis. City rate includes \$3.59 metropolitan sewer rate.
^{so}Richmond. County rate includes \$3.10 township rate.
^{sa}Moline. City rate includes \$1.80 street and bridge, and \$3.40 township rates. See general footnote aa.

Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Person- ality	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Install- ment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per \$1,000 Assessed Valuation				Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess- ment	Amount of Home- stead Ex- emption	
						City	School	County	State				Total
286	Burbank, Cal. ^{ss}	34,337	67,813,040	—	—	11.90	13.04	19.99	N	44.94	50	22.47	296
297	Waukegan, Ill.	34,241	Not reporting	July 1	Nov. 1	2							297
298	Rome, N. Y. ^{ss}	34,214	29,147,153	100	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	2	9.83	—	46.00	70	32.20	298
299	Norwood, Ohio	34,010	Not reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	299
300	Kokomo, Ind. ^o	33,795	30,484,885	61	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	11.35	1.40	34.10	100	34.10	300
301	West Hartford, Conn. ^{ss}	33,776	96,296,448	88	Mar. 1	May 1	1	—	—	18.50	100	18.50	301
302	Paducah, Ky.	33,765	23,255,046	65	Jan. 1	June 1	2	7.00	.50	35.50	60	21.30	302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla. ^{ss}	33,693	34,681,030	86	Oct. 1	Nov. 2	1	—	—	—	—	5,000 ^e	303
304	Easton, Pa. ^t	33,589	42,139,255	100	Jan. 1	July 1	4	8.50	N	35.00	93 [§]	—	304
305	Alexandria, Va.	33,523	Not reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	305
306	Elkhart, Ind. ^e	33,434	40,773,049	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	306
307	Wilmington, N. C.	33,407	Not reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	307
308	Watertown, N. Y. ^o	33,385	47,083,357	100	July 1	July 1	1	8.70	—	37.30	90	33.57	308
309	Amsterdam, N. Y. ^{ss}	33,329	27,010,077	100	Jan. 1	May 1	Op.	24.16*	14.48	62.08	55	34.14	309
310	New Brunswick, N. J. ^a	33,180	41,243,800	92	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	14.85	11.85	2.70	70	34.86	310
311	University City, Mo.	33,023	Not reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	311
312	Nashua, N. H. ^{ss}	32,927	41,380,409	63	Jan. 1	Dec. 1	—	9.68*	5.38	N	100	34.70	312
313	Bloomington, Ill.	32,868	Not reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	313
314	Port Huron, Mich. ^o	32,759	34,993,550	87	July 1	July 1	1	9.25	6.75	N	100	30.40	314
315	Danville, Va. ^{ss}	32,749	33,282,948	67	Jan. 1	July 2	2	7.50	N	18.50	67	12.33	315
316	Fargo, N. Dak. ^{ss}	32,580	41,058,640	68	July 1	Mar. 1	—	19.93	9.72	7.92	50	29.82	316
317	Hagerstown, Md.	32,491	46,000,000*	80	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	1	8.00	7.20	1.40	90	18.36	317
318	Muskogee, Okla.	32,332	Not reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.	32,249	Not reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	319
320	East Providence, R. I. ^a	32,165	49,480,085	80	Oct. 1	Sept. 15	4	24.40	—	N	70	17.08	320
321	Santa Ana, Cal. ^{ss}	31,921	25,420,240	87	July 1	Nov. 1	2	17.76	19.14	14.26	N	51.16	321
322	Newburgh, N. Y. ^o	31,883	38,934,599	100	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	3	24.21	11.85	3.70	86	34.19	322
323	Lubbock, Tex.	31,853	31,263,475	78	Apr. 1	Oct. 1	1	10.00	10.00	5.00	66	21.45	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa	31,570	Not reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,000 ^w	324
325	Newark, Ohio	31,467	Not reporting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	325

^{ss}Burbank. Assessed value does not include \$24,493,470 solvent credits taxed at one mill or \$7,805,095 unsecured real and personal property taxed at last year's property rate. County rate includes \$1.70 county flood control and \$4.80 metropolitan water district rate.

^{ss}Rome. School rate included in city rate. See general footnote o.

^{ss}West Hartford. Breakdown of total rate not available.

^{ss}West Palm Beach. Rate shown is for non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is \$14.00.

^{ss}Amsterdam. School rate estimated on basis of rate for six months. See general footnote o.

^{ss}Nashua. School rate estimated on basis of appropriations.

^{ss}Danville, Va. Rate for real estate reported. Rate on personal property, machinery and tools is \$20.00.

^{ss}Fargo. Taxable assessment is \$20,529,320, or 50% of assessed value.

^{ss}Santa Ana. County rate includes \$4.80 metropolitan water and \$1.16 flood control rates.

Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Person- alty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Install- ment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per \$1,000 Assessed Valuation			Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess- ment	Amount of Home- stead Ex- emption
						City	School	County State Total			
326 Alton, Ill.	31,255 Not reporting	67	33 Jan. 1	—	2	5.41	6.85	2.37 N 14.63	80	11.70	326
327 Middletown, Ohio ^a	31,220 61,100,155	—	30,908 Not reporting	—	2	6.46	7.64	2.80 N 16.90	100	16.90	327
328 Salem, Ore.	30,817 33,529,340	—	30,817 33,529,340	—	2	8.82	15.85	10.08 .25 35.00	82	28.70	328
329 Marion, Ohio ^a	30,745 27,026,855	88	30,745 27,026,855	Jan. 1	2	17.10	10.50	6.20 .50 34.30	70	24.01	329
330 Eau Claire, Wis.	30,631 20,740,600	—	30,631 20,740,600	June 1	2	23.50	—	N 23.50	100	23.50	330
331 Newport, Ky.	30,631 25,615,487	85	30,631 25,615,487	Mar. 31	4	12.50	8.40	6.47 N 27.37	70	19.16	331
332 Petersburg, Va. ^{as}	30,618 44,514,675	88	30,618 44,514,675	Aug. 1	1	24.50	—	N 24.50	100	24.50	332
333 Wyandotte, Mich. ^j	30,579 Not reporting	60	30,579 Not reporting	July 15	4	—	—	— N 24.50	100	24.50	333
334 Clarksburg, W. Va.	30,532 74,136,800	60	30,532 74,136,800	Apr. 1	2	—	—	— N 24.50	100	24.50	334
335 Newport, R. I. ^u	30,456 49,489,958	87	30,456 49,489,958	Oct. 1	2	15.00	13.70	5.70 .50 34.90	95	29.70	335
336 New London, Conn. ^{ai}	30,245 14,750,614	74	30,245 14,750,614	June 1	1	25.10	12.00	10.00 2.40 49.50	50	17.45	336
337 Owensboro, Ky.	30,224 16,474,553	68	30,224 16,474,553	July 1	2	24.00	5.00	N 29.00	90	24.75	337
338 Everett, Wash. ^{as}	30,167 58,148,548	69	30,167 58,148,548	July 1	2	11.70	21.27	20.83 N 53.80	50	26.10	338
339 Bristol, Conn. ^{as}	30,114 21,195,735	90	30,114 21,195,735	Nov. 1	2	5.80	10.12	4.76 .10 20.78	70	14.55	339
340 Ingleswood, Cal. ^{sa}	30,103 45,571,510	61	30,103 45,571,510	Oct. 1	2	14.99	15.78	3.54 1.99 36.30	70	25.41	340
341 Parkersburg, W. Va. ^a	30,021 Not reporting	69	30,021 Not reporting	Nov. 1	2	—	—	— N 24.50	100	24.50	341
342 West Haven, Conn.	30,013 28,411,877	69	30,013 28,411,877	Nov. 1	2	—	—	— N 24.50	100	24.50	342
343 Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013 28,411,877	69	30,013 28,411,877	Nov. 1	2	—	—	— N 24.50	100	24.50	343

^aNew London. Breakdown of total rate not available.

^{as}Everett. City rate includes \$1.20 public utility and \$2.50 port district rates. See general footnote v.

^{sa}Bristol. City rate shown is for first taxing district (80% of assessed value of city). School rate of districts 5, 6, and 10 shown; school rate on remaining six districts varies from \$3.00 to \$6.00.

^uIngleswood. County rate includes \$2.80 sanitary district and \$.50 flood control rate.

GENERAL NOTES

Alabama. The legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. The rates shown are actual rates. *Homestead Exemption:* First \$2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

Illinois. Assessment ratios shown in tabulation are those reported by local authorities. In some instances these vary considerably from those published by the Illinois State Tax Commission. The assessment ratios of the State Tax Commission and the corresponding adjusted tax rates for these cities are as follows: *Chicago*, 31%, \$30.66; *Peoria*, 30%, \$15.30; *Rockford*, 28%, \$14.14; *Oak Park*, 31%, \$22.04; *Evansston*, 31%, \$22.59; *Berwyn*, 31%, \$23.75; *Danville*, 40%, \$22.40; *Moline*, 34%, \$17.07.

Arkansas. No state tax levy on property after 1941. *Homestead Exemption:* The first \$1,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

Florida. State tax levy discontinued. County assessments placed on 100% of cash value basis. *Homestead Exemption:* The first \$5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

Georgia. Intangibles are assessed at 100% of true value and taxed at 3 mills by state only. *Homestead Exemption:* First \$2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state, county, and school district rates except for debt service on debt incurred previous to act.

Indiana. County tax rate includes township rate. Library rate included in school rate.

Iowa. *Homestead Exemption:* Amount of homestead exemption is determined by the Board of Assessment and Review each year. The maximum exemption is 25 mills on the first \$2,500 of assessed values or \$62.50 which was allowed in 1942. This applies to the state and all local units of government.

Louisiana. *Homestead Exemption:* Applies to state and parish taxes only, except that New Orleans (no other city) may also exempt homesteads from city taxes. Maximum exemption is \$2,000, allowed hereafter. New homes are exempt from all state and local levies for three years following their completion.

Massachusetts. In many cities the division of the total rate into city, school, county, and state purposes is not available and only the total rate is shown.

Michigan. County rates shown were fixed to cover fiscal year starting December 1, 1941. The new rates are not fixed in time for inclusion in this report except in Wayne County this year.

Minnesota. *Property Classification:* There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40%, except the first \$4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25%; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3%, except first \$4,000 of homesteads at 20%; iron ore at 50%; and personalty in three classes at 10%, 25%, and 33 1/3%. The first \$4,000 of true value of homesteads is exempt further from state tax levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law. Assessments average 35% of true value in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and 33% in Duluth. Tax rates shown are actual rates.

Mississippi. *Homestead Exemption:* First \$5,000 of assessed value exempt from state taxes and levies for maintenance and current expenses of counties, school districts, and road districts.

New Jersey. The soldier bonus, formerly included in state tax levy has been discontinued. Entire levy now consists of a school tax which is distributed back to the school districts. For comparison with former years this item is left under state rate, although it might justifiably be added to the school rate.

New York. Realty valuations include public utilities. Where state rate is not shown, it is included in county rate. Assessment ratios shown in tabulation are those reported by local authorities. In some instances these vary considerably from those published by the New York State Tax Commission. The assessment ratios issued by the State Tax Commission for these cities and corresponding adjusted tax rates are as follows: *New York City*, 95%, \$26.89; *Syracuse*, 93%, \$37.25; *Yonkers*, 95%, \$37.43; *Albany*, 90%, \$31.48; *Schenectady*, 86%, \$31.95; *Troy*, 86%, \$46.39; *Mount Vernon*, 90%, \$30.42; *New Rochelle*, 85%, \$30.77; *Elmira*, 80%, \$34.14; *Jamestown*, 80%, \$29.78; *Poughkeepsie*, 75%, \$31.15; *White Plains*, 90%, \$30.38; *Amsterdam*, 65%, \$40.35; *Newburgh*, 83%, \$33.00.

North Carolina. *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but enabling legislation not yet enacted.

Ohio. Realty assessment includes public utility valuations.

Oklahoma. *Homestead Exemption:* The first \$1,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are specifically allowed.

Oregon. State income taxes were sufficient for governmental expenses so no state property tax levy was made in 1942.

Pennsylvania. Tangible personal property is not subject to city rate except as noted. Intangible personal property—not included in assessments—is subject to a 4 mill state and a 4 mill county rate.

Rhode Island. There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property. School rate included in city rate.

South Dakota. *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads are exempt from state tax levies only. However the state tax has been abolished on all property.

Texas. *Homestead Exemption:* First \$3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes only.

Utah. *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but not effective.

Washington. Legal basis of assessment is 50% of true value.

West Virginia. *Property Classification:* Property in cities is divided into three classes: Class I property (intangible personal property) pays 1/4 of full rate. Class II (property occupied by the owner as a residence) pays 1/2 of full rate. Class IV (all real and personal property not in Class I or II) pays the full rate. *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads may be taxed at not more than 1% of assessed value.

Contributors in Review

AT WESTERN Reserve University since 1937, **Christian L. Larsen** (*Cleveland's Merit System for Unskilled Labor*) has had ample opportunity to watch the governmental affairs of Cleveland. He has the distinction of preparing the only report—that for 1939—which Cleveland has issued since 1916. Dr. Larsen is assistant professor at Western Reserve, teaching local government and public administration.

FOR THE twenty-first consecutive year the REVIEW presents its annual compilation of tax rates for cities. Since 1936 the tabulation and its accompanying article have been prepared by **Miss Rosina Mohaupt**, statistician for the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, who also authors the REVIEW's annual compilation of city debt appearing in June of each year.

THE LIST of civic enterprises with which **Stratford Lee Morton** (*Missouri Wins Constitutional Revision*) is connected places him well in the forefront of St. Louis's most active citizens. He is chairman of the St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee for Revision of the Missouri Constitution as well as treasurer of the Statewide Committee on Revision; he is a member of the Mayor's Smoke Committee of Fifty, the Civic Needs Committee of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, St. Louis County Citizens Committee on Good Government, Victory Loan Committee, and numerous other civic-minded groups. On the cultural side Mr. Morton's activities include: president of the board of the St. Louis Academy of Science, vice-president of Playgoers, Inc., trustee of the Artists Guild, vice-president and trustee of the St. Louis County Historical Society.

APPOINTED in 1939 as New York State's first commissioner of housing, **Edward Weinfeld** (*New York State Faces War Housing Issues*) launched the first state-aided low-rent housing program in the nation. Commissioner Weinfeld was a member of the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1938, where he served as a member of its committee on housing and helped frame the amendment authorizing initiation of the state's housing program. He is past president of the National Association of Housing Officials and is a member of its board of directors and of its committee on postwar plans.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Researcher's Digest: December

Public opinion polls as an instrument of research on urban planning; rationing of government; guest articles; street cleaning and garbage disposal study.

PITY the poor reformer. He knows what the people should have—but do the people want it? The **Bureau of Urban Research of Princeton University** took the well nigh unprecedented step of actually asking the people, and the answer was a fairly round “No!”

The Bureau put a number of questions to nearly 2,500 people (2,490) scattered through 165 American cities. The questions centered about the problem of urban planning. Besides seeking information about the living conditions that men and women would like to have for themselves, the Bureau was trying to find out whether the improvements the people visualized had any relationship to the improvements that the enlightened urban planner thinks they ought to have.

The conclusion? “If urban planning is to become a generally accepted and meaningful service directed toward the gradual improvement of American municipalities, public education concerning the process is needed . . . most American city dwellers are reasonably satisfied with their environment as it is today . . . the people themselves do not show that community interest and concern which guarantees progressive urban improvement . . . grand schemes for reorganization have presupposed a public momentum which does not exist and social means of accomplishment which have been far from realized.”

But these conclusions, significant as they are, do not represent the whole importance of the nation-wide polls which provide their basis. The Bureau has unearthed a good many interesting facts about the living conditions of their subjects, besides having pioneered

in a governmental research technique which could be of immense importance in many other fields besides urban planning.

The study which embodies the results of the polls and a description of how they were made—*Urban Planning and Public Opinion*—is unquestionably one of the most important pieces of governmental research to appear in a long, long time.

Less Government Wanted

The **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada** has an idea. “The federal government, quite properly, in the interests of economy, is rationing the people in the use of gasoline, tea, coffee, etc., and has completely stopped the production of some commodities to force retrenchment. Why should not the people ration government, stop the production of some services, and force retrenchment in public expenditure to promote economy in non-war services?”¹

Street Cleaning

War, democracy, all the other big questions of the day may, in a sense, boil down to simple matters involving the sacred right of people to run public business in their own way. Dedicated to such a right is a homely but useful study published by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia** on a problem which has agitated that city for some time. *Street Cleaning and Refuse Collection and Disposal in Nine Cities of the United States* is the result of several years work by Charles A. Howland, staff engineer of the Bureau. Mr. Howland

¹Canadian Taxation, October 20, 1942.

studied methods and problems in Trenton, Washington, Baltimore, New York, Boston, Rochester, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, and has produced 150 mimeographed pages of observations and information.

Guest Artists

The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** has an idea, too. It is running a series of guest articles on topics of current interest in its monthly bulletin. Authors are those in the community "best qualified to present the issues involved." The October issue has an article on "The Tax Exempt Bond Controversy" by Donald W. Gilbert of the University of Rochester.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Defense

Rôle of the Municipality in the Civilian Defense Program. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 14 pp.

Education

State Supported Institutions of Higher Education in Nebraska. Lincoln, Research Department, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1942. 72 pp.

Fire

Self-Inspection of Fire Equipment in Publicly-Owned Buildings. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 32 pp.

Public Opinion Polls

"About Blanks in Public Knowledge," "About Opinions on Local Government Issues." Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, *Notes on Public Affairs*, September 25 and September 30, 1942.

Urban Planning and Public Opinion. By Melville C. Branch, Jr. Princeton, New Jersey, Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University, 1942. 87 pp.

Reports

Yearbook. Toronto, Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, 1942. 31 pp.

Research

The Integration of Federal and Non-Federal Research as a War Problem. By Richard H. Heindel. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1942. 122 pp.

Street Cleaning

Street Cleaning and Refuse Collection and Disposal in Nine Cities of the United States. By Charles W. Howland. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1942. 148 pp.

On the Local Front

*Military and industrial centers of nation
lay plans for recreational activities of
Negro soldiers and industrial workers.*

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

EFFECTIVE measures have been taken in many communities to provide for the recreational needs of Negroes in various military and industrial centers of the nation. Reports from recreational representatives of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services give some examples:

Chester, Pennsylvania, like most industrial centers, has increased in population during the last two years and its Negro population has increased in proportion. A recent survey revealed that of the thirty-nine plants employing more than sixty-five people, twenty-one employ Negroes in war production jobs and that 87 per cent of these Negro workers live within a five-mile radius of their places of employment. Recreation programs sponsored by the plants themselves, therefore, are readily accessible to most of the Negro employees. One of these plants which employs about 9,000 Negro workers has an extensive program for them, with Jerome B. (Brud) Holland, an All-American end at Cornell in his undergraduate days, in charge.

A housing project near the plant in which 1,300 Negroes live provides a recreational area with full-time leadership for the families housed there.

According to reports of the recreational representative, the people of Chester are planning a more extensive program in the city itself which will give Negroes an opportunity for wholesome leisure in an area free of friction and conflict. The Negroes themselves believe that with adequate

facilities they can make a valuable contribution to wholesome living.

Oswego, New York, shows how one community has met the recreation problems of Negro soldiers.

Original opposition to Negro troops was dispelled by the action of the soldiers themselves.

A Negro colonel of a coast artillery regiment, learning of Oswego's opposition to his troops being stationed there, went in advance to the city and addressed the civic clubs, telling them of the background and performance of his regiment. He talked to the superintendent of schools, chief of police, and other civic leaders and sold them on the idea of having the Negro troops train at the nearby camp.

The entire regiment arrived and stayed for eight months. The high school opened its classes to some of the soldiers who wanted to continue their education. Movie theaters and other commercial recreation facilities were available. There were no disorders, no outbreaks, no crimes committed by Negro soldiers. When the regiment left Oswego the townspeople were convinced that the experiment was successful.

In **Evansville, Indiana**, the city is trying to do its own recreational job for Negroes, both soldiers and industrial workers. The mayor, the city recreation director, the defense recreation committee, and Negro leaders are all working together. A building has been obtained as a community headquarters where the program may be put into effect and two full-time workers have

been employed. The city and Community Chest provide jointly a budget to take care of operating expenses and volunteers in the community share the responsibility for planning programs. The center has a dance floor, reading room, kitchen, snack bar, and spacious yard for sports during the summer.

A seven-day-a-week recreation program for industrial workers is being carried on and soldiers stationed at a nearby camp also participate in some of these programs.

Types of Community Setup

There are three distinct types of community recreational setups being promoted for Negroes by the recreational representatives of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services working with local defense recreation committees.

Under the first plan the federal government builds, purchases, or rents a building and the local committee furnishes the staff for the operation of the recreational program and is responsible for its maintenance.

Junction City, Kansas, is an example of such an operation. Junction City's recreation center for Negro soldiers has six full-time workers. The director is paid out of city funds, the others by WPA. In the center soldiers enjoy nightly and weekend programs, children use it Saturday mornings, and people of the community during the day.

There are afternoon programs for the wives of the soldiers consisting of knitting groups, forums, and teas. The men have a recreation ground outside for horseshoes and softball. First aid classes and nutrition classes meet in the building.

Under the second plan the federal government provides the facilities and the USO comes in to supplement the efforts of the local committee. The

USO helps the local committee where the latter has built up a program but needs aid because of a great and sudden influx of soldiers or war workers.

Louisville, Kentucky, may be cited as an illustration of this plan. There the local recreation committee had worked out its own program but asked for federal aid to remodel a building and USO assistance to staff the center.

Here the young women of the community have been drawn into the programs, linking the soldier and the civilian population. This makes the soldier feel at home and keeps him in contact with the life of his own people.

The third plan is used where there are no recreational facilities available and the USO steps in and, working with community leaders and groups, does the total job. **Chester, Pennsylvania**, is an example. Aside from the recreational activities carried on independently in the industrial plants there was little or no city-wide recreation program for Negroes. In Chester the USO and the local recreation committee are bringing together in wholesome leisure-time activity people who have lived there all their lives with no joint recreation programs aside from commercial ones.

Recreation representatives of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, working with communities who are faced with the problem of providing adequate recreation for Negro industrial workers and soldiers, have helped them to see the problem as related to the whole war effort, to gather together their resources to meet their needs, and to secure federal assistance when community resources are inadequate. Some forty-five recreational centers, mostly for Negro soldiers, have been built or purchased with federal funds. Forty of these centers are staffed entirely by Negroes.

Letters to the Editor

An Author to the Rescue

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

I am glad of the opportunity to answer Mr. Nichols' epistolary attack upon the validity of the conclusions in my article "Can the 'King' Do No Wrong?" which appeared in the June issue of the REVIEW.

In the first part of his letter, Mr. Nichols has confused the governmental-proprietary distinction with the discretionary-ministerial distinction. While I strongly disapprove of the former as arbitrary, absurd, and unjust, I just as strongly approve of the latter as necessary and desirable. The discretionary-ministerial distinction is based realistically upon the nature of the act, rather than arbitrarily upon the nature of the function. Public policy demands that a municipality should be immune from liability for the discretionary acts of its officers.

In other words, I fully agree with Mr. Nichols that municipalities should not be liable for such discretionary acts as the passage of municipal ordinances or the planning of facilities for water supply. While I am in full agreement with Mr. Nichols' argument that discretionary acts should be exempt from liability, I do not see how this admission can be interpreted as justification for the continued existence of the governmental-proprietary distinction.

My thesis is merely that the governmental-proprietary distinction is arbitrary, absurd, and unjust, and that it should be eliminated from municipal law. I take issue with Mr. Nichols' statement that it is not arbitrary, absurd, and unjust, but is based on "fundamental principles which underlie our whole theory of democracy." The fundamental principles upon which the

governmental-proprietary distinction rests are, first, the maxim that the king can do no wrong and, second, the concept that the government is above the law. It is submitted that these principles, far from underlying democracy, are entirely foreign to that institution. The principle of the irresponsibility of government has never been an essential element of democracy.

Mr. Nichols himself terms the governmental-proprietary distinction "one of the most nebulous of legal distinctions." He admits that it sometimes results in individual hardships, but maintains that such hardships could largely be mitigated by a provision for compulsory liability insurance of publicly-owned motor vehicles. While it is interesting to note that Mr. Nichols would thus disregard the governmental-proprietary distinction in motor vehicle cases, it is a fact that in all jurisdictions from which data are available the great majority of tort claims against municipalities are not concerned with damages caused by municipally-owned motor vehicles. Extending liability to damage caused by such vehicles does not go far enough in providing relief for the cases of individual hardship. Furthermore, it leaves the arbitrary governmental-proprietary distinction in almost as healthy a state as ever.

Mr. Nichols' objection to municipal liability for acts of non-feasance on the apparent ground that such liability places a tremendous burden upon municipalities is impressive when bolstered with well chosen examples, but is without foundation in fact. In most jurisdictions municipal liability already extends to a majority of municipal functions. If the studies sponsored by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council and by the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of

Virginia reveal anything at all, they reveal that the existing financial burden upon municipalities is slight and that an extension of liability to governmental functions would probably not increase the existing burden by more than 20 per cent.

Careless and groundless statements as to actual or potential financial burdens connected with municipal liability have been the chief obstacle in the way of reform in this archaic branch of municipal law.

GEORGE A. WARP

Bureau of Public Administration
University of Virginia

Detroit and Scandal

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Here is one Detroiter who appreciates your two articles about Detroit in the November issue of the REVIEW. Your editorial entitled "Good Government and Scandal" is timely. J. M. Leonard's refreshing report about "High Jinks in Detroit," in its brevity, failed to mention one point of importance: not a nickel of public money, paid by taxpayers, has been filched in any of the recent graft cases in this city. The whole picture has been one in which gambling interests and their political

cohorts have exploited public men and public positions, at the expense of the gambling suckers who furnish all the money.

Judge Ferguson's Grand Jury disclosures, covering a period of three years, brought slashing results in the Police Department, even though Mr. Dewey had advised Judge Ferguson any such effort would be hopeless. But the whole mess, as Mr. Leonard states, traces back to the penalties paid by a well governed, nonpartisan city because of its necessary connection with partisan politics and politicians in the county and state areas. Even the Tyler defalcation of some years ago was a case where two clever operators were convicted and punished, but the insurance company made up the deficit left when these chaps robbed a certain bank.

All of which, at least for students of government, perhaps supplements the picture to advantage of Detroit's responsible system of government. But, of course, we expect to continue suffering from the stigma due to these evils, in spite of the high levels of administrative efficiency achieved during the past quarter century of our present modern system of government.

W. P. LOVETT

Detroit Citizens League

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Election Results Show Governmental Progress

Three Cities Adopt Council-Manager Plan

THE balance of November election results in states and cities where constitutional and charter issues were decided was definitely on the progressive side. In the council-manager field three new cities were added: Lowell, Massachusetts, with 101,389 population; Laramie, Wyoming, seat of the University of Wyoming, 10,627 population and third largest city of that state; and St. Louis, Michigan, population 3,039. One defeat, in Baker, Oregon, (9,342) was registered.

Lowell also adds to the number of cities with proportional representation, while Yonkers, New York, overwhelmed another attempt to abolish P.R., as covered more fully in that department of this issue.

Dearborn, Michigan, adopted a modernized strong-mayor charter, and Kansas City, Missouri, approved two important charter amendments, as described below.

In the state constitution field the balance was even, Missouri approving the plan to hold a constitutional convention, while Michigan failed to seize the opportunity to bring its basic state law up to date.

Council-Manager Plan News

Lowell, Massachusetts, with a population of over 100,000, adopted a Plan E charter (council-manager and P. R.) at the November 3 election by a vote of

16,477 to 14,135, after a controversial campaign.¹

The manager plan for **Laramie, Wyoming**, carried by a large majority at the November election. A letter from J. A. Hill, dean and director of the College of Agriculture and Experiment Station, University of Wyoming, states:

"The results of the unofficial tabulation by the Laramie paper are 1,576 for and 778 votes against. This two-to-one vote in favor was a great surprise to all of us who had been interested in it. There did not seem to be a great deal of enthusiasm for it before the election, and the party organizations, both Democratic and Republican, were decidedly against it. About the only campaign was visiting and talking and a series of editorials in the *Laramie Republican-Boomerang*, written by Ernest Linford, the editor, who was very much in favor of the plan. He drew heavily on the material which we had received from the National Municipal League.

"Now we are faced with the problem of getting a manager under a rather cumbersome law. On the other hand, our legislative delegation has promised that they will get the law amended at the next session of the legislature, to conform to the ordinary council-manager plan."

St. Louis, Michigan, adopted a council-manager charter on November 3 by a vote of 430 to 380.

Two cities have recently adopted the manager plan by ordinance—**Asheboro, North Carolina**, on August 6 and **Mountain Brook, Alabama**, on October 26.

Three cities were added, prior to November 1, to the official list of council-manager cities issued by the International City Managers' Associa-

¹Further details will be found on page 642 of this issue.

tion: **Trois Rivières, Quebec**, which secured a charter from the provincial legislature in April 1942; **Giddings, Texas**, which adopted a manager ordinance on September 24; and **Indian Hill, Ohio**, a newly incorporated village that adopted a home rule charter December 16, 1941.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Pottstown, Pennsylvania**, is sponsoring a study of the manager plan for that borough. It has purchased and distributed to members and others 1,000 pamphlets discussing the plan.

A proposed manager plan for **Baker, Oregon**, failed of acceptance at the recent election. The vote was 834 in favor and 1333 against. Defeat is attributed largely to the fact that the war came on after plans had been made for the holding of the election this year. It is expected that the matter will again be submitted after peace has come.

Constitutional Convention, Amendments Win in Missouri

The holding of a convention¹ to revise and amend the constitution of 1875 was authorized by Missouri voters on November 3. Three constitutional amendments designed to remedy (in part) antiquated financial restrictions were also approved. An analysis of the semi-official returns from the city of St. Louis and ninety-six counties shows that these four propositions received their principal support in urban areas, especially in the city of St. Louis and in St. Louis County.

Constitutional revision received a majority in St. Louis and in twenty counties. Of the three amendments the one authorizing an increase in St. Louis County school district tax rates won overwhelmingly, receiving a majority in all but four counties. The

amendments authorizing additional taxes for several relatively poor Ozark counties and increasing legislative pay received majorities in eleven and eighteen counties respectively, as well as in St. Louis. Ten different counties as well as the city of St. Louis voted favorably upon all three propositions. Indeed, there is a close correlation on these propositions throughout the state.

The approval of the amendment increasing the pay of legislators to \$125 per month, after nine successive defeats, is especially significant in view of the recent criticism of the General Assembly. It shows a constructive attitude on the part of the voters. They are willing to see whether "fair legislative pay will attract ability" as claimed by those sponsoring the amendment.

The defeat of the Lauf amendment for the repeal of the nonpartisan court plan, which was adopted in 1940, also indicates a constructive and discriminating attitude. It carried only one county, Jackson, where it was supported by the remnants of both the Pendergast and Shannon machines. Apparently the voters thought the nonpartisan court plan deserved a fair trial and were not frightened by the campaign of the "Committee of 1000" which called it a Nazi scheme.

WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW

University of Missouri

Michigan Turns Down Constitutional Revision

On November 3, 1942, the voters of Michigan passed on the important question of constitutional revision. Article XVII, section 4, of the Michigan constitution provides that in 1926 and each sixteenth year thereafter the question of a general revision of the constitution shall be submitted to the electors. This question was Proposal No. 1 on the Michigan referendum ballot and the

¹See page 591 this issue; also NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, pp. 403-5.

electors answered it in the negative.

In a recent issue of the REVIEW¹, it was indicated that whether or not a constitutional convention would be invoked in Michigan rested "in large measure on the vote of organized labor." It was also predicted that farm groups would "undoubtedly stand pat on the present fundamental law as they did in 1926."

As events have transpired, farm groups were much more active proportionately than organized labor in the November election. In the Detroit metropolitan area labor did not turn out in the usual numbers. Labor in the urban areas had the greatest stake in the calling of a convention in order to force a reapportionment of the Michigan legislature now dominated by the rural minority.

None of the arguments of the Michigan Constitutional Revision Study Commission as to the need for broad changes in the fundamental law of the state had sufficient weight with the people to overcome the "No" vote. Michigan thereby lost the big chance of this generation to streamline an administrative mechanism which is based in the first instance on principles incorporated in the constitution of 1908. Some substantial improvements may yet follow through individually initiated amendments from time to time.

A. W. BROMAGE

University of Michigan

Kansas City, Missouri, Charter Amendments

By a vote of two and a half to one the people of Kansas City, Missouri, on November 3, adopted two important charter amendments. One was designed

to take city employees out of politics, while the other incorporated various financial safeguards.

A Charter Amendments Committee, representing the Citizens Association and seven other civic groups, and headed by Kenneth E. Midgley as chairman, was formed to coördinate the activities of various groups in campaigning for the amendments. Postcard information was mailed to every registered voter or family of voters.

The first amendment, as described, will establish a nonpartisan merit personnel board with protection against arbitrary treatment and political discharge, give greater recognition to war service, require appointments from the top portion of eligible lists, and encourage career service through promotion. The second measure requires posting of bid requests, sealed bids, independent annual audits, improved budget procedure, bonding of employees handling cash, and serial bonds.

Dearborn, Michigan, Adopts Strong Mayor Charter

A new charter of the strong mayor type was adopted on November 3 by the voters of Dearborn, Michigan, with a majority of about 1,200. The charter, as analyzed by Professor Arthur W. Bromage, provides for a council of seven elected at large, nonpartisan nominations and elections, a fairly short ballot, large powers for the mayor including appointment of department heads and commissioners without council confirmation and the veto power, a small number of departments with divisional lines of responsibility, budget preparation and control and centralized purchasing in the finance department, and comprehensive and unified powers over personnel administration vested in a civil service board.

¹See "Constitutional Revision Urged for Michigan," by A. W. Bromage and J. A. Perkins, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, pp. 396-397.

Cities Gain in Wartime Efficiency

Better and more economical operation of municipal governments, largely because of various factors associated with the war, are reported by thirty cities, representing all population groups, which were covered in a recent survey by the International City Managers' Association. These factors include shortages in man power and materials, priority requirements, reduced street traffic, etc.

Relief costs have decreased in many cities because of increased employment, while costs of public improvement and equipment are reduced or eliminated because materials are unavailable or projects are nonessential. Reduced travel, because of tire and gas rationing and the thirty-five-miles-an-hour speed limit, has made it possible for many cities to release police traffic personnel for other duties and to eliminate now nonessential traffic signals and reduce operation of others. Most of the cities were found to be saving on street light costs because of dimout regulations and wartime with its extra hour of daylight.

Basic means of promoting efficiency and economy that were found to be increasingly employed included installation of new accounting and budget control systems, central purchasing offices to effect economies in buying governmental supplies, refinancing bonds at lower interest rates, and retiring municipal debts to save interest costs.

More efficient operation of municipal motor vehicle equipment was reported by several cities, including installation of records systems to save on maintenance, gas and oil consumption, and repair costs; servicing of equipment at night to keep it in use and save man-hours; requiring that city-owned cars be housed in the city garage at night

and restricting use of the cars during the day.

Among other methods of varying degrees of merit were the reduction of travel on official business, stricter control over sick leaves, eliminating bill collectors by collecting delinquent accounts by mail, using auxiliary police for part-time traffic work, closing swimming pools and discontinuing municipal celebrations, festivals, and band concerts, operating refuse collection trucks in pairs so that helpers will be loading trucks instead of riding to and from city dumps part of the time, and installing modern equipment where available to get more work done with fewer employees.

Boston Finance Commission Reports on Reorganization

In a recent report on the war emergency and municipal administration, the Boston Finance Commission sides with those who believe that now is the time to change things for the better in local government. Addressing itself to the peculiar and manifold problems of Boston the Finance Commission—one of the elder investigatory bodies among the official group—calls specific attention to Boston's departmental structure.

A complete overhaul is recommended, and to achieve this purpose the Finance Commission asks for appointment of a committee of the "most practical and best informed" of Boston's citizenry. Citing the alacrity with which administrative talent has responded to the federal government, the Finance Commission suggests that Boston has some claim upon the energies of its capable citizens.

Heretofore, reorganizational efforts in Boston have been unable to subdue well entrenched personnel, who both shrink from any shake-up and sabotage it. Withdrawals from the municipal

service for the armed forces and defense employment, unavoidable curtailment of many activities, manpower shortage—all these factors are now present, according to the report; and they should outweigh most of the practical obstacles to effective reorganization.

RICHARD A. ATKINS, *Secretary*
Boston Municipal Research Bureau

War Labor Board and City Wage Disputes

On November 12, a mediation panel held that the federal War Labor Board has jurisdiction over labor disputes involving municipal employees as well as those involving other workers in the United States. This decision was made in a case arising in Newark, New Jersey. A recommendation was made for the reinstatement of employees who had been discharged by that city's Department of Public Works after a six-day strike of four hundred workers.¹ George K. Batt, the employer member of the three-man panel, dissented, saying that the board should deny jurisdiction in governmental employee cases, but should clearly state for the benefit of government officials what is expected of them and their governmental units during the war emergency.

In Buffalo on November 10, a strike of city street workers, set for the following day, was called off shortly after the City Council had approved pay increases averaging about 13 per cent for 1,065 Public Works Department employees in the lower brackets. The city's Law Department proceeded to prepare an application to the War Labor Board for approval of the increases. This is said to be the first application to the WLB for approval of city pay changes.

On November 20 Mayor LaGuardia of New York, in an address before the annual conference of the New Jersey League of Municipalities, declared that in his opinion the War Labor Board has no jurisdiction over disputes on wages, hours, and working conditions between cities or their agencies and civil service employees. New York City is now facing a demand for higher wages on its city-owned subways and other transportation facilities and the local branch of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) is seeking WLB participation.

Prizes Awarded in Maine Town Report Competition

Awards in the 1942 Maine Town Report Competition, covering reports for the municipal year ending in 1942, were announced at the annual convention of the Maine Municipal Association, which sponsors the contest. This meeting was in Augusta, October 7-8. Certificates of supreme merit were given to the winners in each of eight population groups, and certificates of superior merit were given for the two next best reports in each group. The winner in the largest population group (over 3,000) was the town of Rumford.

Manpower Commission for New York City

A local manpower commission has been appointed for New York City by Mayor LaGuardia. Its immediate function will be to place before local draft boards requests for deferment of trained city employees whose loss will endanger some of the city's essential services. Later this commission may make attempts through the Federal Manpower Commission to keep key workers in the city's employ instead of losing them to private business.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1942, p. 565.

Prize for Metropolitan Regional Council Plan

To stimulate consideration of the problem of effective coöperation between large cities and their surrounding metropolitan areas in the preparation and carrying out of rational plans for future development, a \$500 prize is being offered by a Regional Fund for the best proposal submitted for the organization and operation of a Regional Council. Such a council shall have to do not merely with regional area planning as that term has been generally understood, but also with present and potential industrial, commercial, transportation, recreational, and other human factors, and problems of taxation and coöperative intergovernmental relationships affecting the well-being and program of the whole area, and shall be so constituted as to enlist the co-operation of recognized leaders in various fields of enterprise and civic interest.

Further information can be obtained from Harold S. Buttenheim, chairman of the Committee of Judges, 470 Fourth Avenue, New York. The other members of the committee are: Fred-eric A. Delano, Earle S. Draper, Philip H. Elwood, John M. Gaus, Guy Greer, Benjamin H. Kizer, Harold M. Lewis, Charles E. Merriam, Hugh R. Pomeroy, and Thomas H. Reed. The contest closes February 1, 1943.

New Jersey and Its Employees Studied by Commission

Appointed by Governor Charles Edison to study and recommend a fundamental policy in the relations between the state and its civil servants, the New Jersey Committee on State-Employee Relations recently made its report to the Governor. Besides conducting studies and discussions the committee held three public hearings

at which there appeared before it many representatives of civil service organizations, commissions and reform groups and of public employee labor organizations, and others specially interested in public personnel relationships.

The committee's report presents and briefly discusses the following principles:

The merit system, as embodied in the civil service law, should remain inviolate.

The right of self-organization is indisputable.

The public interest is paramount.

The right of collective bargaining is necessarily limited by the nature of the relationship existing between the state and its employees.

The principle of the closed shop is incompatible with any sound policy of labor relations in the government service.

The obligation of the state to provide for the orderly adjustment of personnel problems is fundamental.

In connection with the last, the following suggestions were made:

1. A responsible official or employee, skilled in handling personnel and public relations, shall, subject to existing civil service procedure, be named by the head of the department as departmental personnel officer.

2. A standing personnel committee shall be set up in each state department, institution, or agency, consisting of representatives of the principal classes or groups of departmental employees and an equal number of supervisory officers and employees.

3. Any employee who has a suggestion or personnel problem he wishes to present, or grievance he desires to have considered, shall first take the matter up with his immediate superior, either individually or through a representative or representatives of his own choosing. Further steps in case

of non-agreement are specified, leading up, if necessary, to an appellate body, which could be the Civil Service Commission if its powers and staff become adequate.

In a supplementary report by one member of the Committee it was said that there were six or seven steps in the method set forth in the main report for the treatment of grievances, the wisdom of which was doubted. It was further stated that the Civil Service Commission has the power to deal with grievances in a coöperative manner; it can, if it desires, work out a direct, fair and just method, and should be required to exercise this and other powers.

Special State Committees Study 1943 Legislative Problems

Action by state legislatures in setting up special committees and commissions to investigate current problems between sessions, especially those brought on by the war, has been the subject of a survey by the Council of State Governments. Most of the committees and commissions will report to their legislatures in January, when 42 state law-making bodies go into session.

The number of committees assigned to study and report on planning and use of industrial and other resources, interstate coöperation, juvenile delinquency, and un-American activities indicates the extent to which the war has emphasized these problems. Seven of the twenty state legislatures, for example, established special interim groups to study state use of industrial and other resources. These states are California, Iowa, Massachusetts, New York, Oregon, Texas, and Washington.

Interstate coöperation problems are under study by special legislative commissions of ten states—California, Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska,

New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington; inquiry into the field of juvenile delinquency has been made by legislative committees of California, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, and New Jersey.

Housing and other living conditions of Negroes are under investigation by special commissions in Illinois and Pennsylvania, while a Rhode Island commission is studying employment problems of Negroes.

Commission reports on governmental efficiency and economy will be rendered to legislatures of five of the states, California, Florida, Louisiana, Minnesota, and New York, when they convene next year.

Three state legislatures—Pennsylvania, New York and Illinois—set up interim committees to study and report on Congressional reapportionment and election laws, while three other states—Vermont, Texas, and Oregon—appointed groups to look into and report on child welfare and connected problems.

Some State Leagues Hold Conventions; Others Cancel

In addition to the annual conference of the American Municipal Association, October 21-23 in Chicago, at which representatives from thirty-seven member state leagues of municipalities were in attendance, several state leagues held conventions in that month. These included Maine, Virginia, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Nebraska. The League of Texas Municipalities scheduled its thirtieth annual convention early in November.

The Alabama and West Virginia Leagues of Municipalities cancelled their plans for holding annual conventions, scheduled for October. Both leagues, however, plan to hold statewide conferences prior to the opening of the state legislature, at which the legislative programs of each league will be submitted and discussed.

Kansas Police School Holds Sessions

At Wichita, Kansas, November 16-21, the tenth annual Kansas Police School provided instruction in forty subjects—many more than last year. Much of this was related to wartime needs. The school was sponsored by the State Board for Vocational Education, the League of Kansas Municipalities, the University of Wichita, and various other organizations and departments.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Detroit Housing Council Marshals Citizen Support

***Public understanding
brings public interest***

THE Citizens Housing and Planning

Council of Detroit, as a relatively young organization started six years ago, has had the benefit of coöperation both from the Detroit Citizens League, under the leadership of William P. Lovett, and the Bureau of Governmental Research, under the direction of Dr. Lent D. Upson. Mr. Lovett, as a member of the Council's board, has guided its membership and financial campaigns with unceasing effort and considerable success. In its early organization, the group had the wise counsel of Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City*, and Coleman Woodbury, then director of the National Association of Housing Officials, and has profited greatly from association with the latter organization and the American Society of Planning Officials.

Traditionally citizen groups have sprung into being to meet particular emergencies. In solving one situation they have found others needing atten-

tion, and so have continued their efforts as a permanent organization. The housing needs of our cities have been years in developing and will require time to solve; likewise, the planning needs. With government agencies fairly swarming into these fields, why is there need of a private voluntary agency?

The first in our city to become housing-conscious were the social workers. Labelled starry eyed and radical, they resorted to the camera for evidence beyond refute and jolted the sedate respectability of our best citizens. Then the cold hard facts of declining property values in the downtown areas, of industrial and residential decentralization, and of accelerated blight in depression days, proved that housing was everybody's business.

Once the problem was recognized, the action technique was simple. First, the agencies which were supposed to be at work on housing problems were approached. As a result of budget economies of the thirties they were all understaffed but eager to do more. They welcomed citizen support. Special study committees were formed. The committees themselves gained quite an education. Where practicable they became unofficial advisory committees and then semi-official or official. Proposals for improvement gained newspaper publicity. Praise and criticism going hand in hand speedily brought interest and activity. Civic pride was stimulated and Detroit learned what other cities were doing. Housing and planning courses were started in our schools and Wayne University.

Public interest was stimulated by public understanding. No one worries about who gets the credit. The job is too serious for that. The important thing is that a small, determined, unselfish, intelligent group can get things done if they tenaciously and persistent-

ly go after them. The democratic process may evolve slowly but every American community has plenty of latent, potential interest that waits on organized citizen effort.

The first activities of our group in 1935 were chiefly concerned with housing. The historic Louisville decision, limiting the housing powers of the federal government, stopped the PWA housing program in many cities. Detroit's two large projects—Brewster and Parkside—were left for nearly two years, with basements and open excavations uncompleted eyesores, acres of idle ugliness in a city that was crying for housing. The Council, then only a committee, persuaded some sixty organizations to join in a protest and petition to Washington for early completion.

There was grave danger that the cost of these projects would exceed the appropriation. Organized labor was readily persuaded to ask for a change from thirty hours, the statutory limitation, to forty hours a week. This request was granted and saved several hundred thousand dollars in construction costs. Bids came within estimates and the job went forward. The agitation opened the eyes of thousands to Detroit's housing needs.

Housing Program

When the Council ceased to be a committee and became definitely organized, it gave active support to the passage of the Wagner-Steagall Act. This decision for a time again labelled us in the eyes of many as a radical organization. A thirty-million-dollar public housing program resulted, but the going was difficult. With a better understanding of public housing, this feeling has subsided. Some conservatives, who confuse planning with regimentation, still oppose our program, but objectors are few and constantly

decreasing. A continuing program has "broadened the areas of understanding," and our directorate and membership include outstanding leaders in every area of civic activity.

Our support of zoning won many friends. In 1927 a zoning ordinance was defeated by popular vote. Ten years later that opposition had decreased. Successful promotion of a real property inventory and housing survey was followed by widespread acceptance of that effort as a practical, constructive measure. It clearly demonstrated zoning needs. In 1941 the zoning ordinance was passed and has been well accepted.

From the advisory committees of our Council, two able men have been appointed to the City Plan Commission. Our president, Dr. Robert W. Kelso, was made chairman of the State Housing Study Commission and has received other important assignments. Former students are now housing managers in important projects. The growing field is attracting strong personnel.

On the local government level an archaic system of building inspection has been modernized. Concentration of responsibility in one department and block by block inspection has replaced the scattered efforts of former days. The city is using the Toronto plan originated by the Hon. K. S. Gillies, that city's competent and aggressive building inspector.

Trailer camp legislation, a new urban redevelopment law, and a regional planning committee are also examples of what has so far sprung from our actions. The local planning agency with greatly increased appropriation is working on a master plan. We have helped get a budget for our State Planning Commission. Through dinners and public meetings we have done our best to get the twenty agencies on various government levels most concerned in Detroit's planning to become better ac-

quainted. Fourteen other housing agencies alone have been included in these meetings.

The current housing problems due to war production in the area are stupendous, but the techniques of the Council's approach have helped considerably. Allotments for improvements in sewers and water supply and sanitation in outlying districts have been worked out with fine agency coöperation and public support.

There have been plenty of disappointments, too, in defense housing, but our organization is going forward and with increasing support is gaining momentum. We are looking forward to the days after Victory—when the city will take up the task of rebuilding itself.

ALEX LINN TROUT,
Executive Secretary

Detroit Citizens Housing and
Planning Council

School Children Mobilized in "Get Out the Vote" Drive

Under the sponsorship of **Philadelphia's Committee of Seventy** the city's public and parochial school children and college students were enlisted, prior to the last election, in an intensive drive to "get out the vote."

The percentage of Philadelphians voting on election day compared with the turnout elsewhere runs like this, according to the Committee's bulletin, *Civic Affairs*: Philadelphia, 64 per cent; Pennsylvania, 52 1/2 per cent; New Jersey, 51 per cent; the nation, 52 per cent.

Comments *Civic Affairs*: "From reports we have received, we are convinced that a large portion of the heavy vote cast in the city can be credited to the boys and girls in our schools and colleges who persuaded their parents and friends to vote and demonstrate the freedom for which we are fighting."

Already other communities in the state are planning similar campaigns for the next election and are asking the Committee of Seventy for advice.

"Approximately 400,000 boys and girls in the public and parochial schools," writes Harry K. Butcher, the Committee's secretary, "have been exposed to a series of discussions on the value of citizenship duties and responsibilities and the need to urge their parents to get out and vote."

The superintendents of public and parochial schools asked civic teachers to urge pupils to tell their parents to vote. The drive also was approved by university and college heads in the city.

Both the Democratic and Republican city committees were asked to join the drive on a nonpartisan basis.

Philadelphia radio stations "plugged" the theme at almost hourly intervals prior to election day. In one radio address Dr. Alexander J. Stoddard, superintendent of public schools, asked his audience "what price would a Frenchman pay, in November 1942, to express at a free election an opinion about his Nazi masters?"

Oakland Citizens League Follows Aggressive Program

The **Oakland Citizens League** is a nonpartisan corporation with its membership scattered throughout a county of 254,000 population. Oakland County, Michigan, has many governmental problems since it has two large urban centers and a large rural area.

Citizen organizations appear to function most effectively through two mediums: Private conferences with public officials and public statements designed to point the finger of suspicion. Our League, during its formative period, restricted its activities primarily to friendly conferences with public officials and analytical studies of the budget, voting, and tax situation.

We have recently found that by judiciously mixing the two methods, we have increased the degree of co-operation, have acquired more respect, and more public confidence.

Fees Questioned

A loose spot in all counties in Michigan is the handling of fees by the County Clerk's office. Earlier in the year we discovered the County Clerk was making personal deductions from the naturalization fees that would have totaled approximately \$5,000 a year. Inasmuch as this clerk had been in office for ten years, and this particular discrepancy was a recent innovation, our League made some public accusations. Having already collected several necessary affidavits and photostatic copies of official letters, we might have arranged a conference with the County Clerk and Board of Auditors and had an amicable discussion of mutual problems. Instead, we issued several public statements, which, although not of a rabid nature, were definitely pointed. The money in question was immediately placed in escrow and a test case started in the courts.

Shortly afterwards the County Prosecutor and the Police Department of the city of Pontiac developed an estranged relationship. The Prosecutor issued a public statement alleging inadequate law enforcement on the part of the Police Department. In Pontiac, under city manager government, police officials are appointive and perhaps lacking in the necessary experience for political thrusts and parries of a public nature. Accordingly, our League answered the Prosecutor's statement, questioning his true intentions in a polite but suggestive manner. Shortly afterwards the Prosecutor's office requested our League to arrange a mediation conference between the estranged officials and to act as mediator. The

conference was held and a harmonious law enforcement program evolved.

In these incidents, our League was not interested in scandals or cheap publicity through public rows. We prefer to work quietly and to correct rather than to persecute. By taking aggressive action, however, we have convinced public officials that we are taking our work seriously. Friendly relations were strained in a few cases, but a perceptible increase in the intensity of co-operation in many other directions has more than compensated us.

Our firm attitude with the Prosecutor and County Clerk seems to have been the best possible way to convince the public our only objective was more effective government. At least there was a discernible increase in the attention given our recommendations on candidates by the general public at the current elections. Our League, being interested in all governmental problems, makes nonpartisan recommendations on candidates for public office. Candidates are classified in one of three categories as "recommended," "qualified," or "not recommended," with brief criticisms or commendations where the situation is sufficiently clear-cut to warrant them.

The September elections seemed to indicate our influence is of sufficient magnitude to counterbalance the handicap a new but worthy candidate has in running against the incumbent official under the direct primary system. Our county has all Republican officials—and officials once elected have long tenure. Due to public acceptance of our sincerity and judgment, we are developing as the balance of power—thus opening a new vista of potential governmental improvements and official coöperation.

JAMES F. MOORE,
Executive Secretary

Oakland Citizens League, Inc.

Chamber of Commerce Stirs Manager Plan Interest

In mailing pamphlets to its members, answering questions on the borough manager plan of government, the **Pottstown, Pennsylvania, Chamber of Commerce** took the opportunity to stimulate interest in the plan.

President Herman R. Leslie sent with each pamphlet a letter of explanation saying in part "it was decided that we obtain the views of our members on this important subject. In order to give you pertinent information on the plan, there is enclosed a small pamphlet. It is published by the National Municipal League, New York . . . a citizen's organization . . . for the purpose of promoting better government in our American communities.

"Our Borough Council may, at its discretion at any time, create by ordinance the office of borough manager and may in like manner abolish the same. . . . It has been brought out, however, that it would be most desirable to have smaller representation in town council, to make the plan more effective. . . .

"A competent borough manager must be nonpartisan . . . selected on the basis of his training, ability, and experience."

Junior Chamber Sponsors Administrative Survey

The **Logan City Junior Chamber of Commerce** conducts a continuing campaign for improving city government, not because its members feel that local officials are grossly ineffective but because they believe that there always is room for improvement.

That philosophy was the basis for a recent study on *Municipal Administration in Logan City, Utah*, sponsored by the Junior Chamber and prepared at its request by G. Homer Durham, in-

structor in political science at the Utah State Agricultural College. The study contains a summary of thirty-two observations and recommendations which are the highlights of the report.

In some detail the report then covers Logan's relations with other governmental agencies, its policy-making and administrative organization, type and quality of existing services, financial and personnel administration, and a final chapter suggesting that the city consider the council-manager form of government as a more effective method of operation.

Junior Chamber President Kenneth Longhurst writes that the report has been printed in pamphlet form and has been released to the public for study. Through the report the club fulfills its desire to "present for consideration the recommendations of a careful student of public administration—recommendations arrived at after a thorough study of Logan's governmental setup."

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Home Rule Wins in Montgomery County, Md.

Voters elect commission to draft new charter

AFTER a bitterly fought contest in which it became the leading local issue in the Washington, D. C., metropolitan area, the charter plan was approved by the voters of Montgomery County, Maryland, in the general election last month by a vote of 8,044 to 6,245. Thus Montgomery becomes the first county in Maryland to consider a home rule charter under the constitu-

tional amendment adopted so many years ago.¹

In addition to approving the drafting of a charter, the voters elected a board of five pledged to perform this task who were opposed by five other candidates nominated by the Board of Commissioners and pledged to oppose any change. The successful candidates have selected Frederic P. Lee, attorney and former professor of constitutional law at Georgetown University, as chairman. They plan to conduct public hearings, draft and present the charter to the Board of Commissioners within six months as required by law, and then prepare to secure a favorable vote on the charter in the general election of 1944.

Wayne County Home Rule Loses at Polls

Proposal No. 2 on Michigan's November ballot was home rule for Wayne County.² This proposed amendment lost by a few thousand votes out of a total of more than 800,000. Here again the negative vote in outstate rural areas turned the tide against an eminently sound proposition which would have permitted the reorganization of metropolitan Wayne County by home rule charter. It is a tribute to the careful organizational work of the State Committee for Proposal No. 2 and the liberal press and editorial support of the urban newspapers that the vote on home rule for Wayne County all but carried over into the affirmative column. The close vote

suggests the feasibility of additional citizen action either to bring pressure on the legislature for the submission of an amendment to the voters or to place the Wayne County home rule amendment on the ballot again by initiative petition.

A. W. BROMAGE
University of Michigan

Nebraska County Home Rule Amendment Defeated

At the general election of November 3, the voters of Nebraska, for the second time, defeated a constitutional amendment intended to permit counties to have a measure of home rule as to governmental organization. At this writing unofficial returns give 115,000 for the amendment and 142,000 against it. Because of the circumstances of its origin the amendment was locally known either as the county home rule amendment or the county manager amendment.

More than ten years ago a movement of some proportions grew up in a number of counties in the more populous eastern and southeastern part of the state in favor of the county manager plan. County manager government was looked upon with favor, especially in Douglas County in which Omaha is located, because of a widespread belief that the conduct of county affairs had long been inefficient and corrupt.

In response to this sentiment the legislature at the session of 1933 passed "An act relating to county government and officers; to provide for the adoption of the managerial form of county government; and to provide penalties for the violation thereof."¹ The act might be adopted by a vote of the people of any county.

At the November election of 1934 Douglas County accepted the new act

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1939, pp. 89-95.

²See "Home Rule for Wayne County?", by A. W. Bromage, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, pp. 386-389; "Vote on Home Rule for Wayne County, Michigan, Assured", September 1942, p. 462.

¹Session Laws, 1933, Chapter 35.

by a vote of 43,568 to 30,980. By its terms the sheriff, the county judge, and the county superintendent were to continue to be elective officers, while the register of deeds, the county clerk, the clerk of the district court, the assessor and the treasurer were not specifically abolished.

The act was immediately attacked in the courts on the ground of its unconstitutionality and, though upheld by the district court, was held void by the State Supreme Court in 1936.² The decision of the court was based on the ground that the title of the act was defective and therefore void under Article III, Section 14, of the state constitution which provides that "no bill shall contain more than one subject, and the same shall be clearly expressed in the title." The court held also that the manager was an "officer" in the constitutional sense and must therefore be elected and could not be appointed by the county board. Moreover, as an "officer" he could not appoint other "officers" since the constitution in Article IX, Section 4, provides that the legislature shall provide by law for the election of such county and township officers as may be necessary.

Amendment Submitted

To overcome this decision the session of 1939 submitted a constitutional amendment to be voted on by the people at the general election of 1940. This amendment added to the provision referred to in the preceding paragraph the words: "Provided, however, the legislature may provide by law for a form of county government in which county officers may be elected or appointed, but such form shall be optional with each county and shall obtain in any county only upon the

adoption thereof by the electors of such county." The voters in 1940 defeated the amendment by a vote of 254,639 to 173,107.

An identical amendment was submitted by the legislature of 1941 to be voted on at the November 1942 election. Though the new amendment carried by a three-to-two vote in Douglas County, it was decisively beaten in the state at large.

It is always difficult in an American election to assign reasons for the action of the voters, but outside of Douglas County the issues involved attracted little attention and the great disparity between the total vote cast on the question and that cast for United States Senator and Governor probably indicates pretty accurately the sort of thing with which the voter's mind was preoccupied.

LANE W. LANCASTER

University of Nebraska

Census Bureau Inaugurates Financial Statistics of Counties

The United States Census Bureau, long noted for its *Financial Statistics of States* and *Financial Statistics of Cities*, now has added *Financial Statistics of Counties*. This brings all state and local government within its purview and gives research scholars valuable material heretofore not easily available.

The thirty-five-page report just published will be first in a series of annual reports on county finance presented in quantitative, tabular form. This first report is limited to twenty-nine large urban counties selected from the census of 1940. For 1941 the Census Bureau will expand the report to include all counties containing cities with more than 250,000 population and all counties of states that now collect such county data. For 1942 it plans to issue a report containing data on all counties.

²*State ex rel O'Connor v. Tusa*, 130 Neb. 528, 265 N. W. 524 (1936).

The Bureau believes government finance cannot be understood without knowledge of county finance, and it hopes this study will contribute to such knowledge. The report points out that study of county government is significant because county functions are considerably different from those of other public units, and because county revenues and expenditures compose one-quarter of all local public revenues and expenditures. Sixty-three per cent of county income is derived from tax collections with practically all of it based on the general property tax. Municipal revenue structure has much greater diversity. This greater diversity is even more apparent in expenditures. In the counties studied, three principal functions, public welfare, general control (primarily courts and tax administration), and hospitals are responsible for three-fourths of the operating costs.

Other findings of the report relative to the general nature of counties and to characteristics that distinguish them from other units of government have been generally known, but heretofore such facts have had an inadequate statistical basis. This series of publications should prove very valuable in providing a more substantial foundation for broader studies in county government.

Counties Administer Wisconsin State Highways

"Wisconsin is the only state in the Union where responsibility for the maintenance and improvement of all state trunk highways is lodged with county governments." With this opening statement, *Better Roads* presents the initial article of a series devoted to state-local relations in highway administration.

While it is observed that the centralization movement in highway adminis-

tration elsewhere in the United States has resulted in state control, the article reveals that, except for a shift from township to county administration in 1907, the state of Wisconsin has resisted this trend to a remarkable degree. This is attributed to devotion to the principle of local self-government, strong county organizations, and rural domination of the state legislature.

Under the provisions of a 1911 statute, each county was requested to prepare a "prospective state highway system" of limited mileage and serving specified communities, such as county seats and municipalities that were important as trading centers. The state could grant subsidies for construction and maintenance of highways, but it was forbidden by the constitution to issue bonds for such construction, and since counties were sole possessors of road equipment, the legislature decided counties should have independent and full charge of maintaining state highways.

Counties Still Act

Federal statutes forced amendment of the state laws in 1931 so as to specify state responsibility for highway maintenance. Actual administration, however, remained with the counties. At the present time more than 10,000 miles of state trunk highways, including more than 5,000 miles receiving federal aid, are maintained by county highway departments.

The article declares that counties will retain this significant function because of the traditional insistence of the state legislature that counties shall have concurrent jurisdiction in highway matters. For example, at present \$8,000,000 is distributed annually from state highway funds, but since allocations are made on the basis of highway mileage and motor-vehicle registration, the

State Highway Commission cannot use these grants to force its decisions on the counties. It merely has a voice in deciding on construction or improvement of highways, but with veto power retained by the highway committee of county boards.

Difficulties Encountered

There has been some difficulty in securing continuity of highway routes, and counties in better financial condition occasionally have built their highways in advance of other counties where there was lower borrowing power but greater traffic need. Also since counties have sole jurisdiction to negotiate for highway right of ways, there is lack of uniformity in prices paid by the various counties. The state attempts to maintain standards of highway construction with some difficulty but such standards usually are observed by counties with little or no pressure on them necessary. There are also other minor weaknesses that tend to cause some dissatisfaction, but the arrangement generally is regarded as working satisfactorily, and the author of the article sees no marked sentiment at this time in favor of state centralization.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Cities Adopt Cost-of-Living Salary Increases

Comprehensive Study Made by Milwaukee City and County

AS INCREASES in the cost of living and competition with private employment bring more and more pressure on local governments for salary

increases, the cost-of-living bonus device comes into prominence. In some cases an attempt is being made to relate salary payments to the actual trend of a cost-of-living index. In others the amount of the bonus is arbitrarily fixed without reference to future trends.

Berkeley, California, (population 85,547) in its 1942-43 budget provides that employees receiving \$129 per month or less will receive a bonus of \$12.50 per month; those receiving between \$130 and \$149 per month will be paid an additional \$10 per month; and for those receiving from \$150 to \$230 per month, the bonus will be \$5 per month. The cost of the bonus to the city will be \$33,625 for the year.

A bonus tied in with a cost-of-living index (what index is not reported) has been used by Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin, (population 9,651) for the past ten months. In this the monthly payment is \$1 or a fraction for every point or fraction of a point in the current month's cost-of-living index advance over the April 1941 figure. In July 1942, for example, the index stood at 113.5, an increase of 11.6 points over April 1942. This entitled each employee, regardless of his basic salary, to a July bonus of \$11.60. When the cost of living recedes, a bonus will be paid until the index reaches 101.9, at which time payments will cease. Somewhat similar bonus plans are in use in St. Paul, Minnesota,¹ and in the schools of Dearborn, Michigan, although the latter system pays the bonus on the first \$2,500 of salary.

A rather comprehensive bonus and salary adjustment is under consideration in Milwaukee, where a technical committee consisting of representatives

¹See "St. Paul's Adjustable Salary Scale for City Employees," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1938, pp. 583-587.

of the city, county, school district, Board of Adult and Vocational Education, and City Sewerage Commission has recommended study of a uniform salary plan for all five tax levying bodies. Recommendations as to the uniform salary plan included the following:

(1) Salary adjustments should be automatic in application, and periodically move upward and downward as the cost of living rises and falls.

(2) Salaries should be based upon a comprehensive, sound, and equitable salary standardization plan.

(3) Formula should be based upon reliable cost-of-living index figures.

(4) Formula should be designed for the full application of the cost-of-living changes to a definite amount of all employees' salaries.

(5) Base salaries should be re-examined periodically to meet any marked changes in the duties and responsibilities of the positions classified, and the standards of living affecting employees holding such positions.

(6) A percentage limit should be applied to any adjustments to be made within any single year.

The technical committee considered various types of bonus payments, ranging from an increment to total salaries which would reflect the gross increase in the cost-of-living index to limited increments affecting less than the whole salary. It estimated the cost to the five units of these various plans to range down from \$3,276,275 for the most generous plan to \$1,688,679 for a plan in which the increment was limited to 10 per cent applied to the first \$200 of salary only.

Recent Municipal Reports

Several interesting examples of public reporting have recently been received, which may be of interest to citizens seeking specimen reports for

comparison with the publications issued in their own communities.

Comment has been made previously on the efforts of the village of Bronxville, New York, to popularize its budgets. That municipality (population 6,888) has recently issued, over the signature of Mayor Ralph B. Maltby, a good example of a simple and effective work progress type of report. The Mayor's message summarizes the developments of the year 1941-42, and thereafter highlights are given for each of the several village departments. Summary financial statistics are included in the sections devoted to the work of the village treasurer and the village clerk, accounting in all for about three and one-half of the volume's thirty-two pages. Three pages are devoted to the village war council and civilian protection.

An excellent example of the executive budget is that for 1942-43 as submitted to the mayor and city commission of Port Arthur, Texas, (population 46,140) by City Manager Bill N. Taylor. The document is handsomely made, mimeographed with a plastic binding between substantial covers. The Manager's budget message and other explanatory material are set off on blue and yellow paper, and colored dividers are inserted between sections to simplify the reader's work. Published June 23 for a fiscal year beginning July 1, the budget tables include estimates for the year just closing which on the whole were closely realized by year-end results shown in the city's annual financial statement. The annual financial report, issued by Chief Finance Officer C. Nelson, now conforms wholly to the standards recommended by the National Committee on Municipal Accounting, and is one of the best municipal financial reports to be found in any city, regardless of size. During the year the city installed a revision of its accounting system—

which had long been of above-average quality, as indicated by the fact that Port Arthur has for a number of years been one of the few Texas cities and one of a much too small number of United States cities publishing comprehensive current account balance sheets. The new format is concise, usable, and practically foolproof even to the uninitiated citizen, since several pages at the outset are devoted to a description of the accounting system followed and the significance of the various schedules.

Louisiana Re-enacts Sales Tax as War Measure

A new 1 per cent sales and use tax on purchases has been adopted in Louisiana as a war emergency measure. This brings to twenty-three the number of states with sales tax laws. Louisiana's former state sales and use tax law was abandoned in 1940.

The new tax, collections on which began September 1, falls on all retail sales or on the use, consumption, distribution, or storage of tangible personal property on which the sales tax has not been paid, reports the Federation of Tax Administrators. Stocks and other securities, farm products sold directly from the farm, gasoline, steam, ordinary water, newspapers, electric power, natural gas, and soft drinks are exempt.

Collections on the tax, which was passed by a special legislative session, probably will be used for schools, hospitals, and general relief, according to the Governor's message asking its enactment.

In New Orleans, which has a municipal sales tax of 2 per cent, a "joint bracket" of collection has been adopted, which brings the tax to three cents on a dollar on articles taxed by both jurisdictions. Two-thirds of the rev-

enues in this case go to the city and one-third to the state.

States with sales taxes include Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Use taxes, whose major purpose is to help eliminate tax evasion made possible by crossing a state line to buy in a "taxless" state, are found in sixteen states—Alabama, California, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming.

Massachusetts Provides for Municipal Cash Reserves

By gaining the right from the 1942 legislature to set up cash reserve funds, Massachusetts cities, like local governments of eight other states, are permitted to lay aside current cash now for public improvements in the future.

Municipalities in most of these states are taking advantage of such laws at this time to provide financing of public works projects for employing man power released after the war.

The Massachusetts law is an emergency measure allowing municipalities to invest up to one-tenth of one per cent of their total valuation each year in defense bonds for expenditure on capital outlays after the war. No bonds held under the act may be sold prior to the end of the war.

The other states with reserve fund laws on their statute books are, according to the American Municipal Association, California, Kentucky, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, and Washington.

Few Bond Authorizations at November Elections

The extent to which the war is curtailing construction, and hence capital construction, by local governments is indicated by the November elections. No sizeable issues were authorized for capital purposes. The largest authorization, \$33,000,000 approved by the voters of Texas, is to fund that state's accumulated operating deficit, and the Texas voters at the same time turned down a \$2,000,000 construction issue.

Louisiana voters approved \$3,000,000 of institution construction bonds. Baltimore voters defeated a \$32,000,000 capital proposal, and San Francisco voters defeated \$7,950,000 revenue bonds which would have acquired outright the privately owned Market Street railway, being purchased on an installment contract. Another large revenue bond issue was turned down by the voters of Nebraska City, Nebraska, where \$1,460,000 bonds to purchase the light and power system were defeated. However, \$925,000 revenue bonds were approved by the voters of the People's Utility District of Union County, Oregon. Fargo, North Dakota, approved \$300,000 airport bonds.

Final November returns are not yet all tabulated, but the trend through October 31 indicates what may be expected. For the first ten months of 1942, as reported by the *Daily Bond Buyer*, election authorization totaled \$50,559,000, a drop of \$120,973,000 from the same period in 1941.

In Florida voters approved by six to one a constitutional amendment which earmarks for the next fifty years two cents per gallon of the state gasoline tax for payment of principal and interest on county and district road and bridge debt. About \$115,000,000 of local debt will benefit.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Two Notable P. R. Victories

Lowell Adopts "Plan E" Yonkers Overwhelms Attack

On November 3, Lowell, Massachusetts, an industrial city of 101,389, became the tenth P.R. municipality in the United States by adopting the optional form of city government known in Massachusetts law as Plan E, based on a combination of the city manager plan with proportional representation. P.R. is to be used for elections of the school committee, as in Cambridge, as well as for the city council. The following account of the victorious campaign is supplied by one of Lowell's citizens who took an active part in its planning and execution.—Editor.

THERE is hope for many cities in the victory of Plan E in Lowell. When a city so inefficient and indifferent as Lowell has been for the past twenty years can rise up and speak so clearly for better government no city need fear that improvement is hopeless.

For years every suggestion for reform has failed to receive serious consideration. Those who wanted better government felt that their cause was hopeless in view of the strength of those who favored the *status quo* and the indifference of the general public. In spite of this Plan E was adopted by the voters less than one year after it had been seriously proposed.

The newspapers of Lowell laid the groundwork by continually pointing out in news stories, pictures, and editorials how badly our present government was failing to provide the services for which the people were paying. They

carefully reported the political bickering which prevented business at City Council and School Committee meetings. The people of Lowell, however, had been used to inefficiency and waste in government for so many years, they would perhaps not have been convinced of the need for a change by this alone. Even the poor quality of the city water, the decline of educational standards, the high tax rates would not have been enough.

A Dramatic Setting

It took stirring events to arouse the people from their apathy. And a stirring climax was provided by the District Attorney, who stepped in to investigate city purchasing. The Mayor, the Purchasing Agent, and two dealers were indicted. Two weeks before the election they were placed on trial and on October 27 all four were found guilty by the jury. One week later, on November 3, the people of Lowell went to the polls and voted in favor of Plan E, 16,477 to 14,135.

There seems little doubt now that the charter change would have failed without the full support of the two Lowell newspapers, and the conviction of the Mayor and the Purchasing Agent. The opposition was well organized and ran an effective campaign. It played on the fear of city employees for their jobs and organized a great many of them against the plan.

The opposition's chief arguments to the general public were that council-manager government meant dictatorship and that the maximum salaries permitted by the Plan E charter were too high. The charter sets up maximum salaries of \$4000 for nine councillors, \$1000 additional for the chairman of the council, who is mayor, and \$20,000 for the city manager. This argument was answered by the Plan E Committee which pointed out that

maximum salaries need not be paid in Lowell. Also it was promised that all candidates for office under Plan E would be placed on record so that voters would know what salaries they were voting for.

The opposition also threatened that under Plan E a furniture tax would be imposed as in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This argument was somewhat weakened by the fact that Lowell already had the furniture tax.

A Constructive Campaign

The Committee's campaign was purely constructive. It did not have to point out the failures of our present government. The newspapers, the radio, the Taxpayers' Association, and the District Attorney did that part of the job effectively. The campaign, therefore, presented Plan E as better than our present weak mayor charter, showing in what respects it offered improvements.

Most of the publicity was centered on the city manager feature of Plan E because of its great appeal to the voters and because there was not time to do a thorough educational job on proportional representation elections. It should be noted, however, that the sponsors of the change and the newspapers both saw in P.R. the most important hope of bettering conditions in the city. There is another optional Massachusetts charter (Plan D) which provides for a city manager without P.R. elections. This charter would not have been backed by the committee.

Besides showing the advantages of city manager government, the Plan E Committee directed the campaign at getting out the voters and distinguishing Plan E from the other questions on the ballot. It was feared that many of those favoring a charter change might stay at home this year of war. It was also feared that because of

another question on the ballot which would liberalize the laws relating to dissemination of information on birth control many people would vote no on Plan E. Both dangers were avoided. Over 70 per cent of the registered voters cast ballots on a rainy election day, and Plan E won, while the birth control referendum was snowed under.

Great credit should be given to the small group of interested citizens who did most of the work during the campaign. There was a great deal of "leg work" to be done in circulating petitions, mailing, telephoning, calling on voters to explain the plan, and watching the polls on election day. The organization was not a large one; not more than 150 citizens took an active part. As a result many of them devoted most of their time over a five-months period to the campaign.

Several individuals did outstanding jobs. Two attorneys, Woodbury F. Howard, chairman of the committee, and Eldred L. Field took care of the legal work. This was no small task in itself, as the opposition tried by every means available to prevent the question from appearing on the ballot. Clifford L. Haynes acted as treasurer for the committee and saw to it that sufficient money was collected to present Plan E to the people in the newspapers, over the radio, and by mail. Fred Maguire, editor of the *Sunday Telegram*, helped greatly with publicity, and prepared ads for the newspapers. The Taxpayers' Association furnished information, material, and advice.

A Look Ahead

It is pretty generally realized in Lowell that the fight for better government has just begun. During the campaign no extravagant promises were made about results that could be guaranteed under Plan E. The voters were told what other cities had accomplished

with the same charter, and it was pointed out that there was hope for similar accomplishments in Lowell.

Since the charter was not oversold, there is a good chance that it will perform better than promised. Certainly Lowell cannot be any worse off than it is at present. A great deal will depend upon the council which is to be chosen at the first P. R. election next November. Those who sponsored the campaign have a responsibility to see to it that outstanding candidates offer themselves and are elected.

In this connection the *Lowell Sunday Telegram* said editorially on November 8: "We have a grand charter in Plan E because the proportional representation system gives the people the chance they never had before to elect good men to office. But these men cannot be elected unless they run and are solidly backed. It is up to someone to accept the responsibility for that kind of leadership which fearlessly will point out the best men . . . and thus help the citizens make intelligent and good choices."

That all lies ahead, but already certain gains have been realized. There is a feeling of hope for better things in Lowell instead of defeatism. Many of the shibboleths erected by the professional politicians have been shattered. Many who have feared in the past to take a stand on matters of local policy will now step forward without fear of reprisals. It has been proved at last that the people really do have a voice in their government.

The rehabilitation of Lowell will be a long, hard job no matter how perfect the local government may be. The economic trends of two decades must be reversed. But those who can carry the fight have received great encouragement. The battle will not now be lost by default. As the *Lowell Sun* ended its Plan E victory editorial,

"Decency is on the march in Lowell. Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition."

HENRY W. CONNOR,
Executive Director

Lowell Taxpayers Association

Yonkers Holds P. R.

The following article was prepared on request by the hard-hitting editor of the Yonkers "Herald-Statesman," which deserves a large share of the credit for the victory it describes.

—Editor.

Combined efforts of the Republican and Democratic party organizations in Yonkers, New York, to repeal proportional representation and to restore ward elections for Council, were overwhelmingly defeated at the polls on November 3.

A combination of circumstances tended to deal a staggering blow to the political machines, but the two-to-one vote and the extent to which the entire city rejected repeal in the districts astonished even the charterites and independents themselves.

The Republican party repealer sought to abolish P. R. and replace the present election of Council at large by a combination of six district councilmen and three at large, the latter to have two votes each. The vote was: yes, 11,761; no, 24,158; no wins by 12,397.

The Democratic repealer sought to kill P. R. and install a combination of six district councilmen and five at large. The vote was: yes, 12,975; no, 24,143; no wins by 11,168.

The combination of fortunate circumstances included:

1. The entry of a member of the Democratic majority in the United States Navy (Al P. Richter), leaving a temporary vacancy to be filled by a recount of the P. R. ballots credited to Richter and also of the exhausted ballots.¹

2. As a result Thomas B. Sheridan, Democrat, was elected to the Council. He took his place with the City Manager League-sponsored minority and thus created a charterite majority.

3. Ouster proceedings were launched against Raymond J. Whitney, former City Manager, which were later withdrawn when a resignation was handed in. William A. Walsh, former Mayor, widely referred to as "the best Mayor Yonkers ever had," was appointed Manager. He undertook at once a vigorous economy budget program and led an attack on the gambling situation, which had been a factor in the ouster proposals.

4. The City Manager League, under the chairmanship of Horace M. Gray, sponsored a "Vote No" campaign.

5. A wider "Vote No" drive, including the managerites and many independents, was organized as the United Citizens of Yonkers, with Ralph B. Feriola as chairman and Councilman Edith P. Welty as vice-chairman. The American Labor party not only joined the "Vote No" ranks but arranged for watchers at the polls.

6. The *Yonkers Herald Statesman*, independent daily newspaper, undertook a strong day-to-day editorial presentation to promote the "Vote No on Both" campaign.

Coalition of both party organizations to defeat P. R. was undertaken soon after the new charter was adopted in 1938, but the first real repeal drive was launched by former Mayor William J. Wallin, vice-chancellor of the New York State Board of Regents, in an address to the Yonkers Lawyers Association.

Mr. Wallin was the author of the Republican plan to kill P. R. and it was known as "the Wallin Plan." He also inspired the Democratic plan, which was called by some "the Brogan

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1942, p. 468.

plan," but that credit was repudiated by Thomas A. Brogan, Democratic State Committeeman and long the party "boss." Both plans were similar except in the number of at-large councilmen provided. Both sought to have all Council vacancies filled by mayoral appointment. Both sought to keep the 300-signature nominations to Council for political parties, but to raise the figure to 1,500 for independents.

The campaign proceeded at an amazingly "slow" and "quiet" pace. The efforts at coöperation had been sub rosa, but towards the end Mr. Wallin called for "yes votes on both" to kill P.R. At the end the appeal for "yes votes on both" was general in the party appeals, although both plans were mutually exclusive.

In the last week, the *Herald Statesman* published page one editorials—set in large type, two columns wide—under such titles as "They're Out to Kill Good Government at the Polls Next Tuesday," "Don't Let the Boys in the Back Room Snuff Out the Candle," "Yonkers Theme Song: Praise the Lord and Pass Out the No, No."

The Republican machine used campaign cards which read in large type, "Preserve the City Manager Form of Government. Vote Yes, Proposition 2." The Democratic handbill appeal was "Elect your Councilmen the American way. Eliminate the complicated paper ballot method."

The frantic appeals were vain. Although there was rain during Election Day morning, regarded as a handicap to independents, the No votes were registered in volume on both propositions.

The Republicans carried only eleven of the ninety-eight districts, and only one of the twelve wards. The Democrats carried only fifteen districts, and had a majority in only two wards.

Mr. Brogan's ward—known as "the Gibraltar of Democracy in Yonkers"—which usually comes up with a majority ranging from 2,500 to 3,500—

came up with a bare 78.

Mr. Wallin, after the election, predicted that "P.R. will go the way of prohibition," but he declared the vote was clear evidence of the distrust and suspicion which our voters have against committing our local affairs to the party organizations—a distrust based on the experience of former years."

Both party leaders said they would abide by the wishes of the majority.

OXIE REICHLER, *Editor*

Yonkers Herald Statesman

EDITORIALS

Continued from page 533)

Independent citizens of Houston, Texas, following through on their victory of last August in which they adopted the council-manager plan, elected an entire slate of business and professional men who are distinguished by their lack of political experience and their promise to see that the new form of government gets started in a friendly atmosphere, instead of in an atmosphere of hostility and sabotage, which was present in such cities as Cleveland, Kansas City, and Yonkers.

Laramie, Wyoming, surprised itself by adopting the council-manager plan although, according to reports, the campaign was limited to a series of strong editorials published in *The Republican-Boomerang* and discussions by small groups of citizens.

It is a hopeful sign that these and other communities believe, with Mr. Winant, that "It will not help win the war for local civic leaders and local civic organizations to curtail their efforts at this time. Continued support of civic progress is a protection for the present and a sound investment in the future."¹

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1942, p. 248.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Introduction to Responsible Citizenship. By William E. Mosher and Associates. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 1941. viii, 887 pp. \$3.25.

With every passing month of the war, and as new postwar problems begin to take shape, this volume by Dean Mosher of Syracuse University and his associates grows increasingly timely.

No one in the field of public affairs needs any introduction to Dean Mosher's works. This book as a reference and text on the problems of democracy is a part of his contribution to public thinking on the increasingly crucial question, "How can the democratic process be made more effective?"

A large volume, it is filled with guide posts to thinking about our social, economic, and governmental problems.

Chapter one, by way of introduction, develops Dean Mosher's ideas on responsible citizenship in the modern world. Part one then covers questions of social behavior; part two deals with social and governmental controls; part three, entitled "Economics for the Citizen," outlines some of our major theses in that area; part four is a historical approach to the development of the democratic ideal; part five discusses the rival democratic and totalitarian philosophies. In conclusion Dean Mosher writes a challenging chapter, "Toward an Effective Democracy."

The book is recommended reading both for young citizens about to go to war, who will return to participate in the postwar world, and to those left behind to carry on our democratic tradition in the interim. The fact that the book contains some conclusions which will bring argument and dis-

agreement makes it the more stimulating.

E. N. T.

The Units of Government in the United States. An Enumeration and Analysis (revised edition). By William Anderson. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. vi, 47 pp. \$1.

"For the country as a whole there is one unit of government for every eight hundred people." Thus states Dr. Anderson in this his completely revised edition of *The Units of Government*. That we may take heart, however, Dr. Anderson points out that between 1930-33 and 1941 our governmental units were reduced from 175,000 to 165,000; a far too small percentage (certain reductions are due to "the greater care with which the analysis was made and the far better information obtained from the states") but nevertheless a step in the right direction.

To the information contained in former editions the author has added a new Part III: The Adequacy of the Present System of Local Units, with tentative conclusions as to possibilities for streamlining our local governments.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Election Procedure

A Manual of Election Procedure in Maine. An outline of procedures and duties. Hallowell, Maine Municipal Association, 1942. 43 pp.

Highways

The Organization and Administration of the New Jersey State Highway De-

partment. By Sidney Goldmann and Thomas J. Graves. Prepared for Roger Hinds, Governor's Examiner of the New Jersey State Highway Department as Part IV of his Report to the Honorable Charles Edison, Governor of the State of New Jersey. Trenton, State Highway Department, 1942. 715 pp. maps, charts.

Land Use

1941 Summary of Outstanding Federal and State Legislation Affecting Rural Land Use. Compiled by Arthur B. Jebens and Ernest Engelbert. Washington, D. C., Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, 1942. 126 pp.

Leagues of Municipalities

The State Leagues and the American Municipal Association, September 1, 1941, to September 1, 1942. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1942. 69 pp.

Planning

From Plan to Reality—Three. A third report of progress, 1929-1941, on the development of the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Metropolitan Region, including details for the period starting 1937 and a program of proposals for postwar public works. New York City, Regional Plan Association, Inc., 1942. ix, 69 pp. maps, diagrams, photographs, tables. \$1.50.

Regional Resource Development. By Alvin H. Hansen and Harvey S. Perloff. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1942. 40 pp. 25 cents.

Politics

Politics and Political Organizations in America. By Theodore W. Cousins. New York City, The Macmillan Company, 1942. xi, 617 pp. \$4.

Postwar Planning

Proposed Postwar Works Program, the City of New York. Prepared by the City Planning Commission. New York City, City Planning Commission, 1942. viii, 32 pp. maps, charts. 25 cents.

The United Nations on the Way. Principles and Policies. By Henry Bonnet. Chicago, World Citizens Association, 1942. ix, 170 pp. 50 cents.

Reporting

Some Criteria for Judging an Annual Municipal Finance Report. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1942. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Research

Directory of Organizations Engaged in Governmental Research 1942-43. Detroit, Governmental Research Association, 1942. 56 pp. \$1.

Taxation and Finance

Financing Federal, State, and Local Governments: 1941. Overall picture of revenues and expenditures, geographic distribution of state and local revenues, inter-government relations in financing government, indexes of economic ability and of fiscal loads, comparisons among years, areas, and funds. By Wylie Kilpatrick. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1942. viii, 149 pp.

Municipal Finances in 1940. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1942. 41 pp.

Property Taxation 1941. State and local property tax collections, comparisons among states and cities, geographic distribution of taxes, decrease in special assessments, behavior of assessed valuations. By C. E. Rightor and Inez A. Applebee. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1942. vi, 55 pp.

Timely Publications in Tune with Wartime Needs

AT NO time in our history have we faced a more compelling need for the elimination of all possible waste in government. Correct organization, control, and planning will continue to produce efficient administration in these as well as in normal times. The publications listed here are "musts" for the library of the thoughtful citizen or public official.

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